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THE UNITED STATES
IN OUR OWN TIME



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*THE CROWD IN FRONT OF THE NEW YORK TIMES OFFICE ON THE NIGHT OF THE
TILDEN-HAYES ELECTION, 1876*

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

A HISTORY
FROM RECONSTRUCTION TO EXPANSION

Being an Extension of
"THE HISTORY OF THE
LAST QUARTER CENTURY"

BY
E. BENJAMIN ANDREWS 1844-1917.

CHANCELLOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF NEBRASKA
AND SOMETIME PRESIDENT OF BROWN UNIVERSITY



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THE UNITED STATES
IN OUR OWN TIME

CHAPTER I

THE UNITED STATES AT THE CLOSE OF RECONSTRUCTION

LAND AND PEOPLE IN 1870.—TERRITORIES.—RAILROADS IN THE WEST.—FENIAN MOVEMENTS.—BOSTON'S PEACE JUBILEES.—THE GREAT CITIES.—THE CHICAGO FIRE.—THE BOSTON FIRE.—THE TWEED RING.—TWEED'S ESCAPE AND CAPTURE.—FINANCIAL CONDITION OF THE NATION.—SHIPS.—ARMY AND NAVY.—RECONSTRUCTION, THE PROBLEM.—THE PRESIDENTIAL AND THE CONGRESSIONAL PLAN.—IRON LAW OF MARCH 2, 1867.—THE PROCESS OF RECONSTRUCTION.—SITUATION IN 1870.—DEBATE ON THE COERCION OF STATES.—OUTCOME.—THE TEST OATH.—ALL STATES AT LAST AGAIN REPRESENTED IN BOTH HOUSES OF CONGRESS.

IN 1870 the United States covered the same tract of the globe's surface as now, amounting to four million square miles. Hardly more than a fifth of this represented the United States of 1789. About a third of the vast domain was settled, the western frontier running irregularly parallel with the Mississippi, but nearer to that stream than to the Rocky Mountains. The centre of population was forty-eight miles east by north of Cincinnati, having moved westward forty-two miles since 1860. Except certain well-peopled sections on the Pacific slope, and small civilized strips in Utah, Colorado, and New Mexico, the Great West had but a tenuous white population. Over immense regions it was still an Indian fastness, rejoicing in a reputation, which few could verify, for rare scenery, fertile valleys, rich mines, and a delightful climate.

The American people numbered 38,558,371 souls. Not quite one in seven had colored blood, while a little more than that proportion were of foreign birth, most of these Irish

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

and German. In the settled parts of our country the population had a density of 30.3 persons to the square mile, southern New England being the most closely peopled. Much of western Pennsylvania was in the condition of the newest States, railroads building as never before, population increasing at a remarkable rate, and industries developing on every hand. Petroleum, which before the Civil War had been skimmed off the streams of the oil region and sold for medicine, in 1870 developed a yield of over five and a half million gallons in Pennsylvania alone, more than eleven times as much as a decade previous. The West was rapidly recruiting itself from the East, the city from the country. Between 1790 and 1860 our urban population had increased from one in thirty to one in six; in 1870 more than one in five dwelt in cities.

There were now thirty-seven States, nine organized territories, and two unorganized ones, these being Alaska and the Indian Territory. Noteworthy among the territories was Washington, whose population had doubled in the preceding decade and was now 24,000. Colorado had about 40,000. Utah boasted 86,000, one-third of whom were foreigners. New Mexico numbered in 1870, 91,874, in 1871, 114,000, less than one to each square mile. Arizona was still much harried by Indians, and contained hardly 10,000 civilized men. This year female suffrage, hitherto unknown in America, if not in the world, gained a foothold in Wyoming and in Utah.

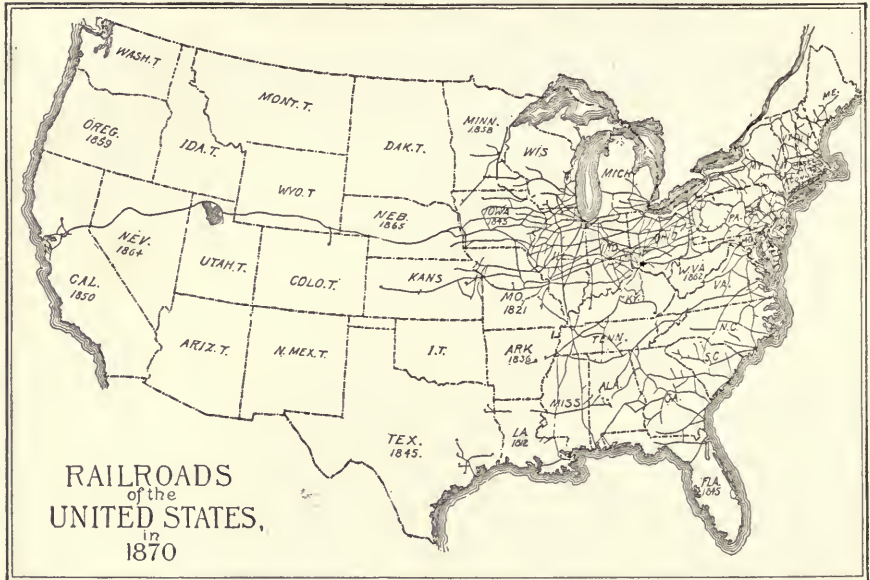
During the ten years preceding 1870 the railroad mileage of the country nearly doubled. The Union and Central Pacific Roads, forming the only transcontinental line then in existence, had been completed on May 10, 1869. Into Denver already came, besides the Union Pacific, three other railroads, all short, while Washington Territory contained the germ of the Northern Pacific, whose eastern extremity had just been begun at Duluth. Dakota had sixty-five miles of railway, Wyoming four hundred and fifty-nine. With the above exceptions the territories were wholly without railroads.



DRIVING THE LAST SPIKE OF THE UNION PACIFIC. SCENE AT PROMONTORY POINT,
UTAH, MAY 10, 1869

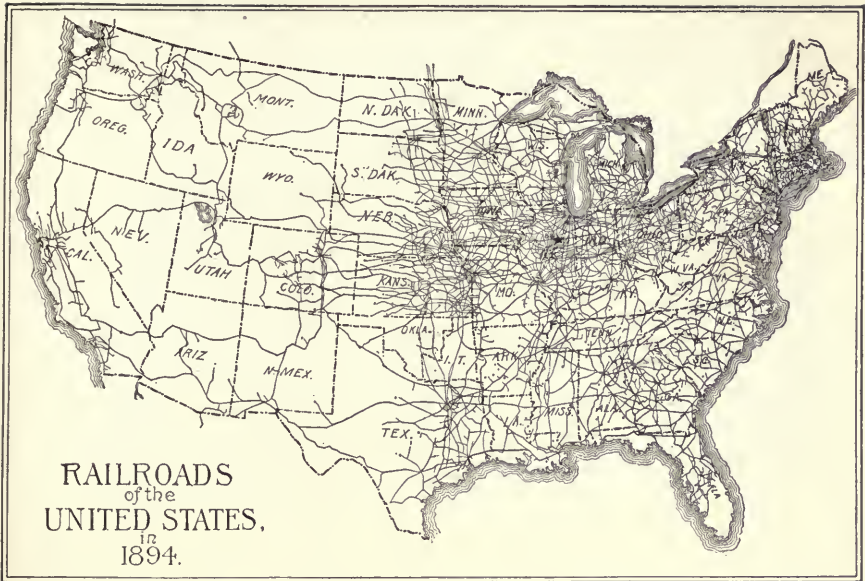
Drawn by B. West Clinedinst from photographs in the possession of General G. M. Dodge

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME



The close of the long Civil War had gladdened all true American hearts. Only the Fenians sought further bloodshed, and even they pursued their aim rather feebly. Their attempt, in April, 1866, to capture the British island of Campobello, near Eastport, Me., collapsed on the approach of Gen. Meade with United States troops. On June 1 a detachment of Fenians succeeded in capturing Fort Erie, across from Buffalo, and on the 7th another company occupied St. Armand, just over the Vermont border; but both parties were speedily dislodged and routed. The heart of the nation delighted in peace. In 1869, carrying out a conception of Mr. P. S. Gilmore, Boston held a great Peace Jubilee to celebrate the end of the late fraternal strife. An immense coliseum was erected for the performances, which began on June 15 and lasted till June 20. A choir of 10,000 singers, an orchestra of over 1,000 pieces, a battery of artillery, and an anvil chorus of 100 men beating anvils made up the unique musical *ensemble*. So great was the success, financially and other-

THE GREAT CITIES



wise, of this scheme, that in 1872 Mr. Gilmore undertook an international Peace Jubilee. This, too, was held in Boston, opening June 17 and lasting till July 4. Twenty thousand voices and an orchestra 2,000 strong joined in it, parts being taken also by choice military bands from France, Germany and England, and from the United States Marine Corps. Vast crowds were attracted, but the receipts this time fell far short of the expenditures.

In 1870, New York, with 942,292 inhabitants, Philadelphia, with 674,022, Brooklyn, with 396,099, St. Louis, with 310,864, and Chicago, with 298,977, were, as in 1890, our five largest cities, and they had the same relative size as in 1890, save that Chicago meantime passed from the fifth to the second place. This in the face of adversity. In October, 1871, the city was devastated by one of the most terrible conflagrations of modern times. It began on Sunday evening, the 8th, in a wooden barn on DeKoven Street, in the West Division. Lumber yards were numerous there, and through

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME



The Court House at Chicago before the Fire

these the flames raged, leaping across the stream before a strong westerly wind into the Southern Division, which was closely built up with stores and warehouses. The fire continued all Monday. It crossed the main channel of the Chicago River into the Northern Division, sweeping all before it.

“Niagara sank into insignificance compared with that towering wall of whirling, seething, roaring flame. It swept on and on, devouring the massive stone blocks as though they had been the cardboard playthings of a child. Looking under the flame one could see, in the very centre of the furnace, stately buildings on either side of Randolph Street whose beauty and magnificence and whose wealth of contents were admired by thousands the day before. A moment and the flickering flame crept out of a window; another and another hissing tongue followed; a sheet of fire joined the whirling mass above, and the giant structure was gone. One pile after another thus dissolved like snow on the mountain. Loud



The Chicago Court House after the Fire

THE CHICAGO FIRE

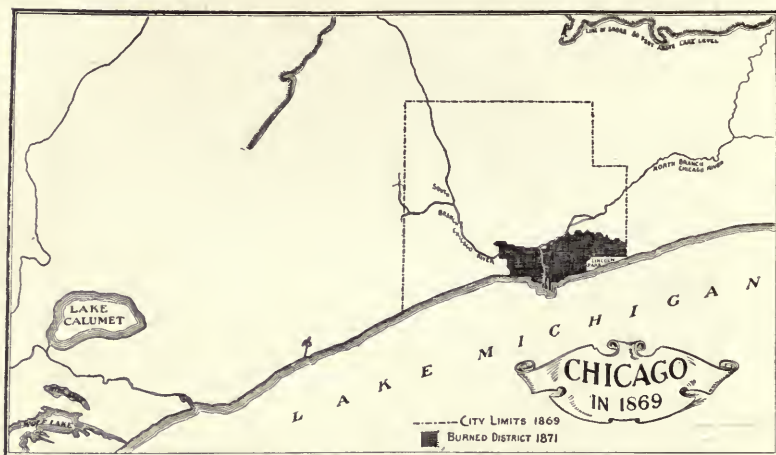


The Chicago Court House in 1895

detonations to the right and left, where buildings were being blown up, the falling of walls and the roaring of flames, the moaning of the wind and of the crowd, and the shrill whistling of tugs endeavoring to remove the shipping out of the reach of danger, made up a frightful discord of sounds that will live in every hearer's memory while his life shall last."

The glare could be seen for hundreds of miles over the prairie and the lake. The river seemed to boil and mingle its steam with the smoke. Early Monday morning the Tribune building, the only structure left in the business quarter, remained intact. Two patrols were constantly at work; one sweeping away live coals and brands, the other watching the roofs. Till four o'clock the reporters passed in regular reports of the fire. At five the forms were sent down. In ten minutes the cylinder presses would have been at work. At that moment the front basement is discovered on fire. The water-plug at the corner is opened, but the water-works have been destroyed. The pressmen have to fly for their lives. By ten o'clock the block is in ashes.

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

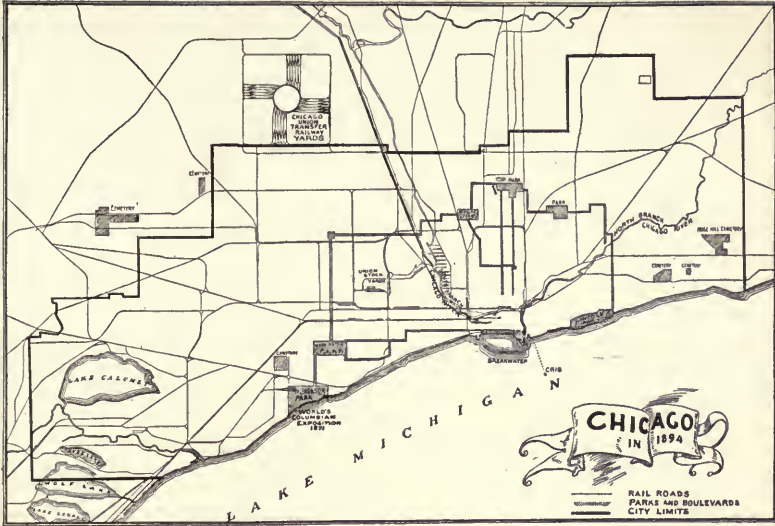


Streets, bridges, parks are gorged with panic-stricken throngs. Not a few are crazed by terror. One old woman stumbles along under a great bundle, crooning Mother Goose melodies. Anarchy reigns. The horrors of the night are multiplied by drunkenness, arson, burglary, murder, rape. Vigilance committees are formed. It was estimated that fifty ruffians first and last were shot in their tracks, among them five notorious criminals. Convicts locked in the court-house basement would have been burnt alive but for the Mayor's timely order, which his son, with the utmost difficulty and danger, delivered after the building had begun to burn.

The morning after the fire the indomitable Chicago pluck began to show itself. William D. Kerfoot knocked together a shanty, facetiously called "Kerfoot's block," an unrivalled structure, for it was the only one in the neighborhood. To it he nailed a sign which well typified the spirit of the city. "Wm. D. Kerfoot, all gone but wife, children, and ENERGY." The next Sunday the Rev. Dr. Collyer preached where his church had formerly stood, in the midst of the city, yet in the heart of a wilderness, more than a mile from human habitation.

Not till Tuesday morning was the headway of the fire checked, and parts of the charred *débris* smouldered on for

THE BOSTON FIRE



months. Nearly three and a third square miles were burned over; 17,450 buildings were destroyed; 98,500 persons rendered homeless; and over 250 killed. The total direct loss of property amounted to \$190,000,000, which indirect losses, as estimated, swelled to \$290,000,000. Fifty-six insurance companies were rendered insolvent by the fire. A Relief and Aid Society was at once formed, which within a month had subscriptions from all over the country amounting to three and a half million dollars, was aiding 60,000 people, and had assisted in building 4,000 temporary shelters. Later the Illinois legislature voted aid.

Next after that of Chicago the most destructive conflagration ever known in the United States visited Boston in 1872. It originated during Saturday evening, November 9, on the corner of Kingston and Summer Streets, spread with terrible rapidity east and north, and raged with little abatement till nearly noon next day. During Sunday afternoon the flames seemed well under control, but an explosion of gas about midnight set them raging afresh, and much of Monday had passed before they were subdued. Ordinary appliances for fighting

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

THE WESTERN UNION TELEGRAPH COMPANY.

ALL MESSAGES TAKEN BY THIS COMPANY SUBJECT TO THE FOLLOWING TERMS:

To guard against mistake, the sender of a message should order it re-telegraphed; that is, telegraphed both to the receiving office. For re-telegraphing and the risk thereon is levied in addition. It is agreed between the sender of the receiving message and this Company, that said Company shall not be held responsible for any delay in the transmission of a message, or for any loss of a message beyond the amount received for sending the same. The Company is not responsible for any delay or loss of a message, or for non-delivery, of any message transmitted by land lines, or any message received by wireless telegraph, unless specially marked, due to any cause for which the Company is not responsible in respect to the working of their lines, or for any cause for which the Company is not responsible in respect to the working of their lines, or for any cause for which the Company is not responsible in respect to the working of their lines, or for any cause for which the Company is not responsible in respect to the working of their lines.

Every message made the subject of an order, without liability, to forward any message over the lines of any other Company when necessary to reach its destination.

Corrections in any transmission of messages to any point on the lines of this Company, can be received by contract in writing, making actual amount of risk, and payment of premium in some of the following rates. In addition to the special charge for repeated messages, 75c. per cent. for any message sent by contract 1000 miles, and 100c. per cent. for any greater distance. The employees of the Company are authorized to vary the foregoing.

The Company will not be liable for damage in any case where the claim is not presented in writing within sixty days after sending the message.

O. E. PALMER, Secretary. ANSON STAGER, General Superintendent, Chicago, Ill. WILLIAM GORTON, President.

Oct. 9 1871

Send the following message subject to the above terms which are agreed to.

To Gen. Sherman.

City War - Washington

City of Chicago is almost utterly destroyed by fire. There is now reasonable hopes of arresting it - if the wind does not change - which is yet blowing a gale. I have advised my great authority Ration from St. Louis - 7000 from Jeffersonville and two companies of infantry from Omaha - There will be much disturb. many thousand people and much disturb.

P Sherman
General.

Facsimile of the Autograph Telegram from General Sheridan to the Secretary of War, announcing the Great Fire at Chicago; in the collection of C. F. Gunther

fire were of no avail, the demon being at many points brought to bay only by the free use of dynamite to blow up buildings in his path. Sixty-five acres were laid waste. Washington Street from Bedford to Milk formed the western limit of the tract, which, at Milk, receded to Devonshire, lying east of this from Milk to State, which formed its northern term. Nothing by the waters of the harbor stayed the eastern march of the fire. The district burned had been the home of Boston's wholesale trade, containing the finest business blocks which the city could boast. Fourteen or fifteen lives were lost, and not far from eight hundred buildings consumed. The property loss was placed at \$80,000,000.

THE TWEED RING

Meantime New York City was suffering from an evil worse than fire, the frauds of the "Tweed Ring," notorious forevermore. In the summer of 1870 proof was published of vast frauds by leading city officials, prominent among them "Boss" William M. Tweed, who, in the language of Judge Noah Davis, "saw fit to pervert the powers with which he was clothed, in a manner more infamous, more outrageous, than any instance of a like character which the history of the civilized world afforded."

William Marcy Tweed was born in 1823, at 24 Cherry Street, New York City. A youth devoted to business made him a fair penman and an adept reckoner, but not a business man. He, indeed, once attempted business, but, as he gave his chief attention to speculation, gambling and ward politics, completely failed, so that he seems forever to have renounced legitimate money-making. As a volunteer fireman, known as "Big Six," a gross, licentious Falstaff of real life, albeit loyal and helpful to his friends, Tweed led the "Roughs," being opposed by his more decent fellows, the "Quills." The tide of "respectability," receding uptown, left Tweed's ward in the hands of poor immigrants or the sons of such, who became partly his willing accomplices, partly his unwitting tools, in his onslaughts upon taxpayers. He began these forays at twenty-seven, as Alderman, suspended them for a time in Congress, resumed them in 1857 as Public School Commissioner, continued and enlarged them as member and four times President of the Board of Supervisors, and brought them to a climax as a functionary of the Street Department. He thus became, in time, the central sun in the system of brilliant luminaries known as the "Tweed Ring."

The multitudinous officials of the city were the Ring's slaves. At one time eight hundred policemen stood guard to prevent a hostile majority, in Tammany Hall itself, from meeting. The thugs of the city, nick-named "Tweed's lambs," rendered invaluable services at caucus and convention. Two

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

days before election these venal cohorts would assemble in the 340 election districts, each man of them being listed and registered under several assumed names and addresses. From Tweed's house in 1868 six registered, from Justice Shandley's nine, from the Coroner's thirteen. A State Senator's house was put down as the home of thirty voters. One Alderman's residence nominally housed twenty, another's twenty-five, an Assemblyman's fifteen. And so it went. Bales of fictitious naturalization papers were secured. One year 105,000 blank applications and 69,000 certificates were ordered printed. In one case thirteen men, in another fifteen, were naturalized in five minutes. The new citizens "put in" election day following their leaders from polling place to polling place as needed.

When thieves could be kept in power by such means plunder was easy and brazen. Contractors on public works were systematically forced to pay handsome bonuses to the Ring. One of them testified: "When I commenced building I asked Tweed how to make out the bills, and he said: 'Have fifteen per cent. over.' I asked what that was for, and he said, 'Give that to me and I will take care of your bills.' I handed him the percentage after that." Innumerable methods of fraud were successfully tried. During the year 1863 the expenditures of the Street Department were \$650,000. Within



TWEED

four years Tweed quadrupled them. A species of asphalt paving, dubbed "Fisk's poultice," so bad that a grand jury actually declared it a public nuisance, was laid in great quantities at vast cost to the city. Official advertising was doled to twenty-six daily and fifty-four weekly sheets, of which twenty-seven vanished on its withdrawal. But all the other robber enterprises paled before the city Court House job. This structure, com-

THE TWEED RING

menced in 1868, under stipulation that it should not cost more than \$250,000, was in 1871 still unfinished after an outlay of \$8,000,000, four times as much as was spent on Parliament House in London. Its ostensible cost, at last, was not less than \$12,000,000. As by witchcraft the city's debt was in two years more than doubled. The Ring's operations cheated the city's tax-payers, first and last, out of no less than \$160,000,000, "or four times the fine levied on Paris by the German army." Though wallowing in lucre, and prodigal withal, Tweed was yet insatiably greedy. "His hands were everywhere, and everywhere they were they were feeling for money." In 1871 he boasted of being worth \$20,000,000, and vowed soon to be as rich as Vanderbilt.

With his coarse nature the Boss revelled in jibes made at the expense of his honor. He used gleefully to show his friends the safe where he kept money for bribing legislators, finding those of the "Tammany Republican" stripe easiest game. Of the contractor who was decorating his country place at Greenwich he inquired, pointing to a statue, "Who the hell is that?" "That is Mercury, the god of merchants and thieves," was the reply. "That's bully!" said Tweed. "Put him over the front door." His donation of \$100 for an altar cloth in the Greenwich Methodist Church the trustees sent back, declaring that they wanted none of his stolen money. Other charitable gifts of his were better received.

The city papers, even those least corruptible, were for long either neutral or else favorable to the Ring, but its doings



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THE BRAINS

that achieved the Tammany Victory at the Rochester Democratic Convention

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

were by no means unknown. They were matters of general surmise and criticism, criticism that seemed hopeless, so hard was it to obtain exact evidence.

But pride goeth before a fall. Amid its greatest triumph the Ring sowed the wind whence rose the whirlwind which wrought its ruin. At a secret meeting held in the house of John Morrissey, pugilist member of Congress, certain of the unsatisfied, soon known as the "Young Democracy," planned a revolt. Endeavoring to prevent the grant by the New York legislature of a new charter which the Ring sought, the insurgents met apparent defeat, which, however, ultimately proved victory, Tweed building for himself far worse than he knew. The new charter, abstractly good, in concentrating power concentrated responsibility also, showing the outraged people, when awakened, where to strike for liberty. In spite of whitewashing by prominent citizens, of blandishments and bulldozing, of attempts to buy the stock of the *Times* and to boycott *Harper's Weekly*, where Nast's cartoons—his first work of the kind—gave the Ring international notoriety, the reform spirit proved irresistible. The bar had been servile or quiet, but the New York Bar Association was now formed, which at once became what it has ever since been, a most influential censor of the bench. The Young Democracy grew powerful. Public-spirited citizens organized a Council of Political Reform.

The occasion of conclusive exposure was trivial enough. Sheriff O'Brien was refused part of what he thought his share of the sheriff fees. An expert accountant in the Comptroller's office supplied him with damning evidence against the Ring. On July 18, 1871, Mr. O'Brien walked into the *Times* office and, handing the editor a bundle of documents, said: "There are all the figures: you can do with them just what you please." The figures were published on the 20th in an exhibit printed in English and German, causing excitement compared with which that arising from the Orange Riot of July 12th seemed

THE TWEED RING

TWO GREAT QUESTIONS.

W. Nast.



WHO STOLE THE PEOPLE'S MONEY? — DO TELL. N.Y. TIMES.

'T WAS HIM.

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trifling. The sensation did not end with talk. On September 4th a mass-meeting of citizens was held at Cooper Institute and a committee of seventy prominent men chosen to probe the frauds and to punish the perpetrators. For the work of prosecution the Attorney-General appointed Charles O'Connor, who associated with himself the ablest counsel. Samuel J. Tilden was conspicuously active in the prosecution, thus laying the foundation for that popularity which made him the Governor of New York, 1875-'77, and in 1876 the Democratic candidate for the presidency of the United States.

On October 28, 1871, Tweed was arrested and gave a million dollars bail. In November, the same year, he was elected to the State Senate, but did not take his seat. On December 16th he was again arrested, and released on \$5,000 bail. The jury disagreed on the first suit, but on the second

he was convicted and sentenced to pay a fine of \$12,550 and to suffer twelve years imprisonment. This sentence was set aside by the Court of Appeals and Tweed's discharge ordered. In the meantime other suits had been brought, among them one to recover \$6,000,000. Failing to find bail for \$3,000,000, he was sent to the Ludlow Street Jail. Being allowed to ride in the Park and occasionally to visit his residence, one day in December he escaped from his keepers. After hiding for several months he succeeded in reaching Cuba. A fisherman found him, sunburnt and weary but not homesick, and led him to Santiago. Instead of taking him to a hotel, Tweed's guide handed him over to the police as probably some American filibuster come to free Cuba. The American consul procured his release (his passports had been given him under an assumed name), but later found him out. The discovery was too late, for he had again escaped and embarked for Spain, thinking there to be at rest, as we then had no extradition treaty with that country. Landing at Vigo, he found the governor of the place with police waiting for him, and was soon homeward bound on an American war-vessel. Caleb Cushing, our Minister at Madrid, had learned of his departure for that realm, and had put the authorities on their guard. To help them identify their man he furnished them a caricature by Nast, representing Tweed as a Tammany policeman gripping two boys by the hair. Thus it came about that "*Tweed antelme*" was apprehended by our peninsular friends as a *child-stealer*. Though everything possible was done to render him comfortable in jail, Tweed sighed for liberty. He promised, if released, to turn State's evidence and to give up all his property and effects. Some papers suggested that the public pitied the man and would be glad to have him set free. No compromise with him was made, however, and he continued in jail till his death in 1878.

In 1870 the national debt amounted to a little less than \$2,500,000,000, nearly three times the sum of all the country's

SHIPS

State, county and municipal indebtedness combined. Yet the revenues sufficed to meet the interest and gradually to pay off the principal. Reduction in the rate of taxation was recommended in the President's Message, as also a refunding of the debt, but this latter was postponed for the time by the outbreak of the Franco-Prussian war. Our imports for the year ending June, 1870, were worth \$462,377,587, which exceeded the figure for any previous fiscal year. The duties on these imports footed up nearly \$195,000,000. The imports for the year fell short of the exports by over \$36,000,000.

Painful to notice was the small proportion of our commerce which was carried on in American vessels. Between 1850 and 1855 we had outstripped England both in shipbuilding and in tonnage. Seventy-five per cent. of our ocean traffic was then borne in American vessels; in 1869 the proportion had fallen to thirty per cent. The decay of our merchant marine was originally due to the fatal enterprise of Confederate privateers during the war, and to the change now going on from wood to iron as the material for ships. This transferred to British builders the special advantage which Americans had so long as wood was used. Why the advantage continued with the British was a much-disputed question, not yet separating the two political parties. Protectionists found it in British labor and British subsidies to steamship lines, and wished to offset it by bounties and by still higher subsidies to American shipping enterprise. Anti-protectionists traced all the difficulty to protection, particularly denouncing the duties on materials imported for ship-building. They urged free United States registry for foreign-built ships, or at least the privilege of importing free of duty all stock to be used in the construction of ships.

The United States navy was neglected after the war and soon became antiquated, being occupied mainly with the most peaceful enterprises, such as hydrographic and coast surveys. Indeed, it was fitted only for such. The destruction of the

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

pirate *Forward* on the coast of Mexico and the bombardment of certain Corean forts were its only warlike deeds during 1870. The army, this year, numbered 34,000 enlisted men, soon to be reduced to the legal number of 30,000. It was busied in making surveys, in protecting settlers against Indians, and one-sixth of it in assisting Government officials to keep order in the South. Some of the army officers and men were also busy in taking and publishing over the country scientific observations of the weather, an extremely useful form of public service then in its infancy. The United States Weather Bureau dates from 1870, its origin and organization mainly due to the then Chief Signal Officer of the Army, General Albert J. Myer.

When the resuscitation of the South began, it raised a most interesting constitutional question, viz., what effect secession had upon the States guilty of it; whether or not it was an act of State suicide. That it amounted to suicide, leaving, of the State that was, "nothing but men and dirt," was held by many, among them Sumner and Stevens. Both these men conceived the problem of the disordered States as that of an out-and-out "reconstruction;" and they ascribed to Congress the right to work its will in the conquered region, changing old State lines and institutions as it might please, and postponing settlement for any convenient length of time. Against this theory a strong party maintained that of State indestructibility, asserting the total nullity of secession acts.

The universal supposition at first was that the Southern States needed only "restoration," to be conducted by the President. "Restoration" was the policy of Presidents Lincoln and Johnson; as also of the entire Democracy. Following the idea of simple restoration, Lincoln had recognized loyal State governments in Virginia at the beginning of the war, and in Louisiana, Arkansas, and Tennessee later. During 1865 Johnson did the same in all the other States lately in secession.

THE IRON LAW OF MARCH 2, 1867

Strong considerations had led Congress, at this point, to assume charge of the restitution of the States, and, braving President Johnson's uttermost opposition and spite, to rip up the entire presidential work. "The same authority which recognized the existence of the war" seemed "the only authority having the constitutional right to determine when, for all purposes, the war had ceased. The Act of March 2, 1867, was a legislative declaration that the war which sprang from the Rebellion was not, to all intents and purposes, ended; and that it should be held to continue until State governments, republican in form, and subordinate to the Constitution and laws, should be established."*

On March 2, 1866, it was enacted that neither House should admit a member from any seceder-State till a congressional vote had declared the State entitled to representation. The ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment, making negroes citizens of the United States and forbidding legislation to abridge their privileges, was made prerequisite to such vote. Tennessee accepted the terms in July, but, as action was optional, all the other States declined, thus defeating for the time this amendment. Congress now determined not to wait for the lagging States, but to enforce their reconstruction. The iron law of March 2, 1867, replaced "secessia" under military rule, permitted the loyal citizens of any State, blacks included, to raise a convention and frame a constitution enfranchising negroes, and decreed that when such constitution had been ratified by the electors to the convention and approved by Congress, and when the legislature under it had ratified the Fourteenth Amendment and this had become part of the Constitution, then the State might be represented in Congress. The supplementary law of March 19th hastened the process by giving district commanders the oversight of registration and the initiative in calling conventions.

* Opinion of Attorney-General E. R. Hoar, May 31, 1869.

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME



HIRAM R. REVELS
of Mississippi
*The first colored member of
the U. S. Senate. Admitted
February 25th, 1870*



JOSEPH F. RAINEY
of South Carolina
*The first colored member of
the U. S. House of Rep-
resentatives. Admitted
December 12, 1871*

THE FIRST COLORED MEMBERS OF CONGRESS

After this the work went rapidly on. Registration boards were appointed, the test-oath* applied, delegates elected, and constitutions framed and adopted. These instruments in all cases abolished slavery, repudiated the Confederate debt and the pretended right of a State to secede, declared the secession acts of 1861 null and void, or-

dained manhood suffrage, and prohibited the passage of laws to abridge this.

Congress then acted. Alabama, Arkansas, North and South Carolina, Florida, Georgia and Louisiana, were admitted to representation in June, 1868, agreeing never to revoke universal suffrage. As Georgia was suspected of evading some of the requirements, the senators from the State were refused seats at Washington, and did not obtain them till the last of January, 1871. Georgia's representatives were given seats, but

TEST OATH.—Act of July 2, 1862. Be it enacted, etc. That hereafter every person elected or appointed to any office of honor or profit under the Government of the United States, either in the civil, military, or naval departments of the public service, excepting the President of the United States, shall, before entering upon the duties of such office, and before being entitled to any of the salary, or other emoluments thereof, take and subscribe the following oath or affirmation: "I, A. B., do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I have never voluntarily borne arms against the United States since I have been a citizen thereof; that I have voluntarily given no aid, countenance, counsel or encouragement to persons engaged in armed hostility thereto; that I have neither sought nor accepted nor attempted to exercise the functions of any office whatever, under any authority or pretended authority in hostility to the United States, that I have not yielded a voluntary support to any pretended government, authority, power or constitution within the United States hostile or inimical thereto. And I do further swear (or affirm) that, to the best of my knowledge and ability, I will support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic; that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the same; that I take this obligation freely, without any mental reservation, or purpose of evasion, and that I will well and faithfully discharge the duties of the office on which I am about to enter, so help me God."

ALL STATES AGAIN REPRESENTED

subsequently, in 1869, these were vacated, and they remained empty till 1871. To regain representation in Congress this State, too, was obliged to ratify the Fifteenth Amendment.

Thus stood matters in 1870: all but four of the late Confederate States nominally back in the Union, these still contumacious, but confronted by an inflexible Congress, which barred them from every national function of statehood till they had conformed to all the conditions above described.



Representative George E. Harris, of Mississippi. Admitted February 23, 1870



Senator John F. Lewis, of Virginia. Admitted January 27, 1870

“RECONSTRUCTED CONGRESSMEN”

Virginia, Mississippi, and Texas held out the longest. The Act of April 10, 1869, was passed to hasten their action, authorizing the President to call elections for ratifying or rejecting the new constitutions in those States. To punish the States' delay, their new legislatures were required to ratify the proposed Fifteenth Amendment, guaranteeing the negro's right to vote, as well as the Fourteenth. When it passed the House the bill lacked such a provision, which was moved by Senator Morton, of Indiana, an ultra Republican. Morton urged the adoption of the amendments as of vast importance to the country. If the three recalcitrant States were commanded to ratify and did so, the negroes' ballot would be once for all assured, placing the South forever in loyal hands. The unreconstructed States, he said, ought not to

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

oppose this requirement, and their opposition was sad evidence of their treacherous purpose later to amend their constitutions so as to strike down colored suffrage. Senator Thurman replied that the question concerned every State in the Union. By forcing these three States to ratify this amendment, he declared, "you do not coerce them alone. You coerce Ohio, you coerce Illinois, you coerce every State whose people are unwilling to adopt the amendment." Senator Bayard thought it a most dangerous Federal encroachment to take from the States and deposit with the Federal Government the regulation of the elective franchise, "the power of all powers, that which underlies and creates all other powers." The opposition was, however, overborne, and by February, 1870, the new constitutions, together with the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the United States Constitution, had been ratified, and the three belated States again stood knocking at the doors of Congress.

The House of Representatives began by declaring Virginia entitled to representation in the national legislature. The Senate, more radical, influenced by the still lurking suspicion of bad faith, amended this simple declaration with a provision requiring the "test-oath" of loyalty from members of the Legislature and public officers before they should resume their duties, at the same time making it a condition that the constitution of the State should never be so amended as to restrict the suffrage, the right to hold office, or the privilege of attending public schools. Similar provisos were attached to the resolution admitting senators and representatives from the other two States. Out of sheer weariness the House concurred. By January 30, 1871, all the States were again represented in both Houses, as in 1860.

CHAPTER II

GENERAL GRANT AS A CIVIL CHIEF

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IN 1870.—ITS DEFECTS.—PRESIDENT GRANT'S SHORTCOMINGS.—HIS FIRST CABINET.—THE PARTY'S ATTITUDE TOWARD THE TARIFF.—TOWARD THE DEMOCRACY.—TOWARD RE-ENFRANCHISEMENT AT THE SOUTH.—THE LIBERAL MOVEMENT.—THE DEMOCRATS.—THE "NEW DEPARTURE" AMONG THEM.—VALLANDIGHAM.—JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.—RECONSTRUCTION.—ERRORS COMMITTED THEREIN.—THE FIFTEENTH AMENDMENT.—THE KU-KLUX KLAN.—THE FORCE BILL.—RE-ENFRANCHISEMENT AT THE SOUTH.—GRANT AND THE NATION'S FINANCES.—GOULD AND FISK.—BLACK FRIDAY.—THE TREATY OF WASHINGTON.—RELATIONS WITH CUBA.—PROPOSED "ANNEXION" OF SANTO DOMINGO.—SUMNER AND THE ADMINISTRATION.

THE year 1870 found the Republican party in full power. In the Senate of the Forty-first Congress sat but nine Democrats, and out of its two hundred and thirty Representatives only seventy-five were Democrats. Spite of differences in their own ranks, spite of the frantic struggles of the opposition, the Republican policy of reconstruction had been put through and consummated by the Fifteenth Amendment, "making all men equal." Sweepingly victorious upon every issue recently tried, freed, moreover, from the incubus with which President Johnson had weighted them, having elected to the executive chair of the nation a hero whom practically the entire party and country trusted, the Republicans could not but be in a happy mood. No wonder that the Republican platforms of the different States in 1870 and 1871 breathed utmost satisfaction and hope.

This self-gratulatory spirit among the Republicans was an unhealthy sign. Honest as were its rank and file and a majority of its leaders, much corruption defiled the party's

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

Article XIV.

All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

A Fragment in Facsimile from the Original Engrossed Text of the Fourteenth Amendment, at the State Department, Washington. Adopted July 28, 1866

high places. "The early movements of Grant as President were very discouraging. His attempt to form a cabinet without consultation with any one, and with very little knowledge, except social intercourse, of the persons appointed, created a doubt that he would be as successful as a President as he had been as a general, a doubt that increased and became a conviction in the minds of many of his best friends. . . The impression prevailed that the President regarded the heads of departments, invested by law with specific and independent duties, as mere subordinates, whose functions he might assume. . . It can hardly be said that we had a strictly Republican administration during Grant's two terms. While Republicans were selected to fill the leading offices, the policy adopted and the controlling influence around him were purely personal. He consulted but few of the Senators or members, and they were known as his personal friends. Mr. Conkling, by his imperious will, soon gained a strong influence over the President, and from this came feuds, jealousies and enmities, that greatly weakened the Republican party and threatened its ascendancy."* In the questions of taxation, debt and finance, so important to the welfare of all, Grant showed little interest. "His veto of the bill to increase the amount of United States notes, on the 22d of April, 1874, was

* John Sherman's Recollections of Forty Years in the House, Senate and Cabinet.



THE RECONSTRUCTION COMMITTEE

Drawn by W. R. Leigh

The Joint Committee of Fifteen, appointed to "inquire into the condition of affairs in the so-called Confederate States," who finally adopted, April 28, 1866, a series of resolutions embodying a recommendation which afterward took form as the Fourteenth Amendment. Senators W. P. Fessenden, Maine, Chairman; J. W. Grimes, Iowa; Ira Harris, New York; J. M. Howard, Michigan; George H. Williams, Oregon. Representatives: Thaddeus Stevens, Pennsylvania; E. B. Washburn, Illinois; Justin S. Morrill, Vermont; J. A. Bingham, Ohio; G. S. Boutwell, Massachusetts; Roscoe Conkling, New York; H. T. Blow, Missouri; H. M. Grider, Kentucky; A. J. Rodgers, New Jersey; Senator Reverdy Johnson, Maryland. The last three voted against the resolutions.

PRESIDENT GRANT'S SHORTCOMINGS



"Dam Your Soul. The Horrible Sepulchre and Bloody Moon has at last arrived. Some live to-day to-morrow "Die." We the undersigned understand through our Grand "Cyclops" that you have recommended a big Black Nigger for Male agent on our nu rode; wel, sir, Jest you understand in time if he gets on the rode you can make up your mind to pull rope. If you have any thing to say in regard to the Matter, meet the Grand Cyclops and Conclave at Den No. 4 at 13 o'clock midnight, Oct. 1st, 1871.

"When you are in Calera we warn you to hold your tounge and not speak so much with your mouth or otherwise you will be taken on supprise and led out by the Klau and learn to stretch hemp. Beware. Beware. Beware. Beware.

(Signed)

"PHILIP ISENBAUM,
"Grand Cyclops.
"JOHN BANKSTOWN
"ESAU DAVES.
"MARCUS THOMAS.
"BLOODY BONES.

"You know who. And all others of the Klau."

Facsimile of a Ku-Klux "Warning" in Mississippi—put in evidence before the Congressional Committee

uncertain when his administration began. His report to President Johnson on the condition of the Southern States had indicated that he was not in sympathy with the congressional plan of reconstruction, which was the burning question of the time. Party leaders were nervous lest he should prove unwilling to conduct his administration in harmony with them, and in case of a break they feared a total loss of party

an exception, but on this he changed his mind, as he had expressed his approval of the bill when pending."*

"General Grant became afterward so thoroughly a party man that it is necessary to recall by a positive effort that his position was looked upon as very

control in the country. Members of the administration were therefore urged strenuously to make no issue on what might be regarded as a personal wish of the President,

(From the Independent Monitor, Tuscaloosa, Alabama, September 1, 1868.)
A PROSPECTIVE SCENE IN THE CITY OF OAKS, 4TH OF MARCH, 1869.



* Hang, cur, hang! * * * * * Their complexion is perfect gallowe. Stand fast, good fole, to their hanging! * * * * * If they be not born to be hangd, our case is miserabile."
The above out represents the fate in store for those great pests of Southern society—the carpet-bagger and scalawag—if found in Dixie's land after the break of day on the 4th of March next.

*John Sherman's Recollections of Forty Years in the House, Senate and Cabinet

A Newspaper Cutting put in Evidence before the Congressional Committee

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME



JAMES FISK, Jr.
(After a photograph by Rock-wood)

and they shared the opinions of their party friends enough to make them feel the importance of avoiding collision.”*

General Grant's deficiencies in the presidential office were, however, nearly all due to faults of his character which were based in virtues. To the man's moral and physical courage, and his calm, but all but stubborn bearing, he added a magnanimity and an unsuspecting integrity, which were at once his strength and his weakness. Herein lay the secret of the love men bore him and of their trust in him. But these characteristics combined with his inexperience

of civil life to disarm him against the dishonorable subtleties of pretended friends, thus continually compromising him. “A certain class of public men adopted the practice of getting an audience and making speeches before him, urging their plans with skillful advocacy and impassioned manner. They would then leave him without asking for any reply, and trust to the effect they had produced. Perhaps their associates would follow the matter up in a similar way. It would thus sometimes happen that, for lack of the assistance which a disinterested adviser could give, his habitual reticence would make him the victim of sophistries which were not exposed, and which his tenacity of purpose would make him cling to when once he had accepted them.”† General Sherman thought that his old friend, Grant, would be “made miserable to the end of his life by his eight



JAY GOULD

*J. D. Cox, *Atlantic Monthly*, August, 1895, p. 167.

†J. D. Cox, *ibid.*, p. 173.

GRANT'S FIRST CABINET

years' experience" in the presidency. As we shall see, there was considerable reason for this foreboding. He evidently had Grant's case chiefly in mind in regretting "the reputations wrecked in politics since 1865," and "the many otherwise good characters" whom political life had "poisoned."

Grant's first cabinet was on the whole not strong, though comprising several thoroughly competent men. Hon. E. B. Washburne, of Illinois, was at first Secretary of State, but resigned to accept the position of Minister to France. He was succeeded by Hon. Hamilton Fish, of New York, a gentleman of great ability, who had been honorably prominent in the politics of his State, and had served a term in Congress. The Interior Department was placed in charge of J. D. Cox. A. E. Borie was made Secretary of the Navy. This appointment was much criticised, and Borie soon resigned, when the place was given to George M. Robeson. President Johnson's Secretary of War, General Schofield, Grant retained for a time. General Rawlins, an excellent and useful officer, succeeded him, but died soon. His successor was William W. Belknap. J. A. J. Creswell was Postmaster-General, E. Rockwood Hoar, Attorney-General. A. T. Stewart, the New York millionaire merchant, was named for the Treasury portfolio, and the Senate confirmed him with the rest, but the appointment was found to be contrary to a statute of 1789, pro-



PRESIDENT GRANT
(From a photograph by Hoyt, in 1860)

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

viding that no person engaged in trade or commerce should hold that office. Efforts were made to remove the legal barrier, which failed, and George S. Boutwell was appointed.

No strictly positive policy at this time inspired the Republican body. Republicans certainly opposed any repudiation of the war debt, whether by taxing bonds or by paying the principal or the interest of them in dollars less valuable than gold dollars. But this was only a phase of the party's war zeal, which always carried men's thought backward rather than to the future. Upon the tariff question it was impossible to tell where the party stood, though, clearly, the old Whig high-tariff portion of its constituency did not yet dominate. Nothing bolder than "incidental protection" was urged by anyone,

except where a State or section, like Maine, tentatively commended some interest to the "care, protection, and relief" of the Government. In their public utterances touching the tariff the two great parties differed little. In each, opinion ran the gamut from "incidental protection," where Democrat met Republican in amity, to "approximate free trade," which extreme there were not lacking Republicans ready to embrace had the tariff been then a party issue.

Instead of looking forward and studying new national interests, the party grounded its claims too exclusively upon the "glorious record" which truly belonged to it, and upon the alleged total depravity of the Democrats with the eternal incorrigibility of the South. Said Senator Morton, of Indiana: "The Republican



FRED. DOUGLASS
(From a photograph by Handy)



BUENAVENTURA BAEZ
President of Santo Domingo
(From a photograph in the collection
of James E. Taylor)

THE LIBERAL MOVEMENT

Party . . . could not afford to make a distinct issue on the tariff, civil service reform, or any other individual measure; it must make its stand on these assertions: The Democrats, if they return to power, will either take away the pensions of the loyal soldiers, or else will pension Confederate soldiers also; will, when they have a majority in Congress, quietly allow the Southern States to secede in peace; will tax national bonds and unsettle everything generally." In January, 1871, Senator Henry Wilson wrote: "To keep out of power the Democratic party and its semi-rebellious adherents both North and South, has become a matter of supreme importance to the nation and to the cause of humanity itself."

There were, however, Republicans who by no means shared these views, and the lifting of their hands already foreshadowed the bolt of 1872. Not a few Republican participants in the war wished the earliest possible re-enfranchisement of the Southern whites. It was this sentiment that carried West Virginia for the Democrats in 1870. Re-enfranchisement was a burning question also in Missouri. At the Republican convention in that State the same year, after a hot discussion, General McNeil mounted a chair and shouted "to the friends of the enfranchisement of the white man, that they would withdraw from this convention to the senate chamber." About a third of the delegates, led by Carl Schurz, retired, and nominated a Liberal-Republican State ticket, headed by B. Gratz Brown. Supported by most of the Democrats who could vote, this ticket was triumphant.

Early in the year 1871, at a political meeting in St. Louis, was manifested the first overt hostility on the part of the Liberals, or "Brownites," to President Grant. This sign of the times was followed on March 10th by a meeting of a dozen prominent Republicans in Cincinnati, Ex-Governor Cox and Stanley Matthews being of the number. They drafted a report, which was signed by a hundred well-known Republicans, advancing four principles: (1) general amnesty

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

to the late Confederates, (2) civil service reform, (3) specie payments, and (4) a revenue tariff. During the year the "bolt" took on national importance. Sympathy with it appeared throughout the country and in Congress, and existed where it did not appear. Influenced by Mr. Sumner, even the Massachusetts Republican Convention, without going further, condemned, impliedly, Grant's

foreign policy. Finally a call was issued from Missouri for a National Convention, to be held at Cincinnati on May 1, 1872, in opposition to Grant and his administration.

In impotent wrath and bitterness proportioned to the apparent prosperity of the Republicans, stood the Democracy. The more strenuous its opposition to a "godly thorough reformation" of unrepentant rebels, the more determinedly had the people rebuked it at the polls. Hardly more inclined were the people to follow it upon the great question of the public debt, where the party demanded that the five-twenties should be redeemed in greenbacks—"the same money for the plough-holder and the bond-holder"—and that all national

*the Eighth day of May, in the year of
our Lord one thousand eight hundred
and seventy one.*



Hamilton Fish

Robt. Schenck

Samuel Wilson

Ebenezer Rockwood How.

Geo. H. Williams

Delaney Rippon

Captn W. Institute

Edw. Thorburn

John McDonald

Montague Bernard

FACSIMILE OF SIGNATURES TO THE TREATY OF
WASHINGTON

(From the original at the State Department, Washington)

Sir Stafford
Northcote
Prof. Mountague
Bernard
Senator G. H.
Williams



Judge E. R. Hoar
Gen. R. C. Schenck
Judge Samuel Nelson
Sir Edward Thornton

Sir John Macdonald
Hamilton Fish
Lord Tenterden

Earl de Grey

THE HIGH COMMISSIONERS IN SESSION AT WASHINGTON

THE "NEW DEPARTURE"

A. E. Borie, Navy. J. A. J. Creswell, Postm'r-General. E. R. Hoar, Att'y-General.



E. B. Washburne, State. J. D. Cox, Interior. *J. M. Schofield, War. G. S. Boutwell, Treasury.
PRESIDENT GRANT'S FIRST CABINET

bonds or the interest thereon should be taxed. Even in the South the leaders began to see that the true policy of "The Reform Party"—the Democracy's *nom de guerre*, was that voiced by the South Carolina Convention of 1870, which proposed to "accept the results of the war as settled facts" and make the best of them, striking out for new issues. This was the key-note of the "New Departure" led by Clement L. Vallandigham, of Ohio. Vallandigham had been the most extreme "copperhead" in all the North. By his outspokenness in defence of the Confederacy during the war he had got himself imprisoned and banished to the South. It was significant, therefore, when, in his last public utterance—he accidentally shot himself a month later—his voice once more joined that of South Carolina, this time in accepting "the results of the war, including the three several amendments *de facto*, as a settlement in fact of all the issues of the war."

*Schofield held the office for several months after President Grant's inauguration. The latter then appointed John A. Rawlins.

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

Chief Justice Chase wrote Vallandigham, praising his action as a "great service to the country and the party," and "as the restoration of the Democratic Party to its ancient platform of progress and reform." John Quincy Adams, Democratic candidate for Governor of Massachusetts, like Vallandigham, proposed a hearty acquiescence in what was past, and "deplored the halting and hesitating step with which the Democracy was sneaking up to its inevitable position." "The South," he continued, "is galled to-day not by the presence of the Fifteenth Amendment, but by the utter absence of the Constitution itself. Is it not silly then to squabble about an amendment which would cease to be obnoxious if it was not detached from its context?"

The method of reconstruction resorted to by Congress occasioned dreadful evils. It ignored the natural prejudices of the whites, many of whom were as loyal as any citizens in the land. To most people in that section, as well as to very many at the North, this dictation by Congress to acknowledged States in time of peace seemed high-handed usurpation. If Congress can do this, it was said, any State can be forced to change its constitution on account of any act which Congress dislikes. This did not necessarily follow, as reconstruction invariably presupposed an abnormal condition, viz., the State's emersion from a rebellion which had involved the State government, whose overthrow, with the rebellion, necessitated congressional interference. Yet the inference was natural and widely drawn.

"Congress was wrong in the exclusion from suffrage of certain classes of citizens, and of all unable to take a prescribed retrospective



ALEXANDER T. STEWART
(Mr. Stewart always refused to sit for a portrait. The accompanying illustration is from a painting, made after his death, by Thomas Le Clear, and now at St. Paul's School, Garden City, Long Island)

ERRORS COMMITTED IN RECONSTRUCTION



STANLEY MAT-
THEWS

oath, and wrong also in the establishment of arbitrary military governments for the States, and in authorizing military commissions for the trial of civilians in time of peace. There should have been as little military government as possible ; no military commissions, no classes excluded from suffrage, and no oath except one of faithful obedience and support to the Constitution and laws, and sincere attachment to the Constitutional Government of the United States.”*

“ It is a question of grave doubt whether the Fifteenth Amendment, though right in principle, was wise or expedient. The declared object was to secure impartial suffrage to the negro race. The practical result has been that the wise provisions of the Fourteenth Amendment have been modified by the Fifteenth Amendment. The latter amendment has been practically nullified by the action of most of the States where the great body of this race live and will probably always remain. This is done not by an express denial to them of the right of suffrage, but by ingenious provisions, which exclude them on the alleged ground of ignorance, while permitting all of the white race, however ignorant, to vote at all elections. No way is pointed out by which Congress can enforce this amendment. If the principle of the Fourteenth Amendment had remained in full force, Congress could have reduced the representation of any State, in the proportion which the number of the male inhabitants of such State, denied the right of suffrage, might bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age, in such State. This simple remedy, easily enforced by Congress, would have secured the right of all persons, without distinction of race or color, to vote at all elections. The reduction of the representation would have deterred every State from excluding the vote of any

* Salmon P. Chase, Letter to Democratic National Committee in 1873.

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

portion of the male population above twenty-one years of age. As the result of the Fifteenth Amendment, the political power of the States lately in rebellion has been increased, while the population conferring this increase is practically denied all political power. I see no remedy for this wrong except the growing intelligence of the negro race.”*

If the South was to become again genuine part and parcel of this Union, it would not, nor would the North consent that it should, remain permanently under military government. Black legislatures abused their power, becoming instruments of carpet-bag leaders and rings in robbing white property-holders. Only doctrinaires or the stupid could have expected that the whites would long submit. So soon as federal bayonets were gone, fair means or foul were certain to remove the sceptre from colored hands. Precisely this happened. Without the slightest formal change of constitution or of statute the Southern States one by one passed into the control of their white inhabitants.

Where white men's aims could not be realized by persuasion or other mild means, resort was had to intimidation and force. The chief instrumentality at first used for keeping colored voters from the polls was the Ku-Klux Klan, a secret society organized in Tennessee in 1866. It sprung from the old night patrol of slavery times. Then, every Southern gentleman used to serve on this patrol, whose duty it was to whip severely every negro found absent from home without a pass from his master. Its first *post bellum* work was not ill-meant, and its severities came on gradually. Its greatest activity was in Tennessee, Arkansas, and Mississippi, where its awful mysteries and gruesome rites spread utter panic among the superstitious blacks. Men visited negroes' huts and "mummicked" about, at first with sham magic, not with arms at all. One would carry a flesh bag in the shape of a heart and go around "hollering for fried nigger meat." Another would

* John Sherman, Recollections.

THE KU-KLUX KLAN

put on an India-rubber stomach to startle the negroes by swallowing pailfuls of water. Another represented that he had been killed at Manassas, since which time "some one had built a turnpike over his grave and he had to scratch like h—l to get up through the gravel." The lodges were "dens," the members "ghouls." "Giants," "goblins," "titans," "furies," "dragons," and "hydras" were names of different classes among the officers.

Usually the mere existence of a "den" anywhere was sufficient to render docile every negro in the vicinity. If more was required, a half-dozen "ghouls," making their nocturnal rounds in their hideous masks and long white gowns, frightened all but the most hardy. Any who showed fight were whipped, maimed, or killed, treatment which was extended on occasion to their "carpet-bag" and "scalawag" friends—these titles denoting respectively Northern and Southern men who took the negroes' side. The very violence of the order, which it at last turned against the old Southrons themselves, brought it into disrepute with its original instigators, who were not sorry when Federal marshals, put up to it by President Grant, hunted den after den of the law-breakers to the death.

In 1870 and 1871, by the so-called Force Bills, Federal judges were given cognizance of suits against anyone for depriving another of rights, privileges, or immunities under the Constitution. Fine and imprisonment were made the penalties for "conspiracy" against the United States or the execution of its laws, as by forcibly or through intimidation preventing men from voting. The army and navy were placed at the service of the President to enforce the act, and Federal judges might exclude suspected persons from sitting on juries. By this drastic measure and its rigorous execution in nine counties of South Carolina the organization was by 1873 driven out of existence. But some of its methods survived. In 1875 several States adopted and successfully worked the

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

“Mississippi plan,” which was, by whatever necessary means, to nullify black votes until white majorities were assured. Less violent than the Ku-Klux way, this new one was equally thorough.

Considering the stupendous upheaval in Southern society marked by the erection of bondmen into full citizens, dark days were few. Schools arose. The ballot itself proved an educator, rough but thorough. The negro vote, become a fixed fact, was courted by the jarring factions of whites, and hence to some extent protected. Meanwhile it was plainly to the negro's advantage that he was fighting, not to acquire status and rights, but for status and rights guaranteed in the organic law of his State.

It yet remained to restore the disfranchised whites and to remove the political disabilities imposed by the Fourteenth Amendment. Except in the case of a few leaders, the disabilities were annulled by the Act of Amnesty passed May 22, 1872. At about the same time general re-enfranchisement was accomplished by State legislation, Liberal-Republicans joining with those Democrats, specially numerous in Missouri and West Virginia, who already enjoyed the right of suffrage.

By March, 1866, the price of gold in paper money had fallen from war figures to $130\frac{1}{4}$. There was much illegitimate speculation in the metal, dealing in “phantom gold”—mere betting, that is, on gold fluctuations. Prominent among the operators was the firm of Smith, Gould, Martin & Co. The mind of the firm was Jay Gould, a dark little man, with cold, glittering eyes. Closely associated with him was James Fisk, a vulgar and unprincipled yet shrewd and bold man of business. During the spring of 1869 Gould bought \$7,000,000 or \$8,000,000 in gold, immediately loaning it again on demand notes. There being not over \$20,000,000 gold available outside the Treasury, the business community, in case of any call for gold, was at his mercy, unless the Treasury should sell. This must be prevented.



Drawn by B. West Clinedinst

FISK AND GOULD'S GRAND OPERA HOUSE IN A STATE OF SIEGE

GRANT AND THE NATION'S FINANCES

In June, 1869, President Grant, on a trip from New York to Boston, accepted a place in a private box of the theatre which Fisk owned, and next day took, at the invitation of Fisk and Gould, one of their magnificent steamers to Fall River. After a handsome supper the hosts skillfully turned the conversation to the financial situation. Grant remarked that he thought there was a certain fictitiousness in the prosperity of the country, and that the bubble might as well be tapped. This suggestion "struck across us," said Mr. Gould, later, "like a wet blanket." Another wire must be pulled.

Facts and figures were now heaped together and published to prove that, should gold rise in this country about harvest time, grain, the price of which, being fixed in Liverpool, was independent of currency fluctuations, would be worth so much the more and would at once be hurried abroad; but that to secure this blessing Government must not sell any gold. Gould laid still other pipes. Fisk visited the presidential sphinx at Newport; others saw him at Washington. At New York Gould buttonholed him so assiduously that he was obliged to open his lips to rebuke his servant for giving Gould such ready access to him.

The President seems to have been persuaded that a rise in gold while the crops were moving would advantage the country. At any rate, orders were given early in September to sell only gold sufficient to buy bonds for the sinking fund. The conspirators redoubled their purchases. The price of gold rose till, two days before Black Friday, it stood at 140½.

Though he kept it to himself Gould was in terror lest the Treasury floodgates should be opened to prevent a panic. Business was palsied, and the bears were importuning the Government to sell. At his wits' end he wrote Secretary Boutwell:

"SIR: There is a panic in Wall Street, engineered by a bear combination. They have withdrawn currency to such an extent that it is impossible to do ordinary business. The Erie

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

Company requires eight hundred thousand dollars to disburse . . . much of it in Ohio, where an exciting political contest is going on, and where we have about ten thousand men employed, and the trouble is charged on the administration. . . . Cannot you, consistently, increase your line of currency?"

Gould, like Major Bagstock, was "devilish sly, sir." In his desperation he determined to turn "bear" and, if necessary rend in pieces Fisk himself. Saying nothing of his fears, he encouraged Fisk boldly to keep on buying, while he himself secretly began to sell. Fisk fell into the trap, and his partner, taking care in his sales to steer clear of Fisk's brokers, proceeded secretly and swiftly to unload his gold and fulfil all his contracts. From this moment they acted each by and for himself, Gould operating through his firm and Fisk through an old partner of his named Belden.

On Thursday, September 23d, while his broker, Speyers, is buying, Fisk coolly walks into the Gold Room and, amid the wildest excitement, offers to bet any part of \$50,000 that gold will rise to 200. Not a man dares take his bet.

On Black Friday the Gold Room is crowded two hours before the time of business. In the centre excited brokers are betting, swearing, and quarreling, many of them pallid with fear of ruin, others hilarious in expectation of big commissions. In a back office across from the Gold Room, Fisk, in shirt sleeves, struts up and down, declaring himself the Napoleon of the street. At this time the Ring was believed to hold in gold and in contracts to deliver the same, over \$100,000,000.

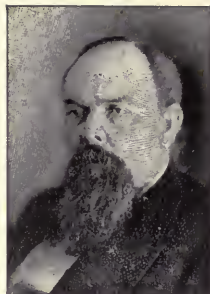
Speyers, whom all suppose to represent Gould as well as Fisk, begins by offering 145, then 146, 147, 148, 149, but none will sell. "Put it up to 150," Fisk orders, and gold rises to that figure. At 150 a half million is sold him by Mr. James Brown, who had quietly organized a band of merchants to meet the gamblers on their own ground. From all over the country the "shorts" are telegraphing orders to buy. Speyers is informed that if he continues to put up gold he

GOULD AND FISK

will be shot; but he goes on offering 151, 152, 153, 154. Still none will sell. Meantime the victims of the corner are summoned to pay in cash the difference between 135, at which the gold was borrowed, and 150, at which the firm is willing to settle. Fearing lest gold go to 200, many settle at 148. At 155, amid the tremendous roar of the bull brokers bidding higher and higher, Brown again sells half a million.

"160 for any part of five millions." Brown sells a million more. "161 for five millions." No bid. "162 for five millions." At first no response. Again, "162 for any part of five millions." A voice is heard, "Sold one million at 162." "163½ for five millions." "Sold five millions at 163½." Crash! The market has been broken, and by Gould's sales. Everybody now begins to sell, when the news comes that the Government has telegraphed to sell four millions. Gold instantly falls to 140, then to 133. "Somebody," cried Fisk, "has run a saw right into us. We are forty miles down the Delaware and don't know where we are. Our phantom gold can't stand the weight of the real stuff."

Gould has no mind permanently to ruin his partner. He coolly suggests that Fisk has only to repudiate his contracts, and Fisk complies. His offers to buy gold he declares "off," making good only a single one of them, as to which he was so placed that he had no option. What was due him, on the other hand, he collected to the uttermost dollar. To prevent being mobbed the pair encircled their opera-house with armed toughs and fled thither. There no civil process or other molestation was likely to reach them. Presently certain of "the thieves' judges," as they were called, came to their relief by issuing injunctions estopping all transactions connected with the conspiracy which would have been disadvantageous for the conspirators.



OLIVER P. MORTON

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

Far the strongest side of Grant's Administration was the State Department, headed by the clever diplomat, Hamilton Fish, one of the most successful Secretaries of State who ever served our country. Here distinguished ability and absolute integrity reigned and few mistakes were made. Were there no other testimony, the Treaty of Washington would sufficiently attest Mr. Fish's mastery of his office. Ever since 1863 we had been seeking satisfaction from Great Britain for the depredations committed during the war by Confederate cruisers sailing from British ports. Negotiations were broken off in 1865 and again in 1868. In 1869 Reverdy Johnson, then our Minister to England, negotiated a treaty, but the Senate rejected it. In January, 1871, the British Government having proposed a joint commission for the settlement of questions connected with the Canadian fisheries, Mr. Fish replied that the adjudication of the "*Alabama* Claims" would have to be first considered, "as an essential to the restoration of cordial and amicable relations between the two governments." England consented to submit this question also to the commission, and on February 27th the High Commissioners met at Washington. The British delegation included, besides several noblemen, Sir E. Thornton the Queen's Minister at Washington, Sir John Macdonald, of Canada, and Mountague Bernard, Professor of International Law at Oxford. The American commissioners were the Secretary of State himself, Justice Nelson of the Supreme Court, Robert C. Schenck our Minister to England, E. Rockwood Hoar late United States Attorney-General, and George H. Williams, Senator from Oregon.

On May 8th the commission completed a treaty, which was speedily ratified by both Governments. It provided for arbitration upon the "*Alabama* Claims," upon other claims by citizens of either country against the other for damages during the Rebellion, upon the fisheries, and upon the northwest boundary of the United States. The principal settlements happily arrived at in this way will be described later.

RELATIONS WITH CUBA

In 1868 the "Junta of Laborers" in Cuba inaugurated a rebellion against the mother country. By 1870 most South American States had recognized them as belligerents, and they were eager that the United States should do the same. The sympathies of our people and Government were with them. In the summer of 1869 Secretary Fish, directed by the President, had prepared and signed a proclamation according to the insurgents the rights of belligerents, but owing to the Secretary's firm unwillingness this document was never issued. In July, 1870, the President changed his mind, heartily thanking Mr. Fish for restraining him from issuing the belligerency message. The good offices of the United States were, however, tendered, with the view of inducing Spain to recognize Cuba's independence, preventing further bloodshed; but the overtures were declined.

Spain's barbarous method of warring excited horror. The Spanish Captain-General in Cuba freely sequestered property, to whomsoever belonging, ordered shot every male over fifteen years of age found outside his premises without good excuse, burned every uninhabited hut and every hamlet not flying a white flag. Such procedure called forth our remonstrance, which, in conjunction with the known sympathy of Americans for the rebels, greatly irritated Spain. Our legation house at Madrid was threatened, our vessels in one or two instances brought to by Spanish men-of-war, and a number of our citizens in Cuba and on the high seas maltreated or killed. Two American citizens, Speakman and Wyeth, embarked by mistake in a vessel carrying an insurrectionary force destined for Cuba. They gave themselves up, but were brutally murdered after the merest form of a trial. This was exasperating enough; but when, on October 31, 1873, the *Virginus*, belonging to an American citizen, was captured on the high seas off Jamaica by the Spanish man-of-war *Tornado*, the American flag hauled down, and Captain Fry, with fifty-six of his ship's company—nine of them American citizens—

shot, for some weeks hostilities seemed actually imminent. The *Virginus's* errand was in spirit illegal, perhaps literally so. Many revolutionists were on board, also 2,000 Remington rifles, a mitrailleuse, and a large supply of ammunition and provisions for the insurgents. According to the best authorities Spain was quite justified in seizing the vessel, though Attorney-General Hoar denied this, but not in putting to death those on board with no trial but a drumhead court-martial.

When the news of the outrage reached this country innumerable indignation meetings were held. President Grant convoked his Cabinet to deliberate upon the case, and the navy yards were set working night and day. The Spanish Minister of State at first haughtily rejected our protest, saying that Spain would decide the question according to law and her dignity. Madrid mobs violently demonstrated against the American minister, General Sickles. November 4th, Secretary Fish cabled Sickles: "In case of refusal of satisfactory reparation within twelve days from this date, you will, at the expiration of that time, close your legation and will, together with your secretary, leave Madrid." On the 15th, hearing that fifty-seven men had been executed, he sent word: "If Spain cannot redress these outrages the United States will." And on November 25: "If no accommodation is reached by the close of to-morrow, leave." Next day Spain became tractable and Sickles remained. War was happily averted. Spain released the *Virginus* and all the surviving prisoners. Having been on December 16th delivered to officers of our navy, the ship, flying the Stars and Stripes, proudly sailed for New York, but foundered in an ocean storm. The prisoners freed reached New York in safety. Spain solemnly disclaimed all thought of indignity to our flag, and undertook to prosecute any of her subjects guilty, in this affair, of violating our treaty rights.

President Grant's negotiations for the annexation of the turbulent little republic known as Santo Domingo—"Holy Sabbath," a bit of unconscious irony—ended less happily.



THE SCENE IN THE NEW YORK GOLD ROOM ON BLACK FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 24, 1869

Drawn by C. S. Reinhart from photographs and descriptions by eye-witnesses

PROPOSED "ANNEXION" OF SANTO DOMINGO

The strategic situation of the island is good, and its aspect inviting—luxurious and fertile valleys between grand ranges of volcanic mountains. The heat is tempered day and night by sea-breezes—sometimes rising to hurricanes. The rich mineral and other resources of the island were known in 1870 but little exploited. A tenth of the people were white, living mainly in the sea-board towns. The rest were hybrid descendants of the man-eating Caribs and of the buccaneers and warlike negroes who fought under Toussaint L'Ouverture.

Embarrassed with a rival, President Baez wished to turn his domain over to us, as a predecessor of his had in like case once given it to Spain. He indicated his desire to President Grant, who dispatched Col. Babcock, his assistant private Secretary, to report upon the country, its people, its harbors, etc. No member of the Cabinet favored the mission, yet none officially objected. The State Department had nothing to do with arranging it. New York merchants trading to San Domingo offered Babcock passage thither, showing that his proposed mission was known, and he would have accepted their offered favor but for Secretary Fish's protest. Transportation for him by the navy was then ordered, and it was found that he was to be accompanied by Senator Cole, of California, and an officer from the Inspector-General's department who spoke Spanish. "As the members of the Cabinet were carefully discreet in their reticence, the increase of the party and of the apparent importance of the mission caused a certain uneasiness, especially as rumors began to fly about that business speculations were involved, and that the official character of the affair was much less than its real significance. The members of the Government felt loyally bound to suppress their own doubts, and to attribute to the excitability of the quidnuncs the rumors of important purposes connected with Babcock's voyage."*

* This and the next following quotations are from J. D. Cox's interesting article, already cited in this chapter.

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

Babcock returned bearing a draft of a treaty containing an agreement to cede Santo Domingo to the United States out-and-out for something over a million dollars, or to accept our protectorate over it at the same time giving us a fifty-year lease of the important bay and harbor of Samana. President Grant had become intensely anxious to acquire this realm. It would afford us a coaling and naval station and a commercial entrepot, enrich the United States and extend its power, and open a region which the American negro could colonize and manage. At the first Cabinet meeting after his arrival in Washington Babcock appeared, showing each member as he arrived "specimens of the ores and products of the island and descanting upon its extraordinary value. He met a rather chilling reception, and soon left the room. It had been the President's habit at such meetings to call upon the members of the Cabinet to bring forward the business contained in their portfolios, beginning with the Secretary of State. This would at once have brought the action of Babcock up by Mr. Fish's disclaimer of all part in the matter, and his statement of its utter illegality. On this occasion, however, General Grant departed from his uniform custom, and took the initiative. 'Babcock has returned, as you see,' said he, 'and has brought a treaty of annexation. I suppose it is not formal, as he had no diplomatic powers; but we can easily cure that. We can send back the treaty and have Perry, the consular agent, sign it; and, as he is an officer of the State Department, it would make it all right.'"

"But, Mr. President," said Mr. Secretary Cox, "has it been settled, then, that we *want* to annex San Domingo?"

General Grant "colored, and smoked hard at his cigar. He glanced at Mr. Fish on his right, but the face of the Secretary was impassive, and his eyes were fixed on the portfolio before him. He turned to Mr. Boutwell on his left, but no response met him there. As the silence became painful, the President called for another item of business, and left the

SUMNER AND THE ADMINISTRATION



CLEMENT L. VALLAN-
DIGHAM

(After a photograph in the col-
lection of James E. Taylor)

question unanswered. The subject was never again brought up before the assembled Cabinet."

The treaty was put into form, signed on November 29, 1869, and sent to the Senate the following month. Violent opposition to it was at once manifest, of which Mr. Sumner was the soul. Sumner was Chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, and in whatever related to this committee's work was inclined to domineer. He had not agreed with Secretary Fish or the President respecting the ground of our war complaint against England. "Sumner insisted that the hasty proclamation by Great Britain of neutrality between the United States and the Southern Confederacy was the gravamen of the *Alabama* claims. The President and Mr. Fish contended that this proclamation was an act of which we could not complain, except as an indication of an unfriendly spirit by Great Britain, and that the true basis of the *Alabama* claims was that Great Britain, after proclaiming neutrality, did not enforce it, but allowed her subjects to build cruisers, and man, arm and use them, under cover of the rebel flag, to the destruction of our commercial navy."

The President, Sumner now said, had violated our Constitution in negotiating the San Domingo treaty as he did; he was also conniving at an infringement of the Dominican constitution, which forbade alienating any part of that land; and was traversing international law by a menace to the independence of Hayti. San Domingo, he alleged, with its undesirable population, was in continual turmoil, had cost Spain more blood and treasure than it was worth, and been lost to her after all. Baez he denounced as a "political jockey," and he declared that adventurers were abusing the President's confidence, as it was beginning to be suspected they had done in

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regard to "Black Friday" the September previous. Writing to Garrison December 29, 1870, and referring to his speech on the "annexion" of San Domingo, Sumner said that the Haytian Minister had previously visited him, "full of emotion at the message of the President as 'trampling his country under foot.'"

President Grant did his utmost to secure ratification for the treaty. Having expired by limitation on May 21st, it was renewed and sent to the Senate again on the 31st. Direct application to Senators in this interest was made on the President's behalf, a course generally felt to be very objectionable. Republican politicians became divided touching annexation, and the utmost bitterness of feeling prevailed. Secretary Fish's position pending this business was extremely embarrassing. An intimate friend of Mr. Sumner, he was accustomed freely to discuss with him all diplomatic affairs. "He had honestly treated the talk of Dominican annexation as mere gossip, without solid foundation, and now he suddenly found his sincerity in question, under circumstances which forbade him to say how gravely the State Department had been compromised." Twice during the episode he offered his resignation, but the President's earnest entreaty, backed by that of leaders anxious to avoid a breach in the party, each time induced him not to insist on its acceptance. "But the progress of the San Domingo business put Mr. Fish in a false position, apparently, and having yielded to the President's urgency that he should remain in the Cabinet he could not, at the moment, explain fully to Mr. Sumner the seeming changes of his attitude. It is in the nature of such differences to grow larger, and in the following winter they led to an open rupture between the old friends."

The President's campaign to secure annexation involved bargaining for the votes of certain "carpet-bag" Senators. "He was told that they desired to please him and to support his plans, but, considering Mr. Sumner's controlling influence

SUMNER AND THE ADMINISTRATION

with their colored constituents, it would be at no small political peril to themselves if they opposed that Senator on the San Domingo question. . . . In matters of patronage . . . they found themselves less influential than they had a right to expect. Reciprocity was necessary if the President required their aid. When asked in what departments they found a lack of consideration, the Attorney-General's was named, and it was strongly urged that Judge Hoar should be displaced by a Southern man acceptable to them." Attorney-General Hoar was nominated to the Supreme Court presumably to answer this Southern demand. The Senate refused to confirm his appointment, and Mr. Hoar had to be gotten rid of in some other way. One morning in June, 1870, he received a letter from the President containing the "naked statement that he found himself under the necessity of asking for Hoar's resignation. No explanation of any kind was given or reason assigned." In an interview, subsequently, the President was frank enough to connect this action with "the necessity, to carry out his purposes, of securing support in the Senate from Southern Republicans, who demanded that the Cabinet place should be filled from the South." Amos T. Akerman, of Georgia, was immediately nominated and soon confirmed. The final vote on the treaty was taken June 30th. A considerable majority of the Senators favored it, but not quite the necessary two-thirds.

The treaty having been refused ratification the matter died out of mind; but an irreparable rift between Grant and Sumner resulted. Shortly after Sumner's speech, above referred to, Grant asked Fred. Douglass, who, friendly to Sumner, yet agreed with Grant: "What do you think of Sumner now?" "I believe that Sumner thought himself doing a service to a down-trodden people, but that he was mistaken," Douglass replied. This answer not seeming to please the President, Douglass asked what he thought of Sumner. After some hesitation Grant replied, with feeling: "I think he is mad." President Grant considered the failure of the treaty a

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national misfortune, but submitted with patience, not only to the adverse action of the Senate, but to the suspicions of friends and to the attacks of enemies which his San Domingo ambition had aroused.

The annexationists had their revenge when Sumner lost the chairmanship of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, which he had held so long and prized so highly. John Lothrop Motley's recall from the British mission was also referred by nearly all to Senator Sumner's course in the Santo Domingo matter. The Saturday Club, of Boston, protested against thus allowing the President's disagreement with Sumner to prejudice Minister Motley by reason of their friendship, considering such treatment certain "to offend all the educated men of New England." Grant's only reply was: "I made up my mind to remove Mr. Motley before there was any quarrel with Mr. Sumner." In his annual message the next December the President proposed a commission to visit San Domingo for additional information about the island and to inquire into the charges of corruption which had been made against the Executive and his agent. With his usual intemperance Sumner opposed this as committing Congress to "a dance of blood;" yet a bill to create the commission passed the Senate unanimously, the House by a majority of 123 to 63. The commissioners were Dr. Samuel G. Howe, President Andrew D. White, and Hon. A. A. Burton. Their report was favorable, making it credible that the President might have secured annexation had he attempted it in a less autocratic way.

CHAPTER III

THE GREELEY CAMPAIGN

THE RISE OF HORACE GREELEY.—THE TRIBUNE.—GREELEY AND GRANT.—THE LIBERAL REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT.—THE SPOILS SYSTEM.—SHEPHERD AT WASHINGTON.—SCANDALS CONNECTED WITH THE COLLECTION OF THE REVENUES.—REVERSAL OF HEPBURN VS. GRISWOLD.—GRANT AND GREELEY NOMINATED.—MIXED POLITICS.—BOTH CANDIDATES SEVERELY CRITICISED.—A CHOICE OF EVILS.—A BITTER CAMPAIGN.—DIFFICULTIES CONFRONTING GREELEY.—GRANT ELECTED.—GREELEY'S DEATH.—HIS CHARACTER.—CONTINUATION OF REPUBLICAN POLICY AT THE SOUTH.—FORCE AND ANARCHY IN LOUISIANA.

ONE hot day in August, 1831, an ungainly journeyman printer from Erie, Pa., was among the "arrivals" in New York City. It was Horace Greeley, born twenty years before, on a farm in Amherst, N. H. From childhood an insatiable reader, at ten he had become the prodigy of his native town. His stump-grubbing on a farm in Vermont, whither poverty drove his father's family, his service as printer's devil there, and later as job and newspaper printer at Erie, paid little. The young man reached the metropolis with only ten dollars in his pocket, while the rest of his earthly goods formed a bundle which he swung in his hand. After long and vain search for work he at last secured a situation so hard that no other printer would take it. In it he wrought twelve or fourteen hours a day at a rate never exceeding six dollars a week.

After various vicissitudes in job-printing and desultory editorial work, where he evinced genius and zeal but no special aptitude for business, Mr. Greeley, in 1841, started the *Tribune*. For this venture he had borrowed \$1,000.

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The first week's losses engulfed nearly half this sum, but at the end of a year the paper was an assured success. It soon became the mouth-piece of all the more sober anti-slavery sentiment of the time, whether within or without the Whig party, and rose to power with the mighty tide of free-soil enthusiasm that swept over the land after 1850. Greeley and his organ were the chief founders of the Republican party, and the most effective moulders of its policy. The influence of the paper before and during the war was incalculable, far exceeding that of any other sheet in America. Hardly a Whig or a Republican voter in all the North that did not take or read it. It gave tone to the minor organs of its party, and no politician on either side acted upon slavery without considering what the *Tribune* would say.

While hating slavery and treason, and hence not averse to the war, Greeley was anxious for peace at the earliest moment when it could be safely had; and forthwith upon the collapse of the Confederacy he dismissed all rancor toward the South. At Jefferson Davis's presentment for treason he stepped forward as bondsman; and in the long friction which followed he persistently opposed all harshness in dealing with the conquered. He disliked Grant as the exponent of severe methods in reconstruction, and, like Sumner, peculiarly abominated his policy of annexing San Domingo.

At length Grant and Greeley became, in effect, foes. They had many party friends in common, who sought by every means to reconcile them, but in vain. Greeley was once induced to call at the White House. Grant invited him to a drive, and he accepted. The horses went, the President smoked, and Greeley kept silence, all with a vengeance. Only monosyllables were uttered as the two stiff men rode side by side, and each was glad when they could alight and separate.

In January, 1872, the Liberal Republicans of Missouri issued a call for a national convention at Cincinnati. Greeley and his *Tribune* took sides with the revolt. Soon they were

THE SPOILS SYSTEM

the life of it. Henceforth the opposition to the Administration increased in strength day by day. The Cincinnati *Commercial* and the Springfield, Mass., *Republican* sided with the *Tribune*, while the New York *Times* and *Harper's Weekly* earnestly advocated Grant's re-election. Sumner had long since broken with Grant. Many other prominent Republicans in Congress and outside had lost confidence in the Administration, and then become hostile thereto. General Banks was one of these, Stanley Matthews another, George W. Julian another. Senator Schurz openly stated that if Grant should be nominated for a second term he would bolt the ticket. Early in the second session of the Forty-second Congress

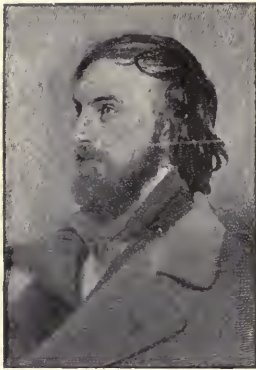
there was question of appointing a committee on Investigation and Retrenchment. Debating this, Senator Trumbull vigorously denounced the prevalent abuses in the civil service.

The spoils system had been permitted to invade every branch of the Government. The odium heaped upon carpet-bag rule at the South was all along due in large measure to its corruption. By their influence and example many white federal office-holders misled the negro officers, State and national, and the voters as well, to regard office as the legiti-

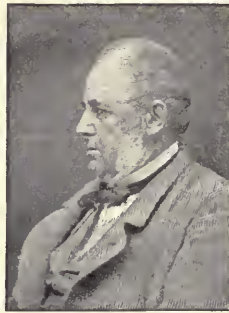


HORACE GREELEY

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WILLIAM HENRY FRY
After a daguerreotype in the possession of Horace B. Fry



**COUNT ADAM GUROW-
SKI**
After a daguerreotype in the possession of Charles A. Dana

mate prey of the party triumphant on election day. At the North, no less, appointments in answer to political wire-pulling were the regular order of the time. "Work!" said an office-holder in 1870; "I worked to get here! You don't expect me to work now I am here!"

Federal offices were needlessly multiplied. In March, 1871, a custom-house appraiser was appointed at Evansville, Ind. He informed "his Senator" and the Secretary of the Treasury that his office was a sinecure, writing "his other Senator" soon after that it ought to be abolished. He was removed and a more contented incumbent appointed. "Yet," says the ex-appraiser, "there could be no charge of neglect or incompetency, for no officer was ever more faithful and diligent in drawing his salary than I was during those two years,



GEORGE RIPLEY
After a daguerreotype in the possession of Charles A. Dana



MARGARET FULLER
After a daguerreotype in the historical collection of H. W. Fay



BAYARD TAYLOR
After a photograph by Sarony

SOME NOTED CONTRIBUTORS TO

SHEPHERD AT WASHINGTON



THOMAS HICKS CHARLES A. DANA GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS
After a daguerreotype by Brady, 1852, in the possession of Charles A. Dana

and absolutely there was nothing else to do." In connection with offices where there were far weightier functions than drawing salaries, extravagance, carelessness, and corruption were exposed with damning iteration.

In 1871 the District of Columbia had been given a territorial government, with a Governor, a Board of Public Works, and a Legislature. The new territory lived too fast to live long, letting out contracts at exorbitant rates, so that they were bought up and sublet, sometimes again and again. It entered upon ambitious schemes of city improvement, which involved the District in a debt far beyond the lawful limit of \$10,000,000. These and other evidences of wasteful administration led Congress, in 1874, to abolish the territorial system and again assume direct control of the District. Lapse of time disposed Washingtonians kindly to remember Shepherd, the head of the territorial government during the

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

great transformation, and later not a few wished his statue to appear in the city which had been rendered so beautiful and commodious through his agency.

More notorious than the "Washington Ring" were the scandals connected with the collection of the revenues. Early in April, 1874, a meeting was held in New York to protest against the revenue and "moiety" laws; "moiety," meaning that the law gave to a spy, with certain officials, one-half of the property forfeited to the Government by fraud discovered through such person's agency. Under these laws there were repeated instances of technical forfeitures and condemnation on the ground of constructive fraud, owing to some slight accidental mistake. The laws were often confused and self-contradictory, placing honest officials in danger of committing flagrant wrongs by the effort to execute their terms. A. T. Stewart is said to have been at one time liable to a forfeiture of \$3,000,000 for an error of \$300.

An informer intimated to a revenue official that an importer had defrauded the Government, paying insufficient duty upon his goods. The official then obtained a secret warrant to seize the importer's books and papers, which was done. The contingent rewards accompanying this business were so enormous that every kind of intrigue, deceit and subornation was practiced. Informers were charged with downright blackmail, for which the power to seize private books and papers gave them exceptional opportunity. They sought to stigmatize the entire mercantile class in the importing cities. The terror in which the house of Phelps, Dodge & Co. was long kept by the lurking agents of the Government would be incredible to most of our citizens now. The system would not have surprised people in Naples, but it was revolting to Americans. "Every clerk might become an informer. The Government stealthily put its hand into every counting-room, as the Church through its agents surreptitiously knew every secret of the household." Vicious as it was, not until after



HORACE GREELEY SIGNING THE BAIL-BOND OF JEFFERSON DAVIS AT THE
RICHMOND, VA., COURT-HOUSE, MAY 13, 1867

Painted by William K. Leigh from photographs, and sketches made at the time by W. L. Sheppard

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long agitation was a law passed putting an end to the moiety abuse with its lucrative espionage and other iniquities.

The President and his Administration were unduly blamed by many eminent citizens of all parties for the reversal in the Supreme Court of the *Hepburn vs. Griswold* decision touching the constitutionality of the greenback. In *Hepburn vs. Griswold* "the majority of the Court as then constituted—five Judges out of eight—felt obliged to conclude that an act making mere promises to pay dollars a legal tender in payment of debts previously contracted is not a means appropriate, plainly adapted, or really calculated to carry into effect any express power vested in Congress, is inconsistent with the spirit of the Constitution, and is prohibited by the Constitution." Said Mr. Justice Field: "That judgment was reached only after repeated arguments were heard from able and eminent counsel, and after every point raised on either side had been the subject of extended deliberation. . . It is not extravagant to say that no case has ever been decided by this Court since its organization in which the questions presented were more maturely considered. It was hoped that a judgment thus reached would not be lightly disturbed."

The President, Judge Hoar his Attorney-General, and a great many other prominent Republicans were opposed to the principles of the *Hepburn vs. Griswold* decision. This fact, together with the speedy overturn of the decision by an enlarged Court, made it appear as if the composition of the Court had been changed on purpose to secure a different utterance upon this vital question of constitutional law. Within a few weeks after the *Hepburn vs. Griswold* decision, during the same term, so soon as its vacancies were filled, the Court, on motion of Attorney-General Hoar, voted to hear the question re-argued.

"By act of March 3, 1863, the Court was ordered to consist of ten members, a new member being then added. By act of July 23, 1866, 'to fix the number of Judges of the



MR. GREELEY RECEIVING THE DEMOCRATIC COMMITTEE, WHICH NOTIFIED HIM OF HIS
NOMINATION, AT THE LINCOLN CLUB HOUSE*

* Mr. J. Lee Carroll, of Maryland, relates that when the formal speeches on both sides were ended, and Mr. Greeley had invited all present to visit him at Chappaqua, some one in the group asked if there "were any snakes out there." Quick as a flash Mr. Greeley replied: "Ob, yes, a few copperheads, but they are quite harmless."

REVERSAL OF HEPBURN VS. GRISWOLD

Supreme Court of the United States,' etc., it was enacted 'that no vacancy in the office of Associate Justice should be filled by appointment until the number of Associates should be reduced to six, and thereafter the Supreme Court should consist of a Chief Justice and six Associate Justices.' By an act of 10th April, 1869, to take effect from the first Monday of December, 1869, it was enacted 'that the Court should consist of a Chief Justice and eight Associates, and that, for the purposes of this act, there should be appointed an additional Judge.' *Hepburn vs. Griswold*, it is stated in the opinion of the Court in the case, was decided in conference November 27, 1869 (8 Wallace, 626), there being then eight Judges (the Chief Justice and seven Associates) on the bench, the lowest number to which the Court had been reduced. One of them, Justice Grier, resigned February 1, 1870. The judgment in *Hepburn vs. Griswold* was announced from the bench and entered February 7, 1870. Mr. Justice Strong was appointed February 18, 1870, and Mr. Justice Bradley March 21, 1870, and the order for the present [new] argument was made by, and the argument itself heard before, the Court of nine, as constituted by act of 10th April, 1869."* Both of the new Justices, Strong and Bradley, voted for the reversal. Judgment was rendered in December, 1870, when the *Hepburn vs. Griswold* decision was set aside by a majority of one. The new dictum of the Court was later quite generally accepted as not forced law, as in real accord with the meaning of the Constitution deeply and broadly viewed. We shall recur to the subject again in Chapter X., there arguing that the Court's conclusion was sound; but at the time not a few classed it with the *Dred Scott* decision, as a partisan and most dangerous attack upon our fundamental law. Said an eminent writer: "When public opinion has reached the point of tolerating such proceedings, paper constitutions may well be consigned to oblivion before they fall into contempt."

*8 Wallace, 528, note.

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In spite of all these grounds for criticism, partly solid and partly fanciful, so evidently did the rank and file of the party wish Grant to continue in the White House that his adversaries saw no hope of capturing the Republican convention. Most of them, therefore, allied themselves with the Liberals. The Democrats maintained a policy of "passivity," but long before their convention there were hints that they would accept the bolting Republican candidates as their own, should these not be too radically opposed to democratic ideas. With such aid the separatists expected to carry the country.

The convention of Come-outers assembled at Cincinnati on May 1st, and effected a permanent organization with Carl Schurz as chairman. Touching the South, the platform declared for general amnesty, local self-government, and the abolition of all military authority as superseding civil law. The suspension of *habeas corpus* it especially condemned. It denounced corruption in the civil service, and declared against a second term in the Presidency. It demanded a tariff which should not unnecessarily interfere with industry, advocated a speedy return to specie payments, and ended with a eulogy on the Union soldiers. Mr. Greeley was nominated for the Presidency on the sixth ballot. B. Gratz Brown, Governor of Missouri, received the nomination for Vice-President.

Grant's friends were not frightened. They pretended, rather, to regard the nomination as a huge joke. All conceded that Greeley was an honest man, yet he did not inspire confidence. He had a reputation for doing strange, compromising things. John Sherman thought him "probably the most unfit man for President, except Train, that had ever been mentioned." Many of the Liberals themselves did not fancy him. He was an ultra protectionist, while Schurz and other prominent anti-Administration Republicans leaned toward a revenue tariff. Greeley was understood to intend, in case of his election, to hold his tariff ideas in abeyance in deference to the preferences of his free-trader and low-tariff supporters.

GRANT AND GREELEY NOMINATED

This understanding did not conduce to men's respect for him. Sumner was for radical measures in the South, which most of the Liberals deprecated. It was Sumner who, in the Forty-second and Forty-third Congresses, so earnestly sought to pass the Supplementary Civil Rights Bill, with the aim of securing for the Southern negro social as well as political equality with the white man. It imposed heavy penalties on hotel-keepers, theatre and railway managers and others for conducting their businesses so as in any way to discriminate against the blacks. This bill readily passed the Senate whenever moved, but always failed in the House until March 1, 1875, when, a year after Sumner's death, it went upon the statute book—to be, by a Supreme Court decision October 3, 1883, declared unconstitutional and void.* Little as they agreed with one another, however, the majority of the seceders, wishing "anybody to beat Grant," accepted Greeley with no small heartiness.



ZEBULON B. VANCE

The Republican Convention met at Philadelphia on June 5th. The platform declared for civil service reform and complete equality in the enjoyment of all civil, political, and public rights throughout the Union, and uttered a somewhat ambiguous statement in regard to the relations of capital and labor. It upheld the President in his Southern policy, though maintaining that State governments should be permitted to function in the fullest degree practicable. The latest amnesty bill of Congress it approved, and it eulogized the President in the highest terms. The Convention exhibited no opposition to Grant, and he was renominated by acclamation. Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts, was given the second place on the ticket, defeating Colfax, who had incurred the enmity of several men influential in the party.

*109 U. S. Supreme Court Reports, 3.

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LYMAN TRUMBULL

Between the nomination of Grant and the Democratic Convention at Baltimore, over a month later, public attention was centred upon the attitude of the Democratic leaders to the candidacy of Greeley and Brown. That these nominees were not wholly acceptable to the Democracy there could be no doubt. Many of the party chiefs spoke of Greeley with open derision. Yet, as it was evident that if the

Liberal candidates did not receive Democratic endorsement all efforts against Grant would prove unavailing, the majority of the party was for Greeley at all hazards. Said ex-Governor Vance, of North Carolina: "If 'Old Grimes' is in the democratic hymn-book, we'll sing him through if it kills us." Accordingly, the Convention, which assembled at Baltimore July 9th, notwithstanding considerable opposition, accepted the Cincinnati candidates and platform, adjourning in some hope of victory. A few dissatisfied Democrats met at Louisville on September 3d and nominated Charles O'Connor for President and John Quincy Adams for Vice-President. Both gentlemen declined, but the nominations were left unchanged.

Greeley accepted the Baltimore nomination in a letter dated July 18th. In this he insisted on the "full enfranchisement" of all the white population at the South, and declared that henceforth Democracy and Republicanism would stand for one and the same idea, "equal rights, regardless of creed or clime or color." The entire effective force of the Democracy, South as well as North, rallied to the Greeley standard, joined, strangely, by Republicans and Abolitionists like Trumbull, of Illinois, Julian, of Indiana, Blair, of Michigan, Sedgwick, of New York, and Bird, of Massachusetts. General W. T. Sherman wrote from Paris to his brother, the Senator: "Of course I have watched the progress of political events from this standpoint, and feel amazed to see the turn things

BOTH CANDIDATES SEVERELY CRITICISED

have taken. Grant, who never was a Republican, is your candidate ; and Greeley, who never was a Democrat, but quite the reverse, is the Democratic candidate." The Senator replied : " As you say, the Republicans are running a Democrat, and the Democrats a Republican. And there is not an essential difference in the platform of principle. The chief interest I feel in the canvass is the preservation of the Republican party, which I think essential to secure the fair enforcement of the results of the war. General Grant has so managed things as to gain the very bitter and active hostility of many of the leading Republicans, and the personal indifference of most of the residue. He will, however, be fairly supported by the great mass of the Republicans, and I still hope and believe will be elected. The defections among Republicans will be made up by Democrats who will not vote for Greeley."

On June 30th George William Curtis wrote : " The best sentiment of the opposition is that both parties must be destroyed and Greeley's election is the way to destroy them. This is Schurz's ground, who likes Greeley as little as any of us. The argument seems to be, first chaos then cosmos. The *Nation* and the *Evening Post* in this dilemma take Grant as the least of evils. He has been foully slandered, and Sumner's speech [of May 31st—see page 75] was unpardonable. He was bitterly indignant at me—said that my course was unspeakable and inconsistent, and that I was bringing unspeakable woe upon my country. I could only reply, ' Sumner, you must learn that other men are as honest as you.' "

Much could be truly said in Greeley's favor. An editor opposed to his election declared " that he was a man of unimpeachable private life, just, charitable, generous ; that like many of our greatest statesmen he had raised himself by his own unaided exertions to a place of great power and distinction ; that though he had been all his life a politician he had never basely sought office and had never held office save once, and then very briefly ; that with all his errors his influence had

always been used in favor of every true reform as well as many that merely promised well; and that he was a thorough believer in American ideas and things."

Among Grant's critics the cooler argued about as follows: The war issues, they said, should be treated as settled; in its prosperity the party had become careless; the President was surrounded by unwise counsellors and influenced by unscrupulous men; under him the civil service had been debauched as never before, even in Jackson's time; if he should be re-elected things could not but go from bad to worse. Putting the very best possible construction upon his motives, they declared, it was obvious that Grant was dividing the party, and

therefore should no longer continue its official head. Some of the President's antagonists did not hesitate even to impugn his honesty. His advocacy of reform in the civil service they denominated "thin twaddle." He was charged with incorrigible nepotism. The fact that he had been given a house was deemed suspicious. The utmost was made of his incessant smoking and of his love for fast horses.



HENRY WILSON



B. GRATZ BROWN

"It is not a great draft upon the public purse," said one, "nor a creation of a dangerous family influence, when the President appoints a dozen or more of his relatives to office; but it is a bad example, and shows a low view of the presidential office. But far worse than this was the scandal of the President's brother-in-law at the capital following the profession of agent for claims against the Government, carrying

his family influence into the subordinate executive departments where such claims are judged, and actually—as he testified before a Congressional Committee—appealing cases

A CHOICE OF EVILS

from the departments to the President and appearing before him to argue them. In effect this was the sale of the President's influence against the ends of justice by his brother-in-law." This criticism was made by an able writer who, after all, preferred Grant to Greeley.

The President's thick and thin supporters pleaded that under his administration the public debt had been decreased, taxes lowered, the utmost honesty and economy introduced in public affairs, industry revived, and confidence restored. They alleged that the cause of the Cincinnati Convention was nothing but selfish discontent. The meeting, they said, had been controlled by scheming politicians and place-hunters, who knew that under Greeley they could have what they wished. If Grant was incompetent, it was asked, what would be the state of affairs should Greeley, who had hardly ever in his life held an office, and never an administrative office, be elected!

A very large class of Republicans admitted as true most that was put forth in criticism of the Administration, yet wished Grant elected. "Of Grant," said one of these Republicans, "we have some reason to think that we know the worst. It appears that he favors civil service reform at least as much as Mr. Greeley does. His relations are now, we believe, all comfortably provided for; gratified citizens have showered upon him as many gifts as he will probably care to receive." "Pitiful as it is to be compelled to choose one of two evidently unfit persons for the highest office in the nation, our preference would be for General Grant. . . Though of proved incapacity in civil government, he is still believed to be honest, cautious and steady, with a reserve of intellectual power and moral purpose which, in any coming crisis of our affairs, might be an invaluable aid to the country." This writer did not doubt that Grant was "stolid, barren of ideas, and below the intellectual level of Jackson, Taylor and Harrison," admitted that vast numbers of Republicans would vote for him merely as a choice of evils, and declared that his re-election could not

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

be taken for an unqualified approval of his administration. "Grant," he said, "conspicuously fails" in obvious desire for the people's good; "his presence inspires no enthusiasm; his pulse does not beat with the popular heart; he has the coldness of Washington without his lofty self-devotion."

As the conflict deepened feeling waxed painfully bitter and the meanest personal allusions were common. Greeley's supporters dubbed their candidate "Honest Old Horace;" the opposition, remembering his bail to Jefferson Davis, whom most abolitionists wished hung, called him "Old Bail-Bonds." "Grant beat Davis," they said, "Greeley bailed him." He was named "Horrors Greeley," and his homely manners were made the subject of innumerable jests. "Greeley"—so ran one relatively sober estimate—"Greeley, with his immense experience and acuteness, and philanthropic philosophy of life, is still unsteady, grotesque, obstinate and ridiculous—epithets never yet justly applicable, all at once, to a President of the United States." Cartoons, which played a great figure in this campaign, vastly exaggerated his corpulency. On the unfortunate B. Gratz Brown the stalwarts heaped the worst disgrace which a political candidate can receive, that of being ignored. His views and his record were never mentioned; only his bare name came



before the public. In every cartoon by Nast where Greeley was represented, a tag bearing the legend "and Gratz Brown," hung from his coat-tail. Carl Schurz and Whitelaw Reid, both fighting Greeleyites, were pictured with classical and pedantic features, eye-glasses big as tea-cups, and legs ten feet long.

Such coarseness was not confined to the supporters of the

A BITTER CAMPAIGN



Administration. The Greeley press made Grant call to his intimates to bid him good-by, as he sang :

“ My friends are gone to Chappaqua,
Oh, put me in my little bed.”

Chappaqua was Greeley's country residence. Greeley was dubbed “ Old Whitey ” for his coat and hat, his most unique habiliments, and the following doggerel was concocted, equally unique in its good humor :

“ Press where ye see my White Hat gleam amid the ranks of war,
And be your oriflamme this day the Coat of Chappaqua.”

On May 31st Sumner delivered a speech in which he applied to the President the following extract from a letter of Lord Durham to Henry Brougham : “ Among the foremost purposes ought to be the downfall of this odious, insulting, degrading, aide-de-campish, incapable dictatorship. At such a crisis, is this country to be left at the mercy of barrack councils and mess-room politics ? ”

If the disclosures and falsehoods about the Credit Mobilier, of which we shall give an account in the next Chapter, hurt the party in power, the revelations already made and still coming out concerning the Tweed Ring told against Greeley's cause. Tweed was of Tammany, and Tammany, now in the worst repute it had ever borne, threw to the breeze the Greeley flag. The question of Female Suffrage also plagued Mr. Greeley. The National Women's Suffrage Association met in New York May 9, 1872, and adopted resolutions strongly condemning him for his position in regard to their movement asseverating the right of women to vote under the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution.



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Nor was this all. As an uncompromising opponent of the Democracy, Greeley had during his editorial career wielded a terribly caustic pen. This fact much aggravated his new position. A cut in *Harper's Weekly* represented him in the act of eating uncomfortably hot soup from a dish bearing the inscription, "My own words and deeds." Greeley had said that the Democratic party would be better off if there were not a school-house in the country, and he had always represented that only people of the lowest sort naturally found their way to its ranks. Now, as "standard-bearer of the great Liberal movement," he had accepted the nomination of that very party. Against Greeley the arch-abolitionist, every fire-eater paper at the South had for twenty-five years been discharging its most venomous spleen. Once, before the war, a Northern sheet characterized the representative plantation lord as sighing :

"Oh for a nigger and oh for a whip,
Oh for a cocktail and oh for a nip,
Oh for a shot at Old Greeley and Beecher,
Oh for a whack at a Yankee school-teacher ;
And so he kept ohing for what he had not,
Not contented with owing for all he had got."

Now the quondam plantation lord was invited to the polls to vote for the "Old Greeley" aforesaid.

Numerous and weighty as were Grant's faults and Greeley's virtues, events or sentiments proved too strong for the bolting movement. Many for a time deluded themselves with the hope of its triumph, but as election day approached it became evident that Grant would receive an overwhelming majority in the electoral college. Most of those Republicans who at first disinclined to vote for Grant, hoping for a better man, determined, as the campaign advanced, to put up with the ills they had rather than fly to the unknown



CHARLES O'CONNOR

GREELEY'S DEATH



JOHN QUINCY ADAMS
In 1870

ones which they believed the promotion of Greeley sure to bring. As State after State declared for Republicanism during the late summer and fall, the shadows of defeat lengthened across Greeley's path. Finally he undertook a personal canvass, stumping New Hampshire and Maine in August, Pennsylvania and Ohio in September. From this campaign work he was called to the death-bed of his wife, over whose stricken form he watched with

the tenderest love and care until she passed away, a week before the election. His defeat at the polls was overwhelming. He carried but six States, all of them Southern. Grant's popular majority approached three-quarters of a million. Mr. Greeley was quite spent in body and mind by the terrible bitterness of the campaign, by the magnitude of his defeat, and most of all by his deep bereavement. Before his wife's death he had said to an intimate, "I am a broken old man. I have not slept one hour in twenty-four for a month. If she lasts, poor soul, another week, I shall go before her." For six weeks he did not enjoy a night of natural sleep. Malaria had already undermined his system, and on November 29th he succumbed, ere the shouts of the victors had died away. At once all laid aside thoughts of triumph, his bitterest enemies hastening to do honor to the memory of his noble character.

In the death of Horace Greeley the nation lost a citizen of sterling worth and deep patriotism. Opinionated, an idealist rather than a practitioner in his contention for right, he had been led into more than one quixotic error, laying himself open to attacks that left their sting. His judgments were often precipitate and unsound. June 29, 1862, he wrote to J. R. Giddings: "We are going to ruin. McClellan is certainly a fool, probably a traitor, and Halleck is no better. We are doomed." But every one now forgot the man's blunders

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and remembered only the purity and benevolence of his spirit. No one had ever impeached the honesty of his motives. It was the universal verdict that he had been a man of great soul and lofty devotion, not unworthy the title bestowed upon him by Whittier, of "The Modern Franklin."

As in duty bound, Congress, on February 12, 1873, counted the electoral vote. When the State of Georgia was reached, Mr. Beck, of Kentucky, announced three of the votes of that State for Greeley. The House voting to reject these, since the candidate was dead at the time they were cast, and the Senate voting to receive them, they were thrown out under the Twenty-second Joint Rule, then in force. Upon different objections, but under the same rule, the votes of Arkansas and Louisiana were also rejected. Had Greeley lived he would probably have received sixty electoral votes.

Grant was inaugurated March 4, 1873. In his inaugural address he declared strongly for the establishment of the negroes' civil rights. He maintained that no executive control was exercised in the Southern States which would not be had in others under similar circumstances. He favored the extension of the country's territorial domains, pledging himself to the restoration, so far as possible, of good feeling, and to the establishment of the currency on a solid basis. He urged the construction of cheaper inland routes for travel and trade, and also the re-establishment of our foreign commerce.

The campaign of 1872 naturally sweetened Sumner's temper toward the Southern people. In a letter to the colored voters of the United States, dated July 29, 1872, he said: "Pile up the ashes, extinguish the flame, abolish the hate—such is my desire." In accordance with this sentiment he introduced in the Senate a bill providing that the names of battles against citizens of the United States while in rebellion should not be continued in the army register or placed on the colors of regiments. This failed to pass, but an act did pass which happily reduced to some extent the rancor felt by the

REPUBLICAN POLICY AT THE SOUTH

South against the North. It removed political disabilities from all citizens of the late Confederacy, except Senators and Representatives in the Thirty-sixth and Thirty-seventh Congresses, officers in the judicial, military and naval service, and heads of departments and foreign ministers of the United States. This act was approved May 22, 1872. However, the Republican programme for governing the Southern States was as yet by no means essentially altered.



HENRY CLAY
WARMOTH

Congressional discussions over race difficulties were renewed with some bitterness when, in May, 1872, a bill was brought before Congress, extending to all election precincts the act of 1871, whereby Federal Supervisors could be appointed in towns of over 20,000 inhabitants. It passed the Senate without great difficulty. In the House it was strenuously opposed, its enemies dubbing it "election by bayonet." It finally passed the House also, June 8th, as an amendment to an appropriation bill.

During the second session of the Forty-second Congress, there was more or less race trouble in the South, and the anti-Administration forces took occasion to reflect anew on the President's policy under the Force Act. On January 25, 1873, the House passed a resolution requesting the President to inform Congress touching the condition of South Carolina, in which State, under the authority of the act of April 20, 1871, he had suspended the writ of *habeas corpus*. The citizens of the State also made a request for a statement of the Government's policy in prosecutions under that act. The reply stated that the Executive was disposed, except in grave cases, to show great



P. B. S. PINCHBACK

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clemency and to discontinue prosecutions against violators of the law.

The election of November, 1870, gave Louisiana to the Republicans by a substantial majority, but almost immediately the party began to break up into factions. Governor Warmoth was opposed by leading federal officers, who succeeded in gaining control of the Republican State convention. With the assembling of the Legislature in January, 1872, the situation assumed a grave character. On the death of Lieutenant-Governor Dunn, in November of the previous year, P. B. S. Pinchback, a colored adherent of Warmoth, had been elected President of the Senate, but the Administration leaders declared his election illegal. In the House, Speaker Carter, an anti-Warmoth man, was antagonized by Warmoth's friends. After a bitter struggle, during which Warmoth and a number of his supporters were arrested by the Federal authorities, Carter was deposed. A congressional committee investigated the quarrel, but could not quiet it, and the politics of Louisiana continued in an inflamed condition.

Estrangement soon arose between Governor Warmoth and Pinchback, Warmoth heading the Liberal Republican movement in the State. After much manœuvring the Liberals united with the Democratic and "Reform" parties in a fusion ticket headed by John McEnery, with an electoral ticket supporting Greeley and Brown. The Pinchback faction united with the Grant party, nominating W. P. Kellogg for Governor and Pinchback for Congressman-at-large. There can be little doubt that McEnery was elected by a large majority.

The returns of the election were to be submitted to the State Returning Board. At the time of the election the Board consisted of Governor Warmoth, Lieut.-Gov. Pinchback, Secretary of State Herron, John Lynch, and T. C. Anderson. When this board met, Pinchback and Anderson being candidates for office at this election whose result was to be determined, were declared incapable of serving. The Governor



THE DISPERSAL OF THE McENERY LEGISLATURE AT ODD FELLOWS' HALL,
NEW ORLEANS

On March 6th, 1873, a body of Metropolitan Police, under orders from General Longstreet, the Commander of the Kellogg militia, marched to Odd Fellows' Hall, where the McEnery Legislature was in session, and arrested the only five members who refused to disperse or to leave the building.

FORCE AND ANARCHY IN LOUISIANA

supplanted Herron with a more trusty friend, and proceeded to fill the other two vacancies. In like manner, Lynch and Herron, professing to be the true board, supplied their own lack in numbers. In December, the Supreme Court of the State declared Herron an intruder into the office of Secretary of State, thus demolishing the Lynch and Herron board, while Federal Circuit Judge E. H. Durell, in answer to Kellogg's prayer, enjoined Warmoth's board from acting. Meantime a legislative act, duly passed and approved, ousted both boards and provided for a new one. This being speedily organized, the returns were canvassed and McEnery was declared elected Governor by a majority of 7,000.

Kellogg's prospects now seemed desperate, but they did not prove to be so. On the night of December 5th, "in his own chambers, without any previous motion in Court," Justice Durell drew up and issued to the United States Marshal, Packard, the following: "It is hereby ordered, that the Marshal of the United States for the District of Louisiana shall forthwith take possession of the building known as the Mechanics' Institute and occupied as the State-house, for the assembling of the Legislature therein, in the city of New Orleans, and hold the same subject to the further order of the Court; and meanwhile to prevent all unlawful assemblage therein under the guise or pretext of authority claimed by virtue of pretended canvass and returns made by said pretended returning officers in contempt and violation of said restraining order; but the Marshal is directed to allow the ingress and egress to and from the public offices in said building, of persons entitled to the same."

This mandate, void in point of law, was efficient, and next morning, obeying the Marshal's order, Captain Jackson, with United States soldiers, began a six weeks' occupation of the State-house. Collector of the Port, Casey, telegraphed the President: "Marshal Packard took possession of State-house this morning, at an early hour, with military

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posse, in obedience to a mandate of Circuit Court, to prevent illegal assemblage of persons under guise of authority of Warmoth's returning board, in violation of injunction of Circuit Court. . . The decree was sweeping in its provisions, and if enforced will save the Republican majority and give Louisiana a Republican Legislature and State government."

The same day the Lynch board met and, though without the returns, elected Kellogg Governor by 19,000 majority. They then proceeded by the very easy and summary method set forth in the following bit of testimony, to create a Republican legislature in place of the legal body:

By Mr. Carpenter. Q. "You estimated it, then, upon the basis of what you thought the vote ought to have been?"

By Lynch. A. "Yes, sir. That was just the fact, and I think, on the whole, we were pretty correct."

This Legislature at once impeached Warmoth, thus making Pinchback Governor for the unexpired term. The Court again aided, enjoining all not named on the Lynch list from claiming office, and enjoining Warmoth from interfering with the organization of the Lynch Legislature.

On December 11, 1872, Pinchback telegraphed the Attorney-General at Washington: "May I suggest that the commanding general be authorized to furnish troops upon my requisition upon him, for the protection of the Legislature and the gubernatorial office?" Kellogg, the heir apparent, also telegraphed: "If the President in some way indicates recognition, Governor Pinchback and Legislature would settle everything." Collector Casey co-operated: "The delay in placing troops at disposal of Governor Pinchback, in accordance with joint resolution, is disheartening our friends and cheering our enemies. If requisition of Legislature is complied with, all difficulty will be dissipated, the party saved, . . and the tide will be turned at once in our favor"

Next day, the 12th, Attorney-General Williams responded: "Acting-Governor Pinchback, New Orleans, Loui-

FORCE AND ANARCHY IN LOUISIANA

siana: Let it be understood that you are recognized by the President as the lawful executive of Louisiana, and that the body assembled at Mechanics' Institute is the lawful Legislature of the State; and it is suggested that you make proclamation to that effect, and also that all necessary assistance will be given to you and the Legislature herein recognized to protect the State from disorder and violence."

In answer to a telegram from McEnery, begging for delay till a committee of citizens could lay the facts before the Executive, came the following: "Hon John McEnery. Your visit with a hundred citizens will be unavailing, so far as the President is concerned. His decision is made and will not be changed, and the sooner it is acquiesced in the sooner good order and peace will be restored. Geo. H. Williams, Attorney-General." Finally this: "Washington, December 14, 1872. General W. H. Emory, U. S. A., Commanding, New Orleans, Louisiana. You may use all necessary force to preserve the peace, and will recognize the authority of Governor Pinchback. By order of the President: E. D. Townsend, Adjutant-General."

On January 7, 1873, the day appointed for the assembling of the Legislature, both the opposing bodies began operations "*inter arma*." A week later both Kellogg and McEnery took the oath of office. President Grant supported the Pinchback claimants with federal troops. The House of Representatives instructed its Committee on Privileges and Elections to inquire into the dispute. A report was made February 20, 1873, which condemned federal interference. The committee found that McEnery was *de jure* entitled to the governorship, but that Kellogg, supported by the army, was *de facto* Governor. The committee recommended the passage of an act "to secure an honest re-election" in Louisiana. The recommendation was not adopted and anarchy, in effect, followed.

CHAPTER IV

THE GENEVA AWARD AND THE CREDIT MOBILIER

OUTCOME OF THE WASHINGTON TREATY.—THE "ALABAMA CLAIMS."—VAIN EFFORTS AT SETTLEMENT.—THE GENEVA TRIBUNAL.—RULES FOR ITS GUIDANCE.—QUESTIONS ANSWERED BY IT.—ITS DECISION.—THE NORTHWESTERN BOUNDARY SETTLEMENT.—THE CREDIT MOBILIER STORY.—ENTHUSIASM FOR THE WEST.—VASTNESS OF THAT SECTION.—THE RUSH THITHER.—THE PIONEERS.—LAND-GRABBING.—GRANTS FOR TRANSCONTINENTAL RAILWAYS.—INCEPTION OF THE UNION PACIFIC COMPANY.—THE CREDIT MOBILIER COMPANY.—OAKES AMES AND HIS CONTRACT.—STOCK SOLD TO CONGRESSMEN.—THE "SUN'S" PUBLICATION.—THE FACTS.—AMES'S DEFENSE.—CENSURE OF HIM BY THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES.—HIS DEATH.—REASONS FOR THE SENTIMENT AGAINST HIM.

NOTHING aided President Grant and his party in their 1872 campaign more than the honorable outcome which the Treaty of Washington had in the Geneva Award and the northwestern boundary settlement, both seasonably made known to the world in 1872. The Award related to the famous *Alabama* Claims, and meant that these, or the most important of them, must be paid us by Great Britain. Chief credit for such happy result was due to Hon. Hamilton Fish, Grant's Secretary of State, yet naturally and justly, the Administration as a whole profited by his triumphant diplomacy.

The claims usually denominated "*Alabama*" claims were partly national or, less accurately, "indirect," and partly individual or direct. The national claims were for destruction of United States commerce or its transfer to other flags occasioned by Confederate privateers fitted out wholly or partly in

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Great Britain, and for enhanced marine insurance and increased cost of the war in life and treasure due to the same cause. The individual or direct claims were for damages through certain specific acts of depredation by Confederate war-vessels, notably the *Alabama*, the *Florida*, and the *Shenandoab*.

In spite of repeated warnings from Hon. Charles Francis Adams, then United States Minister to Great Britain, the Queen's Government had suffered the *Florida*, originally called the *Oreto*, and ostensibly destined for Palermo, Sicily, to be built at Liverpool in 1862, and to receive, at Green Bay, near Nassau, arms and munitions from another vessel. The *Florida* was indeed seized, but soon released. Adams's suspicions were shortly directed against another vessel building at Liverpool, called "the 290," from the number of merchants who contributed to her construction, but later and better known as the *Alabama*. His suspicions were confirmed by evidence which distinguished British counsel declared "almost conclusive," sufficient to impose a "heavy responsibility" upon the collector of customs "if he failed to detain her." Easily dodging the half-hearted reach that was made for her, "the 290" went forth upon her career of devastation, continuing it until she was sunk by the *Kearsage*. The *Shenandoab* cleared from Liverpool as a merchant vessel, the *Sea King*, and when, in November, 1865, she took in supplies and enlisted men at Melbourne, English liability for her acts became definitely fixed. Claims of a less conclusive nature were made on account of the acts of ten other Confederate privateers.

Mr. Adams left England in 1868 without having obtained any satisfaction of these claims. His successor, Hon. Reverdy Johnson, was upon his arrival in London much dined and wined. He made effusive speeches, judging from which one would think that in his view Great Britain could do no wrong. Secretary Seward, too, had a warm regard for England, and was moreover anxious to settle the difficulty before leaving office. But the Johnson-Clarendon Treaty, the off-

THE "ALABAMA CLAIMS"



The Florida

The Shenandoah

The Alabama, or 200

THREE FAMOUS CONFEDERATE CRUISERS

*The Shenandoah is from a photograph of a drawing owned by John T. Mason, Esq.
The other two are from photographs owned by John M. Kell, Esq.*

spring of this cordial policy, was, in the spring of 1869, unceremoniously drummed out of the Senate to the music of Charles Sumner's famous speech, which, as one paper put it, "set almost all Americans to swinging their hats for eight or nine days, and made every Englishman double up his fists and curse every time he thought of it for several weeks."

That treaty contained not a word of regret for England's unfriendly posture during the war, or the slightest confession of fault. It ignored the national claims of the United States, while its language with regard to British citizens' claims against the United States, whatever was intended by it, was so catholic that when the text of the treaty became known Confederate bonds in England rose from their tomb with ten per cent. of their original vitality about them.

On becoming President, Grant recalled Johnson and sent to succeed him John Lothrop Motley, a firm friend of Sumner's, sharing Sumner's extreme views upon the British question. But the policy of the new Administration was not so radical as Sumner's. It laid little stress upon the recognition of belligerency as a ground for damage, and left Great Britain to take the initiative in coming to an understanding. Like Sumner, Mr. Motley wished to insist upon damages for Eng-

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CHARLES SUMNER

land's premature recognition of the Confederates as belligerents. He, too, was soon removed.

At the instance of England, a joint High Commission was speedily appointed to sit in Washington. The Treaty of Washington, drawn up by this Commission and proclaimed on July 4, 1871, provided for an adjustment of all outstanding differences between the countries touching the fisheries, the north-western boundary, and the claims of citizens of either government against the other for acts committed during the Civil War. The Treaty further provided "for the reciprocal free navigation of certain rivers, including the St. Lawrence, for the common use of certain Canadian and American canals, and for reciprocal free transit across the territories of the United States or Canada; these provisions to be enforced by appropriate legislation, to be binding for ten years, and terminable thereafter on two years' notice." In all its articles together the Treaty engaged the co-operation of no fewer than eight sovereign States. The *Alabama* claims it referred to a Tribunal of Arbitration, consisting of one arbitrator from each of the high contracting parties and one each appointed by the executives of Italy, Switzerland, and Brazil. Count Sclopis was the Italian arbitrator, Mr. Jacques Staempfli the Swiss, and Baron Itajuba the Brazilian. The tribunal met at Geneva, December 15, 1871, but, as we have observed, did not render its decision until the succeeding year.

The Treaty of Washington had laid down for the guidance of the tribunal three rules, which form such an important contribution to international law that they deserve quotation in full :

" A neutral government is bound,

RULES FOR GUIDANCE OF GENEVA TRIBUNAL

“First: To use due diligence to prevent the fitting out, arming or equipping, within its jurisdiction, of any vessel which it has reasonable ground to believe is intended to cruise or to carry on war against a power with which it is at peace; and also to use like diligence to prevent the departure from its jurisdiction of any vessel intended to cruise or carry on war as above, such vessel having been specially adapted, in whole or in part, within such jurisdiction, to warlike use.

“Secondly: Not to permit or suffer either belligerent to make use of its ports or waters as the base of naval operations against the other, or for the purpose of the renewal or augmentation of military supplies or arms, or the recruitment of men.

“Thirdly: To exercise due diligence in its own ports and waters, and, as to all persons within its jurisdiction, to prevent any violation of the foregoing obligations and duties.”

In the text of the Treaty of Washington Great Britain denied that these rules were a true statement of the principles of international law as that law stood during the American Civil War, but consented that the *Alabama* Claims should be decided in accordance with them notwithstanding. Both countries agreed to abide by these principles in future, and to invite other maritime powers to do the same.

Question being raised as to the interpretation of certain terms and the scope of certain provisions in the three rules, the tribunal made the following preliminary decisions:

1. The meaning of “due diligence.” The tribunal took the ground that what constitutes “due diligence” varies with the circumstances of the case. The greater the probable damage to either belligerent, the greater must be the care taken by the neutral government to prevent the escape of cruisers from its ports.

2. Should a neutral detain an escaped cruiser when it re-enters the neutral’s jurisdiction, the cruiser having in the meantime been regularly commissioned by its government?

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The arbitrators decided that the neutral had a right to detain such a cruiser, in spite of its commission, but was under no positive obligation to do so.

3. Does a neutral's responsibility end with the enforcement of its local laws to prevent the escape of cruisers, even if those laws are inadequate? Decision was given that the case must be determined by international law and not by national legislation. If a country's regulations for carrying out its acknowledged international duties are ineffective, they ought to be changed.

Though these decisions touching the law of nations were of world-wide significance, the verdict on the facts in the case had a more immediate interest for the American people. Indirect claims the tribunal dismissed, and it made no award for the expense of pursuing Confederate cruisers, or for any prospective earnings which ships lost through them. But, for Great Britain's negligence in failing to prevent the equipment, arming, and provisioning of the Confederate privateers, the gross sum of \$15,500,000 was awarded the United States. Sir Alexander Cockburn, the English "arbitrator," was the only one to take this decree with ill grace. On the announcement of it he seized his hat and left the room without so much as an adieu, getting "leave to print" with the record of the proceedings a choleric document known as his "Opinions."

The dispute as to our northwestern boundary was also decided in our favor during 1872. By a treaty of 1846 the boundary line between the United States and British America was run westward along the 49th parallel "to the middle of the channel which separates the continent from Vancouver's Island, thence southerly through the middle of the said channel and of Fuca's Strait, to the Pacific Ocean." Should "the middle" referred to be interpreted as passing through the Strait of Rosario, on the side next Washington Territory, or through the Canal de Haro, on the Vancouver side of the archipelago there? Should those islands be looped into the

Charles Francis
Adams

Jacques
Staempfli
Count
Sclopis
M. Favrot, Secretary

Baron
Itajuba

Sir Alexander
Cockburn



COUNT SCLOPIS ANNOUNCING THE DECISION OF THE GENEVA TRIBUNAL

["Sir Alexander Cockburn . . . left the room without so much as an adieu."]

Painted by W. R. Leigh from photographs and diagrams loaned by J. C. Bancroft Davis, Esq.

ENTHUSIASM FOR THE WEST

territory of Uncle Sam, or given to John Bull? This question the Treaty of Washington referred to Emperor William I., of Germany.

The historian Bancroft, the only surviving statesman save one concerned in negotiating the 1846 treaty, argued our claims in this matter, and on October 21, 1872, had the satisfaction of seeing his plea crowned by a favorable decision. "The award," said President Grant, "leaves us for the first time in the history of the United States as a nation, without a question of disputed boundary between our territory and the possessions of Great Britain." It was a proud result for the President, and assisted not a little in his re-election.

While the consequences of the memorable Treaty of Washington were favorable to the party in power, another revelation of the campaign had much influence in the opposite direction. In August, 1872, when the excitement of the Presidential strife was already high, the New York *Sun* published a story which added fresh fuel to the political fires already raging, and promised to generate much steam to propel the Greeley movement. It related to the Credit Mobilier operations in constructing the Union Pacific Railway. If true, the facts said to exist involved in corruption the Speaker of the House, the Vice-President, the Republican nominee for the vice-presidency, the Secretary of the Treasury, and others high in political life.

Enthusiasm for the Great West kindled again after the war and became a mania. The climate and soil of the region had been persistently misrepresented by the Hudson Bay Company, by Great Britain its successor in title, by influential Southerners jealous of the North, and by numerous exploring parties. The "Great American Desert" was a dragon of which numberless horrors were related. So early as 1850 it had been outflanked by way of the Horn and threatened from the Pacific Coast, but not till after the war, when Southern influence was withdrawn, was it transfixed by any avenue of general travel or trade.

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

The United States west of the Mississippi, leaving out Texas, Minnesota, and California, naturally broke up as follows: (1) The Arkansas District, embracing Arkansas, most of Indian Territory and a portion of Missouri. Here were bottoms of Egyptian fertility and warmth, subject to heavy rainfall, in parts forest-covered. Beyond the Ozarks was a colder and dryer plateau. (2) The Lower Missouri Valley, including nearly the whole State of Missouri, also western Iowa and part of Kansas and Nebraska. This was opened to settlement earlier than (1) and was the sooner populated. The rainfall and temperature here were suited to all northern crops, and the land was nearly level. (3) The Upper Missouri Valley, practically coinciding with North and South Dakota. This tract was higher, dryer and much colder than (2). Fortunately, where it was cold, surface coal was to be had for the digging, and where arid, the earth beneath seemed a vast subterranean sponge, rendering artesian wells a successful means of irrigation. This district was unwooded. (4) The Cordilleran Plateau, extending from 100° W. long.,



Lord Tenterden

Mountague Bernard

Sir Alexander Cockburn

Sir Roundell Palmer

THE ENGLISH REPRESENTATIVES AT GENEVA

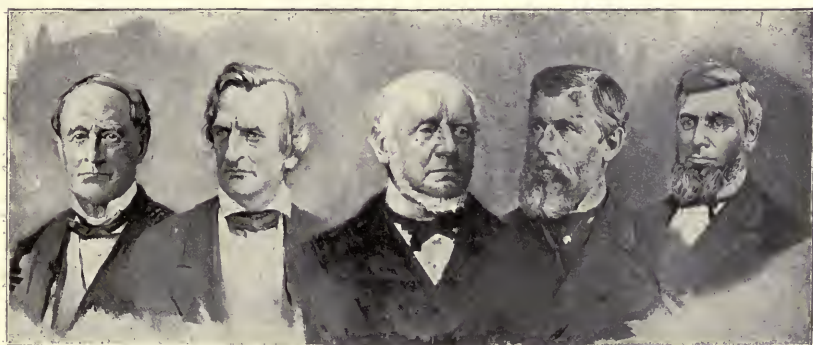
westward to the Rocky Mountains, and from near the Canadian border to the Rio Grande. This vast area was too arid for the plow. Formerly a buffalo range, it has become a great cattle pasture, and is apparently destined to continue such.

THE RUSH TO THE WEST

(5) The Mountain Region, in width from 500 miles at the north and south to 1,000 in the middle, composed of basins more or less extensive, enclosed by sharp and high ridges. Irrigation made some farming possible here, but the mineral wealth was immense and mining became the main industry.

(6) The Northwestern Country, comprising parts of Wyoming, Idaho, Montana, and the States of Washington and Oregon. Here timber was plentiful and farming profitable. On the Pacific Slope from 50 to 200 cords of wood per acre could be cut, and all ordinary crops and fruits save grapes succeeded.

The settler's way to this Promised Land was in some measure made smooth between 1860 and 1870. Arizona, Colorado, Dakota, Idaho, Montana and Wyoming had been organized as territories; Kansas, Nebraska and Nevada had been admitted to statehood. The status of the West when the rush commenced we set forth in Chapter I. Enormous companies came to the Red River Valley, to Colorado, where raged a mining furor second only to that witnessed by Cali-



Caleb Cushing William M. Evarts Charles Francis Adams J. C. Bancroft Davis Morrison R. Waite
THE AMERICAN REPRESENTATIVES AT GENEVA

fornia in '49, to Utah, and to the Slope. People pressed along all river courses, especially up and down the valley of the Columbia. Montana received a farming quota. Helena, whose main street was the Last Chance Gulch, was destined,

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

unlike its compeer, Virginia City, to survive and thrive even when the Last Chance Gulch should become a reminiscence. From California and Colorado the Territory caught the gambling spirit. It was said that two Montana mining millionaires were one evening contributing red, white and blue wafers to a goodly pile on the table between them, which in due time was "raked in." As they were about to proceed to a new deal, an Eastern stranger approached, threw down a hundred dollar bill and said: "Gentlemen, I would like to join you. There's the money for some chips." Whereupon one of the players told "Sam," the banker, to "take the gentleman's money and give him a white chip."

Many of the Western pioneers were rough fellows, some of them desperadoes. The orderly population which came later brought the bad element under control, at first by vigilance committees, then by law and order methods, though the pistol long had much to do in keeping as well as in breaking the civil peace. Visitors were early struck with the very considerable culture of the people and by the many articles of comfort and even luxury in those Western towns of a day. Newspapers were common from the first. Asked how a town of a few thousand could support four dailies, a resident replied, "Why, stranger, it takes all those dailies to support the town." "Booming" became a fine art. "No Other Land," said one sheet, "No Other Clime On Top of God's Green Earth, Where Land is Free as Church Bells' Chime, Save the Land of Dakota Dirt. Here For a Year of Honest Toil a Home You May Insure, and From the Black and Loamy Soil a Title in Fee Mature. No Money Needed Until the Day When the Earth Provides; Until You Raise a Crop, no Pay :—What Can You Ask Besides?"

Nevada received an overflow from the West—from California. Here and there, slowly transforming the desert into an empire, were scattered still other pools and lakes of humanity. Not the least important of these was the Black Hills settlement.



U. S. GRANT

From a photograph by Walker, June 2, 1875. General Grant shaved his beard on purpose, the picture being for use in cutting a cameo. Only two copies each of the two views, showing right and left profile, were printed.

LAND GRABBING



GEORGE BANCROFT
*After a photograph in the
historical collection of H.
W. Fay.*

The rumor of "Gold in the Black Hills" grew rife in 1874, and the soldiers were in straits to dam the tide of prospectors till a treaty of cession could be obtained to extinguish the Sioux title. "All same old story," said a warrior. "White men come, build chu-chu through reservation. White men yawpy-yawpy. Say, 'Good Indian, good Indian; we want land. We give muz-es-kow (money), liliota muz-es-kow (plenty money).' Indian say, 'Yes.' What Indian get? Wah-nee-che (nothing). Some day white man want move Indian. White men yawpy-yawpy. 'Good Indian, good Indian; give good Indian liliota muz-es-kow.' What Indian get? Wah-nee-chee. Some day white man want half big reservation. He come Indian. Yawpy-yawpy: 'Good Indian; we give Indian liliota muz-es-kow.' Indian heap fool. He say, 'Yes.' What Indian get? Wah-nee-chee. All same old story. 'Good Indian, good Indian.' Get nothing!"*

In one way and another speculators seized upon choice slices of the public domain. Often the alternate quarter-sections belonging to a railroad would be bought up, and the other quarter-sections—government land—secured in due time through "dummies" located for the purpose. One Montana land shark gave a series of balls and dinners at a country house, inviting a large number of ladies, and accompanying every invitation with a promise of a \$100 present. At each festival, in the midst of the whirl, each guest signed a claim to a homesteader's rights in the adjoining lands. When the "claims" were "proved up" each lady received her \$100 and the authors of the scheme got land enough for a dukedom. As many such marches depended upon irrigation for their value, "grabs" for "water-rights" early began.

*"Our Great West," by Julian Ralph.

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

“We who are on the ground,” said an enterprising Montanian, “are going to get whatever there is lying around. You don’t suppose we are going to let a parcel of strangers pre-empt the water-rights so that we must pay taxes to them? No; we prefer to let them pay the taxes to us.” A very reasonable preference.

Queer land laws and railroad bonuses made possible bonanza farming on an enormous scale. In the course of years farming of this sort raised up bands of nomadic farm-hands, who, beginning at the South, worked northward with the advancing season till the ripened year found them beyond the Canada border. There were also companies of sheep-shearing specialists, who

usually made two rounds a year, passing their winters riotously in the towns and cities. The great cattle-ranges were traversed by still other nomads, the “cow-boys,” in bands known as “trails,” traveling about a day apart, each “trail” with its camp equipage

and relay of broncos. Texas cattle would be driven northward to fatten upon the Montanian “Bad Lands” as a preparation for their final journey to Chicago.

Some traits in the foregoing sketch anticipate a little, yet enough of it was true so early as the end of the war to assure a few that the West was to have an enormous development. Two transcontinental railways were planned, one to cross the



THE NORTHWEST WATER BOUNDARY

GRANTS FOR TRANSCONTINENTAL RAILWAYS

“Great Desert,” the other to round its northern end, both to be equipped as soon as possible with branch and connecting lines. The more southerly, the Union and Central Pacific, had the advantage of earlier completion and a more developed western terminus; but the Northern Pacific could cross the Cordilleras at a lower level and need traverse no desert. Both enterprises were unstintedly favored by grants of public land.* This policy was widely condemned, but also vigorously defended.

In 1871 a competent writer discussing the grant to the Northern Pacific declared it self-evident that as a result of the opening of this region the Government would get ample returns for its liberality. It was more than a royal subsidy by which it had secured the construction of that great highway. It had given therefor 50,000,000 acres of land, an area larger than many kingdoms, worth, if sold at the average price of the Minnesota school lands, \$350,000,000; if sold like the lands of the Illinois Central Railroad, \$550,000,000. Mr. Wilson, for many years Commissioner of the Land Department of the Illinois Central Railroad, comparing this grant with the Illinois Central Railroad grant, thought it a small estimate to say that if properly managed the Northern Pacific's land would build the entire road connecting the then terminus of the Grand Trunk through to Puget Sound, the head of navigation on the Columbia, fit out an entire fleet of sailing vessels and steamers for the China, East Indian and coasting trade, and leave a surplus that would roll up to millions. He deemed the probable value of the grant \$990,000,000, its possible value \$1,320,000,000. The Government gained no popularity by a gift so vast. At the Jay Cooke & Co. failure in 1873 a large part of these lands passed to creditors of the road, one of the circumstances which contributed to make bonanza farming so marked a feature in parts of the West.

*In all the Union Pacific received 13,000,100 acres, the Central Pacific, 12,100,100; the Northern Pacific, 47,000,000; the Kansas Pacific, 6,000,000; the Atlantic and Pacific, 42,000,000; the Southern Pacific, 9,520,000. The first transcontinental lines also got subsidies exceeding \$60,000,000.

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

In July, 1862, Congress created the Union Pacific Railway Company to build a railroad from the Missouri River to the Pacific Ocean, fixing at \$1,000,000,000 the amount of its stock, loaning it a vast sum in government bonds, endowing it with an enormous amount of land along the route, and allowing it till 1876 to complete the enterprise. The shares sold slowly, and it was soon clear that unless Congress gave better terms the undertaking would fail. Accordingly a more liberal act was passed. Even this did not put the road in a way to completion. Contractors, several of whom were besought to do so, hesitated to undertake the building of such a line or any part of it, and but eleven miles of the construction were accomplished up to September, 1865. Most believed either that the road could not be built or that it would never pay.

In March, 1865, the Credit Mobilier of America, a company organized by the Pennsylvania Legislature in 1859 as the "Pennsylvania Fiscal Agency," and in its new form soon amply equipped with capital, contracted with the Union Pacific to go forward with the construction. Two hundred and forty-seven miles of road were thus built, carrying the line to the one-hundredth meridian. Then arose trouble within the Credit Mobilier Company. T. C. Durant, President of this and Vice-President of the Union Pacific, wished the Mobilier to realize at once all possible profits out of the construction, while his opponents, New England parties, believing that the road would pay, were inclined to deal honestly with it, expecting their profits as corporators in the Mobilier to come from the appreciation of the Union Pacific stock, in which, to a great extent, the Mobilier was paid for its work. This party sought to eject Durant from the Mobilier management, and at length did so; but his power in the railway corporation was sufficient to prevent the Mobilier as such from getting a further contract. After much contention, during which the Mobilier was on the verge of failing, Durant consented that Oakes

UNION PACIFIC STOCK SOLD TO CONGRESSMEN

Ames might take a contract to push the construction of the road. Mr. Ames was at the time a Mobilier stockholder and a representative in Congress from Massachusetts.

Ames's contract was dated August 16, 1867, but on the 15th of the next October he made it over to seven trustees, who took Ames's place as contractor. They did all the things which he had agreed to do, and were remunerated just as he was to be. The trustees bound themselves to pay over all the profits of their contract to the Mobilier stockholders in the proportions in which these severally held stock at the date of their contract. This arrangement was fully carried out and the road finished under it. It was an adroit way of circumventing Durant and enabling the Mobilier to build the road in spite of him.

During 1867 and 1868 Ames sold shares of Credit Mobilier stock to many members of Congress. He gave away none, but in a number of cases payment was considerably subsequent to sale. Though worth much more, every share was sold for par and interest, just what it cost Ames himself.

Colonel H. S. McComb, of Delaware, in virtue of a subscription that he said he had made for a friend, claimed of Ames \$25,000 in Mobilier stock which he alleged had never been received. Letters passed back and forth between McComb and Ames, in one of which Ames, a blunt, outspoken



EMPEROR WILLIAM I. OF GERMANY

man, declared that he had placed the stock with influential gentlemen (naming several Congressmen) "where it would do the most good." Press and public eagerly took up this phrase. Soon it was in every mouth, all placing upon it the worst construction which the words could bear. McComb pressed his suit and at last the letters were published. The *New York Sun* of September 4, 1872, in the very heat of the Greeley campaign, came out with the heading: "The King of Frauds; How the Credit Mobilier bought its Way through Congress;" stating that Ames had distributed in bribes thirty thousand shares of the stock, worth nine millions of dollars. The scandal ran through the country like wildfire, the allegations being very generally believed, as they probably are still.

But we now know that they comprised partly gross fabrications and partly gross exaggerations. Mr. Ames's motive was laudable—the completion of a great national work, which has long since paid the country many times its cost. He knew that the Pacific Railway had bitter enemies in Congress and outside, most of them not public-spirited, but the blackmailer servants of Durant, who stood ready, should opportunity offer, to work its ruin. He wished to be fortified. His method certainly carried him to the verge of propriety, and perhaps beyond; but, everything considered, the evidence shows little ground for the peculiar execration visited upon him. The Poland Committee of the House, reporting on February 18, 1873, declared that Ames had acted with "intent to influence the votes of members." In the sense that he sought to interest men in the enterprise and to prevent them from sacrificing it through apathy or spite, this was probably true. That it was true in any other sense is at least not proved.

"These, then, are my offences," said Ames, in his defence; "that I have risked reputation, fortune, everything, in an enterprise of incalculable moment to the Government, from which the capital of the world shrank; that I have sought to strengthen the work thus rashly undertaken by invoking the

OAKES AMES'S DEFENCE

charitable judgment of the public upon its obstacles and embarrassments ; that I have had friends, some of them in official life, with whom I have been willing to share advantageous opportunities for investments ; that I have kept to the truth through good and evil report, denying nothing, concealing nothing, reserving nothing. Who will say that I alone am to be offered up a sacrifice to appease a public clamor or expiate the sins of others ? Not until such an offering is made will I believe it possible. But if this body shall so order that it can best be purified by the choice of a single victim, I shall accept its mandate, appealing with unflinching confidence to the impartial verdict of history for that vindication which it is proposed to deny me here."



OAKES AMES

The committee recommended his expulsion. "It was useless to point out that no act was before Congress at the time of the alleged bribery, or before or after it, for which Ames was seeking votes. No person whom he had bribed or sought to bribe was produced. Nor was any object he had attempted to accomplish suggested." Hon. B. F. Boyer, one of those who received stock, testified :

"I had no idea of wrong in the matter. Nor do I now see how it concerns the public. No one connected with either the Credit Mobilier or the Union Pacific Railroad ever directly or indirectly expressed, or in any way hinted, that my services as a member of Congress were expected in behalf of either corporation in consideration of the stock I obtained, and certainly no such services were ever rendered. I was much less embarrassed as a member of Congress by the ownership of Credit Mobilier stock than I should have been had I owned stock in a national bank, or in an iron-furnace, or a woollen-mill, or even been a holder of government bonds ; for there

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

was important legislation while I was in Congress affecting all these interests, but no legislation whatever concerning the Credit Mobilier. I can therefore find nothing in my conduct in that regard to regret. It was, in my judgment, both honest and honorable, and consistent with my position as a member of Congress. And, as the investment turned out to be profitable, my only regret is that it was no larger in amount."

The House proceeded to censure Ames, and it would probably have expelled him, had not the alleged offence been committed under a previous Congress. Soon after this censure, which aggravated a disease already upon him, Mr. Ames went home to die. The Wilson Committee reported that the Mobilier had "wronged" the Government, and drafted a bill, which was passed, ordering the Attorney-General to bring suit against its stockholders. He did so, and pushed it to the Supreme Court, but it lamentably failed at every step.

These congressional charges against Oakes Ames have in no wise the weight which has been attached to them. In making them, the House was actuated by a popular clamor against the Credit Mobilier, sedulously worked up by the Democratic press and by Durant. Many members who voted for the censure at once apologized to Ames, saying that they had done so purely for fear of their constituents. That "credit mobilier" was a foreign name rendered men suspicious of the thing named. The French *Crédit Mobilier*, from which the American concern took its title, had got into trouble in 1868 and been wound up. Such as knew of this thought that fraud must of course taint the Credit Mobilier of America as well. Some of those charged with having received Ames's alleged bribes cleared themselves at his expense, falsely denying all knowledge of the Mobilier and declaring that they had never directly or indirectly held any of the stock. Such eagerness to disavow connection with it deepened people's suspicion of it. Pressure was used to force Ames, who himself courted investigation, to support these denials. It availed so far as to

REASONS FOR THE SENTIMENT AGAINST AMES

make him hesitate, telling his story reluctantly and by piece-meal, as if he dreaded the truth. This of course had a further bad effect. In these ways an almost universal impression came to prevail that a fearful crime had been committed, involving most and perhaps all the leaders of the Republican party. Here was rich chance for partisan capital. Democrats and Liberals presented the scandal in the worst possible light and with telling effect. Could anything have defeated Grant, this would assuredly have done so.

CHAPTER V

“CARPET-BAGGER” AND “SCALAWAG” IN DIXIE

GRANT'S RE-ELECTION AND THE SOUTH.—COURT DECISIONS CONFIRMING STATE SOVEREIGNTY.—THE LOUISIANA “SLAUGHTER-HOUSE CASES.”—OSBORN VS. NICHOLSON.—WHITE VS. HART.—DESOLATION AT THE SOUTH AFTER THE WAR.—DISCOURAGEMENT.—INTEMPERANCE, IGNORANCE.—SLOW REVIVAL OF INDUSTRY.—SOCIAL AND POLITICAL CONFLICT.—THE “SCALAWAG.”—THE “CARPET-BAGGER.”—GOOD CARPET-BAGGERS.—THEIR FAILINGS.—RESISTANCE.—NORTHERN SYMPATHY WITH THIS.—THE FREEDMEN.—THEIR VICIES.—THEIR IGNORANCE.—FOOLISH AND CORRUPT LEGISLATION—EXTRAVAGANT EXPENDITURES IN VARIOUS STATES.—IN MISSISSIPPI.—IN GEORGIA.—IN SOUTH CAROLINA.—OVERTHROW OF MANY CARPET-BAG GOVERNMENTS.—VIOLENCE STILL, BUT OFTEN EXAGGERATED.

THE re-election of President Grant did not improve the state of feeling at the South. Bitterness toward the powers at Washington and sullen defiance of them were still the temper of most Southern whites. This notwithstanding several facts which might have been expected to produce a contrary effect. Certain important legal decisions of the time should have pleased the South, confirming, as they in a certain way did, the doctrine of State Sovereignty. One such decision was handed down April 14, 1873, in the celebrated Louisiana “Slaughter-House Cases.” These arose out of an act passed by the Legislature of Louisiana in 1869, creating the Crescent City Live-Stock Landing and Slaughter House Company, with the exclusive privilege of carrying on the slaughtering business in New Orleans and the adjoining parishes. The butchers of the city contested the act on the ground that it violated the recent constitutional amendments, creating an involuntary servitude, abridging the privileges and

immunities of citizens of the United States, denying to the plaintiffs equal protection under the law, and depriving them of their property without due process. In its decision, from which, however, Chief Justice Waite, with Associates Field, Bradley and Swayne, dissented, the Court held that servitude means personal servitude; that "there is a citizenship of the United States and a citizenship of the State, each distinct from the other," that while the amendment placed citizens under federal protection it gave them no new rights as citizens of a State, and finally that the act of the Louisiana Legislature was not a denial of equal protection by the laws or a deprivation of property.

On April 22, 1872, the Court had rendered its decision in the case of *Osborn vs. Nicholson*, confirming the validity of slave contracts entered into before the Emancipation Proclamation. Another important decision of the same date related to the case of *White vs. Hart*. This arose from the attempt of the plaintiff to recover on a promissory note given for the purchase-money of a slave, the defense claiming non-liability on the ground that by the new constitution of Georgia the State courts were forbidden to consider the validity of such contracts. In its decision the Court clearly defined the relation of the seceder States to the Union and held that such a State, having never been out of the Union, was never absolved from the prohibition in the Constitution of the United States against passing laws impairing the obligation of contracts.

On March 22, 1875, the Supreme Court decided that certain corporations created by the Legislature of Georgia while in rebellion were legal. This meant, in effect, that any acts by the *de facto* though unlawful government of that State, so long as they did not tend to aid the rebellion or to abridge the rights of citizens of the United States, were valid.

But Southerners' memories were too sad, their pains too keen, their sufferings of all sorts too terrible, to be assuaged

THE SOUTH AFTER THE WAR



DANIEL H. CHAMBERLAIN

merely by agreeable definitions of points in constitutional law. The war left the South in indescribable desolation. Great numbers of Confederates came home to find their farms sold for unpaid taxes, perhaps mortgaged to ex-slaves. The best Southern land, after the war, was worth but a trifle of its old value. Their ruin rendered many insane; in multitudes more it broke down all energy. The braver spirits—men to whom till now all toil had been strange—set to work as clerks, depot-masters and agents of various business enterprises. High-born ladies, widowed by Northern bullets, became teachers or governesses. In the comparatively few cases where families retained their estates, their effort to keep up appearances was pathetic. One by one domestics were dismissed; dinner parties grew rare; stately coaches lost their paint and became rickety; carriage and saddle-horses were worn out at the plough and replaced by mules. At last the master learned to open his own gates, the mistress to do her own cooking.

In a majority of the Southern cities owners of real estate found it for years after hostilities closed a source of poverty instead of profit. In the heart of Charleston charred ruins of huge blocks or stately churches long lingered as reminders of the horrid past. Many mansions were vacant, vainly flaunting each its placard "for rent." Most of the smaller towns, like Beaufort, threatened permanent decay, their streets silent and empty save for negro policemen here and there in shiny blue uniforms. The cotton plantations were at first largely abandoned owing to the severe foreign competition in cotton-growing occasioned by the war. It was difficult to get help on the plantation, so immersed in politics and so lazy had the field-hands become.

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

Upon the whites in many communities a kind of moral and social stagnation settled down, an unhealthy, hopeless acquiescence in the worst that might come. Politics they long regarded with abhorrence, as the accursed thing that had brought on the war. Whites, as well as negroes, drank recklessly. Few of any class cared much for education. In 1874 Alabama had 380,000 citizens who could neither read nor write, of whom nearly 100,000 were white. Yet the year before the public schools in that State, except in the larger cities, had been closed because the State could not pay the teachers. If, to the Africans, education was freer after the war than before, turmoil and poverty left the young Southerners of paler skin little time or disposition for schooling. The determination, when it came, of the Southern whites to rule, sad as were the atrocities to which it led, was a good sign, marking the end of a lethargy which boded naught save ill to any.

But the end of trouble was not yet. Mere courage would not bring prosperity to a people undergoing a social and political upheaval which amounted to anarchy and promised indefinite continuance. How angry the conflict was will appear when we see that it brought the "scalawag," the "carpet-bagger," and the negro, partly each by himself and partly together, into radical collision with all that was most solid, intelligent and moral in Southern society. "Whatever were the designs or motives of the authors of the reconstruction measures, the work of carrying them out was of necessity committed to those who lived at the South. It is a mild statement to say that those on whom this responsibility fell were not generally well suited or qualified for such work. Sweeping denunciations are seldom just. Those who took part in reconstruction at the South were not all, or nearly all, 'Northern adventurers, Southern renegades and depraved negroes.' Among all the classes so described were worthy and able men; but the crude forces with which they dealt were temporarily

THE "SCALAWAG"

too strong for their control or resistance. Corruption ran riot; dishonesty flourished in shameless effrontery; incompetency became the rule in public offices."*

The South had still, as always, a class of swaggering whites, the kind who earlier said that "the Yankees would back up against the North Pole before they would fight." Once, previous to the war, Hon. John C. Breckenridge, of Kentucky, journeying from New Orleans to Washington, passed through South Carolina. He subsequently related his experience. "But one man," he said, "boarded the cars on the route through that unpopulous piny-wooded land. He was dressed in full regimentals, and entered the smoking-car

with the mien of a Cambyses or a Murat.

I joined this splendid soldier in the smoking-car. I offered him a fresh cigar to engage him in conversation, and began to question him. 'May I ask,' said I, meekly, 'what is going on in this State?' Tossing his head in proud disdain, he replied 'Going on, suh? We won't stand it no mo,'

Nos. 18, 18 1/4, 18 1/2, 18 3/4, 18 7/8, 19, 19 1/8, 19 1/4, 19 1/2
 19 3/4 are accounts of M. H. Berry for furniture
 for the use of Committee Room of Senate
 furnished as follows: Jan'y 13, 1872, \$17,465;
 Feb'y 25, 1872, \$2771.50; Feb'y 22, 1872, \$1533;
 Jan'y 30, 1874, \$444; Jan'y 24, 1873, \$440;
 March 2, 1874, \$1519.25; Jan'y 16, 1872, \$1315-;
 Feb'y 2, 1874, \$450; Dec. 16, 1872, \$450;
 Jan'y 29, 1874, \$1876; Jan'y 29, 1874, \$1717 = \$29,742.50
 These accounts appear to embrace almost all
 kinds of furniture. The orders were given by
 the Sergeant-at-Arms. I do not know what
 his furniture was made of, the furniture bought
 for Committee Room. The accounts
 were all reported furnished to orders of Feb'y.

*Summary of the Amount paid to one Firm for Furniture
by the South Carolina Legislature of 1872-74*

From the Report of the Investigating Committee

suh! The Governor has sent for his staff to meet with him and consult about it in Columbia, suh! I am one of his staff, suh! We won't stand it any longer, suh! No, suh! It is intolerable, suh! No, suh!' 'Stand what?' I asked, in surprise, not unmixed with dread. 'What is going on?' He answered: 'Stand the encroachments on our Southern institutions, suh!

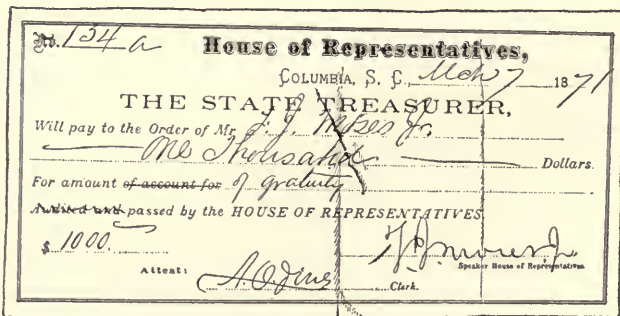
*Governor Chamberlain's Administration in South Carolina, Preface, vi.

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

The abolitionists must be crushed, suh! We will do it, suh! South Carolina is ready, suh!'"*
.

In reconstruction times Southern heroes of this stamp turned up as "scalawags." Most of the scalawags so hated after the war were the fire-eaters, old slave-traders, and plantation overseers whom decent society had tabooed before the war. They had no social position to lose, and it was but natural, their social superiors being Democrats, that they themselves should become ardent Republicans. Negro voters they now bought and sold, or shot, just as formerly they had bought and sold, or shot, negro slaves. These same men, who, under Republican rule, sought, with too much success, to lead the blacks, reappeared with the restoration of the Democracy in their original character as negro-baiters, hunting and killing their poor victims whenever this met party exigencies better than bribery did. A few old Whigs and perhaps some others joined the Republicans on principle. In the heat of political controversy these might be denounced as scalawags, but they were of a different spirit.

Soon after the reconstruction of his State, at a public meeting in celebration of the event, Wade Hampton advised



Facsimile of a "Gratuity" Voted to Governor Moses by the South Carolina Legislature in 1871

the blacks to seek political affiliation with the best native whites, as both races equally wished order and prosperity

*S. S. Cox, "Three Decades of Federal Legislation."

THE "CARPET-BAGGER"

restored. Beverly Nash, colored, addressed the meeting, urging the same. "His people," he said, "recognized the Southern white man as their 'true friend,' and he wished all the Confederates re-enfranchised. In this temper colored men formed the Union Republican party of South Carolina, and adopted a platform free from rancor.

Unfortunately, such chance for affiliation was lost. Causes were at work which soon lessened Sambo's respect for "Old Massa," and "Old Massa's" for Sambo. Republicans from the North flocked to the South, whom the blacks, viewing them as representing the emancipation party, naturally welcomed and followed. These "carpet-baggers," as they were called, were made up, in the main, of military officers still or formerly in service, Freedmen's Bureau agents, old Union soldiers who had bought Southern farms, and people who had settled at the South for purposes of trade.

There were, no doubt, many perfectly honest carpet-baggers, and the fullest justice should be done to such. They considered themselves as true missionaries *in partibus*, commissioned by the great Republican party to complete the régime of righteousness which the war and the emancipation proclamation had begun. A prominent Democratic politician, describing a reconstruction Governor of his State, whom he had done his best to overthrow, said: "I regard him as a thoroughly honest man and opposed to corruption and extravagance in office. I think his desire was to make a good Executive and to administer the affairs of the State in the interest of the people, but the want of sympathy between him and the white people of the State, and his failure to appreciate the relations and prejudices of the two races, made it next to impossible for him to succeed."

In the States where the worst evils were suffered the really guilty parties were usually few, the great body of legislators being innocently inspired by some loud and ringing watchword like "internal improvements," or "the development of the


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State," to vote for measures devised to enrich cunning sharks and speculators. What history will condemn in connection with the reconstruction governments is not so much individuals as the system which permitted a few individuals to be so banefully influential, not only in spite of their well-meaning associates but by means of these. Moreover, carpet-bagger character differed somewhat with locality. Perhaps the reconstructionists of Mississippi were the best. We have evidence that the majority of the white leaders there were honest, being moved in their public acts by strong convictions of right and justice, which cost many of them their lives.

But even of the honest carpet-baggers many were idealists, little likely to help reconcile the races, nearly certain to be misled by their shrewd but unprincipled colleagues. All were disliked and mistrusted by the local whites, as aliens, as late foes in arms, as champions of an order intolerable to the dominant Anglo-Saxon. The sons of Dixie had been educated to believe in the negro as an inferior being. The Confederacy had been, in a way, based on this principle. To establish a government so founded they had ventured everything and had lost. A power unjust and tyrannical, as they conceived, had filled their States with mourning, beggared them, freed their slaves, and, as a last injury and insult, done its best to make the negro their political equal. They resisted, some passively, others actively. The best of them could not but acquiesce with a certain joy when the younger and more lawless used violence and even murder to remove the curse. The powerful hand of the Federal Government, sometimes itself perpetrating outrages in effort to suppress such, was evaded by excuses and devices of all sorts. When it was withdrawn, the Southerners announced boldly that theirs was a white man's government and that the ex-slaves should never take part in it.

On the race issue the North, including no few Republicans and even carpet-baggers themselves, gradually sided with

BEGINNINGS OF NEGRO SUFFRAGE

| Post 29 | | Columbia S. C., May 12, 1872 | 22 |
|---|---------------------------------|--|------------|
| Established 1843. | | <i>State of South Carolina</i> | |
|  | | Bought of M. H. BERRY, <small>MANUFACTURER AND DEALER IN</small> ALL KINDS OF FURNITURE, CHAIRS, MATTRESSES, CHILDREN'S CARRIAGES, WAGONS, &c. Main Street, Next Door to R. & W. C. Swaffield. | |
| TERMS CASH. | | | |
| 1872 | See K | | |
| 1/2 | Do Best Common Plush Sofa | 1600 | |
| 1/2 | " " " " " " " " | 200 | |
| 1/2 | Large Boston China Clock | 100 | |
| 1/2 | " Small " " " " " " | 160 | |
| 12 | Best quality dot bed Chair | 2500 | |
| 8 | " " " " " " " " | 1440 | |
| 1/2 | Extra Sile Rep Lounger | 125 | |
| 1/2 | " " " " " " " " | 75 | |
| 1/2 | " " " " " " " " | 500 | |
| 1/2 | Sheff Bed with mattress & drage | 35 | |
| 1/2 | " " " " " " " " | 50 | |
| 1 | Wardrobe & Trunk stand | 600 | |
| 1 | " " " " " " " " | 500 | |
| 1 | Best Oak & Umbrella Stand | 516 | |
| 1/2 | Best Oak Bedstead with Trunk | 3500 | |
| 1 | Library Book Case | 1000 | |
| 1/2 | Large Library book Case Extra | 175 | |
| 1/2 | Ornamental Table & Carved legs | 1250 | |
| 1/2 | Office Desk | 250 | |
| 1/2 | " " " " " " " " | 300 | |
| 1/2 | Case for Sewing Machine | 200 | |
| 1 | French dressing Case | 750 | |
| 1/2 | High Bed with Sile | 250 | |
| 1/2 | Bedding Chair | 100 | |
| 1/2 | Apprentice Spunker Desk | 100 | |
| 1/2 | Setting up Committee Room | 1500 | \$17915.00 |

Facsimile of a Bill for Furnishing the State House at Columbia, S. C., in 1872.

the South. Northern Republicans, especially such as had travelled in the South, not seldom regretted that the suffrage had ever been given to the blacks. It is interesting to notice that the idea of colored men's voting did not originate at the North. Till 1834 and 1835 free men of color voted in Tennessee and North Carolina. In some sections "the opposing candidates, for the nonce oblivious of social distinctions and intent only on catching votes, hob-

nobbed with the men and swung corners all with the dusky damsels at election balls." In 1867 General Wade Hampton, being invited by the colored people to address them at Columbia, S. C., did so, advocating a qualified suffrage for them. After the war Mississippi whites voted unanimously for the Fifteenth Amendment. On the other hand, in the North, at first only Stevens and Sumner were for negro suffrage. So late as 1865 Oliver P. Morton was strenuous against it,* foretelling most of the evils which the system actually brought forth. In 1865 Connecticut rejected a negro suffrage amendment by 6,272 majority; in 1867 Ohio, Kansas and Minnesota did the same by the respective majorities of 50,620, 8,923 and 1,298. In 1868 New York followed their example with a majority of 32,601.

*See *North American Review*, Vol. 123, p. 259 et seq.

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The experiment being tried, all interests, not least those of the blacks themselves, were found to require that the superior race should rule. It seemed strange that any were ever so dull as to expect the success of the opposite polity. One perfectly honest carpet-bag Governor confessed that while he could give the people of his State "a pretty tolerable government," he could not possibly give them one that would satisfy "the feelings, sentiments, prejudices or what not of the white people generally in that State."

The good carpet-baggers and the bad alike somehow exerted an influence which had the effect of morbidly inflaming the negro's sense of independence and of engaging him in politics. His former wrongs were dwelt upon and the ballot held up as a providential means of righting them. The negro was too apt a pupil, not in the higher politics of principle but in the politics of office and "swag." In 1872 the National Colored Republican Convention adopted a resolution "earnestly praying that the colored Republicans of States where no federal positions were given to colored men might no longer be ignored, but be stimulated by some recognition of federal patronage." The average negro expressed his views on public affairs by the South Carolina catch: "De bottom rail am on de top, and we's gwineter keep it dar." "The reformers complain of taxes being too high," said Beverly Nash in 1874, after he had become State Senator; "I tell you that they are not high enough. I want them taxed until they put those lands back where they belong, into the hands of those who worked for them. You worked for them; you labored for them and were sold to pay for them, and you ought to have them."

The tendency of such exhortation was most vicious. In their days of serfdom the negroes' besetting sin had been thievery. Now that the opportunities for this were multiplied, the fear of punishment gone, and many a carpet-bagger at hand to encourage it, the prevalence of public and private

NEGRO VICES

stealing was not strange. Larceny was nearly universal, burglary painfully common. At night watch had to be kept over property with dogs and guns. It was part, or at least an effect, of the carpet-bag policy to aggravate race jealousies and sectional misunderstandings. The duello, still good form all over the South, induced disregard of law and of human life. "The readiness of white men to use the pistol kept the colored people respectful to some extent, though they fearfully avenged any grievances from whites by applying the torch to out-buildings, gin-houses, and often dwellings. To white children they were at times extremely insolent and threatening. White ladies had to be very prudent with their tongues, for colored domestics gave back word for word, and even followed up words with blows if reprimanded too cuttingly. It was also, after emancipation, notoriously unsafe for white ladies to venture from home without an escort. . . If a white man shot a colored man, an excited mob of blacks would try to lynch him. His friends rallied to the rescue, and a riot often resulted. The conditions were reversed if a white man was shot by a negro." Negro militia at the governors' beck and call alarmed the whites. White companies formed and offered themselves for service, swearing to keep the peace, but were made to disband. To the Union and Loyal Leagues on the reconstructionists' side answered the Ku-Klux Klan, already described, on the other.

Colored men were quite too unintelligent to make laws or even to elect those who were to do so. At one time dozens of engrossed bills were passed back and forth between the two Houses of the Alabama Legislature that errors in them might be corrected. According to contemporary reports the Lower House expelled one of its clerks for bad orthography and appointed a specialist to rectify the errors. Upon



W. BEVERLY NASH

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exposure of clerical mistakes the Upper House could not fix the blame, some Senators being unable to write three lines correctly, others wholly ignorant even of reading. One easily imagines how intolerable the doings of such public servants must have been.

The colored legislators of South Carolina furnished the State House with gorgeous clocks at \$480 each, mirrors at \$750, and chandeliers at \$650. Their own apartments were a barbaric display of gewgaws, carpets and upholstery. The minority of a congressional committee recited that "these ebony statesmen" purchased a lot of imported china cuspidors at \$8 apiece, while Senators and representatives "at the glorious capital of the nation" had to be "content with a plain earthenware article of domestic manufacture."

Of the Palmetto State Solons in 1873 an eye-witness wrote: "They are as quick as lightning at points of order, and they certainly make incessant and extraordinary use of their knowledge. No one is allowed to talk five minutes without interruption, and one interruption is the signal for another and another, until the original speaker is smothered under an avalanche of them. Forty questions of privilege will be raised in a day. At times nothing goes on but alternating questions of order and of privilege. The inefficient colored friend who sits in the Speaker's chair can not suppress this extraordinary element in the debate. Some of the blackest members exhibit a pertinacity in raising these points of order and questions of privilege that few white men can equal. Their struggles to get the floor, their bellowings and physical contortions, baffle description. The Speaker's hammer plays a perpetual tattoo, all to no purpose. The talking and interruptions from all quarters go on with the utmost license. Everyone esteems himself as good as his neighbor and puts in his oar, apparently as often for love of riot and confusion as for anything else."

Around the State-house, during the session of a Legis-

FREEDMEN AS LEGISLATORS



THE SOUTH CAROLINA LEGISLATURE OF 1873 PASSING AN APPROPRIATION BILL

lature in which were colored representatives, a dense crowd of open-mouthed negroes would stand, rain or shine, and stare at the walls from hour to hour, day after day. In one State election in South Carolina Judge Carpenter, an old South Carolinian and a Republican, ran in opposition to the carpet-

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bag candidate. Against him it was charged that if he were elected he would re-enslave the blacks, or that, failing in this, he would not allow their wives and daughters to wear hoop-skirts. Another judge was threatened with impeachment and summoned before the Legislature above described, because he had "made improper reflections on a colored woman of doubtful character."

There were said to be in South Carolina alone, in November, 1874, two hundred negro trial justices who could neither read nor write, also negro school commissioners equally ignorant, receiving a thousand a year each, while negro juries, deciding delicate points of legal evidence, settled questions involving lives and property. Property, which had to bear the burden of taxation, had no voice, for the colored man had no property. Taxes were levied ruinously, and money was appropriated with a lavish hand.

The public debt of Alabama was increased between 1868 and 1874 from \$8,356,083.51 to \$25,503,593.30, including straight and endorsed railroad bonds.* A large part of this went for illegitimate expenses of the Legislature; much more was in the form of help to railroads; much went into the hands of legislators and officials; little was returned to the people in any form. In 1860 the expenses of the Florida Legislature were \$17,000; in 1869 they were \$67,000.† Bonds to the amount of \$4,000,000, which this State issued to subsidize railroads, were marketed with difficulty. For some the best terms obtainable were fifty cents on the dollar.‡ In less than four months the Legislature of North Carolina authorized the issue of more than \$25,000,000 in bonds, principally for railroads, \$14,000,000 being issued and sold at from nine to forty-five cents on the dollar. The counties began to exploit their credit in the same way, and some of the wealthier

*Hilary A. Herbert, "Why the Solid South," p. 62.

†Samuel Pasco, "Why the Solid South," p. 150.

‡Ibid.

EXTRAVAGANT EXPENDITURES

had their scrip hawked about at ten cents on the dollar.* In 1871 the Louisiana Legislature made an over-issue of State warrants to the extent of \$200,000, some of which were sold at two and a half cents on the dollar and funded at par.† In 1873 the tax levy in New Orleans was three per cent. Four and a half years of Republican rule cost Louisiana 106 millions, to say nothing of privileges and franchises given away.‡ Clark County, Arkansas, was left with a debt of \$300,000 and \$500 worth of improvements.¶ Chicot County spent \$400,000 with nothing in return; and Pulaski County, including Little Rock, nearly a million. Town, county and school scrip was worth ten to thirty cents on the dollar, and State scrip with five per cent. interest brought only twenty-five cents. The bonded debt of Tennessee, most of it created in aid of railroads and turnpikes, was increased by \$16,000,000, and the bonds were sold at from seventeen to forty cents on the dollar for greenbacks.§ In Nashville,** when there was no currency in the treasury, checks were drawn, often in the name of fictitious persons, made payable to bearer, and sold by the ring to note-shavers for what they would bring. Warrants on the Texas treasury brought forty-five cents a dollar, and the bonds of the State were practically valueless.††

In Mississippi during 1875, including \$374,119.80, vouchers, etc., not charged on the books, \$2,164,928.22 were expended. In 1893 the expenditures were only \$1,249,-193.91. In 1870 the State tax rate was \$5 on the \$1,000. In 1871 it was \$4; in 1872, \$8.50; in 1873, \$12.50; in

*S. B. Weeks, *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. IX., p. 686 et seq. Cf. "Why the Solid South," pp. 80, 82. Mr. Weeks vouches for the truth of all the above statements relating to North Carolina.

†B. J. Sage, "Why the Solid South," p. 403.

‡Ibid., 406.

¶W. M. Fishback, "Why the Solid South," p. 309. See *ibid.* for the other references to Arkansas.

§J. P. Jones, "Why the Solid South," p. 214.

**Ibid, 199.

††Chas. Stewart, "Why the Solid South," p. 378. On all the foregoing debt statements see also S. B. Weeks in *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. IX., p. 681 et seq.

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1874, \$14. In 1875 it fell to \$9.25. The Democrats came in in 1876, whereupon the rate fell to \$6, decreasing continually until it reached \$2.50 (1882-1885), after which time it rose once more in, 1894 standing at \$6. The average county tax rate also fell from \$13.39, in 1874, to \$7.68, in 1894. Comparing the average rate between the years 1870 and 1875, inclusive, with that between 1876 and 1894, inclusive, we find that the State tax rate under Republican rule was two and a third times higher than under the Democrats afterward. The county tax rate for the same six years averaged about an eighth higher than for the nineteen years after 1875.

Under the Republicans the annual average of auditor's warrants issued for common schools was \$56,184.39. To September, 1895, the Democrats issued an average nearly six times as large. Mississippi's total payable and interest-bearing debt on January 1, 1876, when the Democratic administration succeeded the Republican, amounted to \$984,200, besides \$414,958.31 in unpaid auditor's warrants. The Republicans' expenditures were as in the following table :

| | | | |
|---------------------------|---|---|----------------|
| 1870 (Beginning March 11) | . | . | \$ 975,455.65 |
| 1871 (For the whole year) | . | . | 1,729,046.34 |
| 1872 | . | . | 1,596,828.64 |
| 1873 | . | . | 1,450,632.80 |
| 1874 | . | . | 1,319,281.60 |
| 1875 | . | . | 1,430,192.83 |
| Total | | | \$8,501,437.86 |
| Average per annum | | | \$1,464,480.00 |

After the downfall of the Republican order the heaviest expenditures were in 1894—\$1,378,752.70; the lightest, \$518,709.03, in 1876. The average annual expenditure from 1876 to 1894 was between sixty and seventy per cent. of the average for reconstruction times.*

*The Mississippi figures are vouched for by J. J. Evans, State Treasurer in October, 1895, as from the Mississippi State Treasurer's and Auditor's books and reports. The author begs his readers' pardon for using in the Magazine draft of this History a table of Southern State reconstruction debts which enormously exaggerated the Mississippi and also the Georgia debt.

CORRUPTION IN GEORGIA

When, in July, 1868, Rufus B. Bullock became Governor of Georgia, the debt of that State stood at \$5,827,000. All had been created since the war except the Brunswick and Albany debt about to be mentioned. \$429,000 of the debt, perhaps more, was paid during Governor Bullock's three years, but the bonded indebtedness of the State was meantime increased by the issue of \$3,000,000 in gold bonds for the State's own behoof, and of \$1,800,000 gold bonds in payment of a State war debt to the Brunswick and Albany Railroad Company. Considering this sum the State's debt at the end of the war, its actual debt on January 1, 1874, being \$8,343,000, we may place the debt incurred during reconstruction at about six and a half millions. The outstanding bonds of defaulted railroads the validity of which was acknowledged by the State, are not included in this amount.

The contingent liabilities of the State were also increased during the Bullock administration by the endorsement of railroad bonds to a total of \$6,923,400. The Georgia Air Line returned \$240,000, which should be deducted from the above total. On the other hand, the total must be enlarged by \$400,000 in bonds of the Macon and Brunswick Railroad Company, endorsed, as it would seem, though no official record was made, by Governor Jenkins. It was charged and almost universally believed, but not proved, that State endorsement was often, if not regularly, secured before the beneficiary roads had built and equipped the required number of miles. The Cartersville and Van Wert secured \$275,000 of endorsed bonds; then, changing its name to the Cherokee Railroad and agreeing to withdraw these bonds, obtained a new issue of endorsed bonds to the amount of \$300,000. The first issue was not, after all, withdrawn, and color was thus given to insinuations against Governor Bullock's integrity. Such insinuations were also made in the case of the Bainbridge and Columbus road, but fell flat. \$240,000 in bonds for this road the Governor endorsed before leaving the State on a temporary



CHARLES HAYES
OF ALABAMA

visit, but the guarantee could not be valid without the State seal. The Secretary of State was to affix this in case the road complied with the conditions, which was not done, and the bonds were never issued.

The Georgia railroad bonds were bought partly by Northerners, partly by a German syndicate. At home they were ceaselessly denounced as "bogus" and "fraudulent," on the ground that they had been issued contrary to the conditions of the authorizing statutes, as well as, in some cases, to the Constitution of the State. The State, however, refused to submit the question to her courts, but repudiated the bonds, and, to assure herself against payment, in 1877 embodied the repudiation in her Constitution.*

The first South Carolina Legislature under the reconstructed Constitution, an excellent instrument, by the way, consisted of seventy-two white and eighty-five colored members, containing only twenty-one white Democrats. At that date the State's funded debt amounted to \$5,407,306.27. At the close of the four years of Governor R. K. Scott's administration, December, 1872, though no public works of appreciable importance had been begun or completed, that debt, with past-due interest, amounted to \$18,515,033.91. This increase represented "only increased, extravagant and profligate current expenditures." In December, 1873, an Act was passed declaring invalid \$5,965,000 of the bonds known as "conversion" bonds, recognizing as valid \$11,480,033.91 in principal and accrued interest, and providing for refunding the debt in new bonds at 50 per cent. of the par value of the old. Between 1868 and December, 1874, the total cost of sessions of the Legislature, six regular and two special,

*The direct gold bonds to the Brunswick and Albany were among the repudiated. The only railroad bonds recognized as valid amounted to \$2,688,000 to four different roads, one of which was paying its interest. Tenth Census, Vol. VII., p. 585.

EXAGGERATED STORIES OF VIOLENCE

was \$2,147, 430.97, to say nothing of bills payable for legislative expenses, amounting to \$192,275.15.* The total cost of State printing and advertising during the period named was \$1,104,569.91, and during the last three years thereof \$918,629.86. Running deficiencies were simply enormous. For the single fiscal year ending October 31, 1874, they were \$472,619.54. Warrants, orders and certificates for public money were issued when no funds were on hand to pay them. There was thus, in addition to the bonded debt, a floating indebtedness of nearly or quite a million dollars.†

By 1874, in most of the Southern States, the carpet-bag governments had succumbed. Such States were well on the way to order and prosperity, though breaches of the peace still occurred there with distressing frequency. From Alabama, in particular, came startling reports of terrorism. They had some foundation, but were greatly exaggerated by interested or ill-informed persons. In a letter to Hon. Joseph R. Hawley, Hon. Charles Hayes wrote of one Allen as having been beaten by ruffians and threatened with death if he "didn't keep his mouth shut about that d——d Yankee, Billings," who had been assassinated. To a New York *Tribune* correspondent Allen said he had been assaulted by a solitary gentleman, armed only with the weapons of nature, who scratched his face. Some "massacred" persons denied that they had been hurt at all. Such violence as did occur by no means always proceeded from whites. It is well authenticated that colored Democrats were maltreated by colored Republicans. The blacks were often unfriendly to whites even when these were Republicans. It is quite true that where negroes were thought to be politically dangerous or were otherwise obnoxious to the whites they received little consideration. Sixteen were taken from a jail in Tennessee and shot by a band of masked horsemen, their bodies being left in the road.

*Governor Chamberlain's Administration in South Carolina, p. 17.

†Ibid., p. 18 et seq.

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The Governor offered a reward for the apprehension of the murderers, when one turned State's evidence and told everything. The others were at once arrested ; whether punished does not appear.

CHAPTER VI

DECLINE OF THE TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENTS IN SOUTH CAROLINA, ARKANSAS, MISSISSIPPI, AND LOUISIANA

GEN. SHERMAN ON THE SOUTHERN PROBLEM.—RECKLESS LEGISLATION IN SOUTH CAROLINA.—APPEAL OF THE TAXPAYERS' UNION.—GOV. CHAMBERLAIN'S REFORMS.—THE CONFLICT IN ARKANSAS.—FACTIONS.—THE STAKE FOUGHT FOR.—A NEW CONSTITUTION.—GOV. GARLAND ELECTED.—REPORT OF THE POLAND COMMITTEE.—THE VICKSBURG "WAR."—MAYOR VERSUS GOVERNOR.—PRESIDENT GRANT WILL NOT INTERFERE.—SENATOR REVELS ON THE SITUATION.—THE MISSISSIPPI RECONSTRUCTIONISTS.—THE KELLOGG-McENERY IMBROGLIO IN LOUISIANA.—METROPOLITANS AND WHITE LEAGUERS FIGHT.—THE KELLOGG GOVERNMENT OVERTHROWN BUT RE-ESTABLISHED BY FEDERAL ARMS.—PROTESTS.—THE ELECTION OF NOV. 2, 1874.—METHODS OF THE RETURNING BOARD.—GEN. SHERIDAN IN COMMAND.—LEGISLATURE ORGANIZED AMID BAYONETS.—MEMBERS REMOVED BY FEDERAL SOLDIERS.—SHERIDAN'S VIEWS.—ALLEGATIONS CONTRA.—PUBLIC OPINION AT THE NORTH.—THE "WHEELER ADJUSTMENT."

SOUTH Carolina, Arkansas, Mississippi, and Louisiana were in 1874 still under carpet-bag sway. Their nearly complete deliverance therefrom during this year and the next forms an interesting chapter in the recent history of our country.

In a letter written so early as 1869, after an extended Southern trip, General Sherman said: "I do think some political power might be given to the young men who served in the rebel army, for they are a better class than the adventurers who have gone South purely for office." Again, in 1871, he wrote: "I told Grant plainly that the South would go against him *en masse*, though he counts on South Carolina, Louisiana,

and Arkansas. I repeated my conviction that all that was vital in the South was against him; that negroes were generally quiescent and could not be relied on as voters when local questions became mixed up with political matters." This was an exact forecast of the actual event in all the States named. In each a reform faction of white Republicans grew up, disgusted with carpet-bag corruption and unwilling longer to limit their political creed to the single article of negro rights. In the face of this quarrel negroes became bewildered, so that they either scattered, withheld or traded their votes, in a way to replace political power in the hands of the Democrats.

The carpet-bag legislature of South Carolina guaranteed \$6,000,000 in railroad bonds to subsidize the Greenville & Columbia and the Blue Ridge Railroads, taking mortgages on the roads to cover the amount. Rings of carpet-baggers and native speculators obtained legislation releasing the mortgages but continuing the State's liabilities. Seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars or more in fraudulent State bank-notes were approved and assumed by the State. Though property in general had lost two-thirds of its ante-bellum value, it paid on the average five times heavier taxes. In 1872, 288,000 acres of land with buildings were said to have been forfeited for the tax of twelve cents an acre. As in Arkansas and in Louisiana, the Governor had dangerously great patronage. Negro felons were pardoned by wholesale for political purposes. Undeserving white convicts could be ransomed for money. Of the three justices on the Supreme Bench one was a carpet-bagger and one a negro. Juries were composed of illiterate and degraded men.

In March, 1874, a committee of the South Carolina Tax-payers' Union waited on President Grant with complaints. He expressed regret at the anarchic condition of South Carolina, but said that as the State government was in complete working order the federal authority was powerless. This appeal, however, favorably affected public opinion. "It shows,"



Painted by W. R. Leigh

THE BEGINNING OF THE CONFLICT IN FRONT OF THE ANTHONY HOUSE, LITTLE ROCK, SUBSEQUENT TO BAXTER'S SPEECH TO THE COLORED REGIMENT

CHAMBERLAIN IN SOUTH CAROLINA

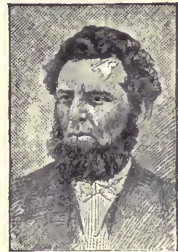
said one journal, "that the South cherishes no sullen hostility." Antipathy toward Southerners slowly changed to sympathy. The doings of the South Carolina Republicans could not but be disapproved by the party in the Nation. Democrats and non-partisans denounced them as travestying free institutions.

In 1874 the South Carolina Republicans quarrelled. After a hot contest the regular convention nominated Hon. D. H. Chamberlain for Governor, Moses, his predecessor being set aside. Chamberlain was a native of Massachusetts, a graduate of Yale and of the Harvard Law School. He was a polished gentleman and an able lawyer. During the War he had been First Lieutenant and then Captain in the Fifth Massachusetts Cavalry. His principal service in the army was in the way of staff duty as Judge-Advocate and as Assistant Adjutant-General. War ended, he became a citizen of South Carolina in time to sit in its Constitutional Convention. The Independent Republicans bolted Chamberlain's nomination and put up for Governor Judge John T. Green, a native South Carolinian, to whose standard rallied the entire "reform" element of the State, whether Conservative or Republican.

The Chamberlain ticket was elected. In his inaugural address Governor Chamberlain marked out an able scheme of retrenchment and reform, soon showing, to the astonishment of many and to the dismay of some among his leading supporters that he was in earnest with it. The enormous power given the Executive, apparently that he might abuse it, enabled Chamberlain, spite of his party allies, to effect sweeping improvements. He supplanted dishonest officials with men of



ELISHA BAXTER



JOSEPH BROOKS



CHIEF - JUSTICE
JOHN McCLURE

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integrity, Republicans if such were available, if not, Democrats. He vetoed corrupt jobs and firmly withheld pardons. Ex-Governor Moses and the infamous Whipper, elected by the legislature to the Circuit Bench, he refused to commission. Good jurors were selected, and crime and race hatred wonderfully diminished. Like the English in Ireland, Governor Chamberlain learned that an abstractly good government over a community may fit the community very ill. Carpet-bagger, scalawag, and negro, however well intentioned and wisely led, could not in the nature of the case rule South Carolina well. Nevertheless his praiseworthy effort hastened the advent of order by revealing the nature of the evils which needed reforming.

Arkansas was another of the States where exotic government died extremely hard. Its persistence there was due to the strong Union sentiment which had always existed north of the Arkansas River. The State's colored vote was only a quarter of the whole, but was potent in combination with the large white vote which remained Republican till shamed into change. In this State, so stubborn were the traditions and temper of its citizens, neither faction readily gave way.

The conflict in Arkansas was between the Liberal-Republicans, called "brindle-tails," led by James Brooks, and the Radical-Republicans, headed by Baxter. Chief Justice McClure, nicknamed "Poker Jack," and the United States Senators, Clayton and Dorsey, sided with Baxter. The returns of the 1872 election seemed to make Baxter Governor, but Brooks alleged fraud and sought by every means to change the result. He appealed to the United States Court for a *quo warranto* against Baxter, but it declined to assume jurisdiction in the case. The State Supreme Court also declined. The legislature could have authorized a contest, but refused to do so. Not disheartened, Brooks sued for and secured from the Circuit Court of Pulaski County, April 15, 1874, a judgment of "ouster" against Baxter, took forcible possession of



Painted by Howard Pyle

THE BROOKS FORCES EVACUATING THE STATE-HOUSE AT LITTLE ROCK

BROOKS AND BAXTER IN ARKANSAS

the State-house, and held it with cannon and some hundred and fifty men. Next day Baxter proclaimed martial law, marched two hundred partisans of his into Little Rock and surrounded the State-house. The federal forces, while neutral, enjoined both parties from precipitating an armed collision. Re-inforcements from both sides constantly came in, making Little Rock for the time a military camp.



AUGUSTUS H. GARLAND

A body of Baxter's colored supporters, applauding some utterance of his, were fired into—accidentally, as was said. Indiscriminate shooting ensued, with sanguinary results. Federal forces had to quell the disturbance. Excitement was undiminished until the end of April, breaches of the peace being frequent, though no general engagement occurred. On April 30th took place an action in which Brooks suffered the loss of twenty-five men killed and wounded; some accounts say seventy-one. A week later, and again two days later still, there were sharp skirmishes. The streets of Little Rock were barricaded, and communication with the outside world much impeded. Meantime the agents of the two parties in Washington were engaged in legal and diplomatic fencing, but effort after effort at compromise proved abortive.

Neither side had an inspiring cause. In that poverty-stricken State offices were perhaps more numerous and fat than in any other commonwealth of the Union. Each side hungered for these. A cartoon of the period figured Arkansas as a woman gripped between two remorseless brigands with pistols levelled at each other. By the Constitution of 1868 the Governor appointed to five hundred and twenty-six salaried posts, besides creating all the justices of the peace and constables. Public expenditures, which, in six years, had amounted to \$17,000,000, might, if properly looked after, be made a rich source of revenue to many. The

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following instance is well authenticated and where there can be one such there are certain to be many: In Fort Smith in 1873 a widow who made a living by sewing was taxed \$60 on a lot fronting in a back alley and a house which could be built for from \$300 to \$400. It was more money than she ever had at one time in her life. Moved to tears over this woman's deep distress at the prospective loss of her home, a benevolent lady persuaded her husband to pay the taxes as an act of charity.*

The legislature, convened by Baxter on the 11th of May, telegraphed for federal interposition. Grant at once recognized Baxter and his legislature, and ordered "all turbulent and disorderly persons to disperse." But the end was yet remote. The Poland Committee on Arkansas Affairs, appointed by the National House of Representatives, elicited the fact that Baxter and the leaders of his party, notably Clayton and Dorsey, were no longer on good terms. His disappointing integrity had lost Baxter his "pull" with the Senators and with the Arkansas Supreme Court, presided over by McClure. The following is from the evidence laid before the committee during the summer of 1874:

"Q. State what you know in regard to the origin of the difficulties between Governor Baxter and the leaders of the party that elected him.

"A. As I understood it, in the time of it, it originated with an effort made on the part of the Republican party proper to carry through the railroad bill. It originated with his opposition to this bill, or with his declaring that he would defeat the bill.

"Q. What was the nature of the bill?

"A. There had been \$5,200,000 State-aid bonds issued, and the object of the bill was for the State to assume that indebtedness and take in lieu of it railroad bonds.

"Q. Was that considered as any fair equivalent?

*W. M. Fishback. "Why the Solid South," p. 308.

ARKANSAS CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION

“A. It was considered that that would be of no value at all.

“Q. What was the general opinion in relation to those bonds; was it that the State had any benefit from them, or the roads, or individuals who pocketed the bonds?

“A. The impression on the public mind is that the bonds were divided up between the managers of the different roads.”*

Baxter's new attitude surprisingly quickened the Supreme Court's sense of jurisdiction. Two of its judges were kidnapped, but escaped, and four days before the legislature convened, four of the five, though “feeling some delicacy” in doing so, reversed the former denial of jurisdiction, and on May 7, 1874, affirmed the decision of the Circuit Court in Brooks's favor.

The legislature provided for a Constitutional Convention to convene on July 14, 1874, an action overwhelmingly endorsed by the people at the next election. The new Constitution, ratified 78,000 to 24,000 in October, swept the Governor's enormous patronage away, as also his power to declare martial law and to suspend *habeas corpus*. The tax-levying and debt-contracting functions of the legislature were strictly hedged about. The number of offices was to be diminished and all were to be elective. Disfranchisements were abolished. The most important of all the changes related to the Returning Board. The old Constitution had vested in this body extraordinary authority, like that given it by statute in Florida, South Carolina, and Louisiana. It designated three officers who were to receive all election returns, compile and count them, reject fraudulent and illegal votes, and in case of irregularities in the election, occasioned by fraud or fear in any county or precinct, to correct the return

*House Committee Reports, 1st Session 43d Congress, Vol. V., Report No. 771, p. 149; Testimony of Ex-Circuit Judge Liberty Bartlett.



ADELBERT AMES

or to reject it and order a new election. The judicial part of this fearful sovereignty was now annulled.

The State Democracy endorsed these changes as "just, liberal, and wise," and offered Baxter the nomination for Governor, which he refused. The opposition cried out that the State was betrayed into the hands of the Ku-klux and White Leagues, that Brooks was the true Governor, and that the new Constitution was revolutionary and void. They made no nominations under it, so that at the election Garland, the Democratic nominee, was elected by a majority of 75,000 votes.

Early in 1875 the Poland Committee submitted to the House its report upon the Arkansas imbroglio. It stated that the new Arkansas Constitution was Republican in form and recommended non-interference, saying that while negro citizenship was not relished by the Southern people, few, except certain lawless youths, who should be sternly dealt with, would do aught to disturb it. A minority report was signed by Jasper D. Ward, of Illinois, who had gone to Little Rock in company with Dorsey, and had during his entire stay remained at Dorsey's house, where he met few but Brooksites. The President took issue with the Poland Committee. In a special message, two days after its report, he expressed the opinion that Brooks was the legal Governor of Arkansas and the new Constitution revolutionary. Spite of this, however, the House adopted the Poland report, thus, in effect, ending the long broil and suspense. Governor Garland at once proclaimed Thursday, March 25, 1875, a day of thanksgiving.

Before light one morning in the winter of 1874-75, the white citizens of Vicksburg, Miss., were roused by the news that armed negroes were approaching the city. They sprang to arms and organized. Just outside the city limits a detachment of whites met a body of two hundred negroes and soon

RACE HOSTILITIES IN MISSISSIPPI



THE SCENE OF THE CONFLICT AT THE PEMBERTON MONUMENT, NEAR
VICKSBURG, DECEMBER 7, 1874

The negroes were entrenched in the old federal breastworks at the top of the hill

put them to rout, killing six, wounding several, and taking some prisoners. Almost at the same time a similar engagement was in progress near the monument where Pemberton surrendered to Grant in 1863. The man who headed the citizens said that the conflict lasted only a few minutes. The negroes fled in wild disorder, leaving behind twenty killed and wounded. At still other points negro bands were charged upon and routed. Three whites were killed and three wounded, while of the colored about seventy-five were killed and wounded and thirty or forty made prisoners. By noon the war was over, and on the following day business was resumed amid quiet and order.

The causes of this bloody affair were differently recited. An address published by the citizens of Vicksburg a few days later alleged a series of frauds by certain colored county

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officials. Some of these had been indicted by a grand jury composed of ten colored and seven white men. Among the accused was George W. Davenport, Clerk of the Court of Chancery and a member of the Board of Supervisors. The citizens further declared that the bonds of Sheriff and Tax Collector Crosby were worthless, and also that he had made away with incriminating records to save comrades of his who were under indictment. A mass-meeting was held, and the accused officials asked to resign. Davenport fled the county; Crosby yielded. Soon, however, by an inflammatory handbill, over Crosby's name, in which the "Taxpayers" were named a mob of ruffians, barbarians and political banditti, the colored people of the county were called upon to support him. It was rumored that a rising of blacks was imminent, though Crosby had disowned the pamphlet and promised to bid his adherents disperse. Governor Ames proclaimed a state of riot and disorder, and invoked the aid of all citizens in upholding the laws. Upon receipt of the Governor's proclamation the Mayor of Vicksburg issued a counter-manifesto asserting that the mass-meeting, which the Governor had denounced as riotous and as having driven the sheriff from his office, was a quiet and orderly gathering of taxpayers who, without arms or violence, had "requested the resignation of irresponsible officials." His Honor continued: "Whereas the Governor's proclamation has excited the citizens of the county, and I have this moment received information that armed bodies of colored men have organized and are now marching on the city," I command such "unlawful assemblages and armed bodies of men to disperse."

Spite of his Honor's denial, Governor Ames ascribed the trouble to violence and intimidation against blacks by whites,



RICHARD O'LEARY
Mayor of Vicksburg in 1874





Drawn by B. W. Clinedinst.

*THE MISSISSIPPI LEGISLATURE PASSING A RESOLUTION ASKING FOR FEDERAL AID
AFTER THE ATTACK ON VICKSBURG
Scene in the Senate Chamber*

FEDERAL INTERVENTION REFUSED

constituting a reign of terror, and convened the legislature in extra session. This body called upon President Grant to awaken what Sumner called "the sleeping giant of the Constitution" and protect the State against domestic violence. Grant was reluctant to interpose. In his annual message hardly a fortnight before he had said: "The whole subject of executive interference with the affairs of a State is repugnant to public opinion." "Unless most clearly on the side of law such interference becomes a crime." He therefore merely issued a proclamation commanding all disorderly bands in Mississippi to disperse. But breaches of the peace continued. At a public meeting in Yazoo City one man was killed and three or four wounded. The speaker of the evening, a Republican office-holder, left the county, professing to believe his life in danger. In Clinton, three days later, at a Republican barbecue, where there was a discussion between a Republican and a Democrat, a personal quarrel sprang up, during which two negroes were shot. This was the signal for a general attack by blacks upon whites, in the course of which three white men were killed and several wounded. Later in the night seven or eight negroes were killed, when the armed men dispersed and quiet was restored. Another outbreak at Friar's Point, a month afterward, was clearly incited by a colored sheriff, who had called together a body of armed negroes to support him in the County Convention.

Ames now renewed his petition for United States troops, but met with a chilling response from the new Attorney-General, Edwards Pierrepont, a Democrat till Seymour's nomination, thereafter a conservative Republican. He declared that the General Government could aid Mississippi only when all the resources of the State Executive had been exhausted. He accompanied this utterance with words from Grant's despatches: "The whole public are tired out with these annual autumnal outbreaks in the South, and the great majority now are ready to condemn any interference on the part of the

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Government.” Failing to secure assistance from Washington, Governor Ames’s party finally made an arrangement with the Conservatives, which assured a peaceable election.

This resulted in Republican defeat, whereupon Mr. Revels, the colored Senator from Mississippi, wrote to the President the following: “Since reconstruction the masses of people have been, as it were, enslaved in mind by unprincipled adventurers. A great portion of them have learned that they were being used as mere tools, and determined, by casting their ballots against these unprincipled adventurers, to overthrow them. The bitterness and hate created by the late civil strife have, in my opinion, been obliterated in this State, except, perhaps, in some localities, and would have long since been entirely effaced were it not for some unprincipled men who would keep alive the bitterness of the past and inculcate a hatred between the races in order that they may aggrandize themselves by office and its emoluments to control my people, the effect of which is to degrade them. If the State administration had advanced patriotic measures, appointed only honest and competent men to office, and sought to restore confidence between the races, bloodshed would have been unknown, peace would have prevailed, federal interference been unthought of, and harmony, friendship, and mutual confidence would have taken the place of the bayonet.” This “Yea, yea,” as it was called, “of a colored brother who never said nay,” was corroborated by testimony from other prominent Republicans, white and black.

On the other hand, it was warmly urged that, as a class, the Northern men in Mississippi were noble ex-soldiers, possessing virtues equal to those of their old associates, worthy sons of the fathers who founded this republic, and that they went to Mississippi with the same commendable motives under which their kinsmen have populated the continent from ocean to ocean—to establish homes and to improve society—taking all their capital and urging others to follow them.



Drawn by C. K. Linson

GENERAL BADGER IN FRONT OF THE GEM SALOON, NEW ORLEANS

On January 10, 1872, General A. S. Badger, under orders from Governor Warmoth, marched to the Gem Saloon in Royal Street, and demanded the surrender of the Carter Legislature which had made its headquarters there.

GOVERNOR AMES'S VIEWS

“The Southern man had a motive in slandering the reconstructionists. He committed crimes upon crimes to prevent the political equality of the negro, and found his justification, before the world, in the conduct of those who were obeying the laws of the land. The debts of South Carolina were made to do duty in Mississippi, where there were no debts. In fact violence began at once, before there was time to contract debts in any of the States.

“At first there was no political question. At first the enmity of a conquered people did not manifest itself. It was left for the Union soldiers practically to solve the problem of reconstruction put upon them by a Union Congress—a Congress whose laws they had always obeyed and the wisdom of whose decisions it never occurred to them to doubt. Their only offense against the State of Mississippi was an honest effort to obey the laws of the United States. They incorporated into the organic laws of the State, to its great benefit, some of the best features found in the constitutions of Northern States. They especially sought to build up, or rehabilitate educational and eleemosynary institutions. They would have liked to help by legislation the material condition of the State in its railroads and levees, but wiser counsels prevailed and the errors of other reconstructed States were avoided.

“The offense of the Northern soldier was in reconstructing at all—in giving (under the law) the negro the ballot. Political equality for the negro meant, to the whites, negro supremacy. Physical resistance followed. The few Union soldiers and their allies in Mississippi soon fell before the Mississippians and their re-inforcements from Louisiana and Alabama.”*

Whatever the faults of Republican administration in the State, the only serious assault on the finances of Mississippi during the stormy era of reconstruction was an effort to repay some of the millions which Mississippi had repudiated years before. But this effort was not made by Union soldiers or by

*Ex-Governor Adelbert Ames.

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Southern unionists, or by freedmen, but by an old Confederate; and the scheme was defeated by a carpet-bagger official. It is well known that while Governor of Mississippi General Ames saved that State in the case of the Confederate General Tucker's railroad about one million dollars, and in the case of the Vicksburg and Ship Island road some seven or eight hundred thousand dollars more. But for General Ames's timely antagonism and the use of counsel to resist the diversion of the State's funds, the State would have lost largely over a million dollars. The intelligent people of Mississippi to this day appreciate Governor Ames's action in this matter.

In Louisiana, because of the peculiarity of its social structure, the color-line was drawn even more sharply than in South Carolina. In South Carolina there were three distinct castes of whites—the aristocracy, the *bourgeoisie*, and the poor whites or "sand-hillers," while the Louisiana white people were a thorough democracy, the only caste division in the State being founded on color. The best families used no coats-of-arms; their coachmen and servants wore no livery. The splendors attending vulgar wealth were eschewed. "There was a nobility in the white skin more sacred and more respected than the one derived from the letters-patent of kings." Such solidarity among the whites rendered the feud precipitated by the negro's enfranchisement peculiarly bitter. White and black children no longer played together as of yore. To avoid seeming inferiority colored servants refused to sleep under the same roofs with their old masters.

It will be remembered that in November, 1872, Kellogg and McEnery each claimed to be elected Governor of Louisiana, that President Grant recognized Kellogg, but that McEnery and his supporters energetically protested. This contest had never been quieted. McEnery's government retained its organization though deprived of all power. Near the close of August, 1874, the troubles grew menacing. The two parties had met in convention, when the country was



Drawn by C. K. Linson

THE MASS-MEETING OF SEPTEMBER 14, 1874, AT THE CLAY STATUE, NEW ORLEANS

KELLOGG AND McENERY IN LOUISIANA

startled by the news of the arrest and deliberate shooting of six Republican officials. As in all such cases the reports were conflicting, one side declaring it a merciless war of whites upon blacks, the other an uprising of the blacks themselves.

The wealth of Louisiana made the State a special temptation to carpet-baggers. Between 1866 and 1872 taxes had risen five hundred per cent. Before the war a session of the legislature cost from \$100,000 to \$200,000; in 1871 the regular session cost between \$800,000 and \$900,000. Judge Black considered it "safe to say that a general conflagration, sweeping over all the State from one end to the other and destroying every building and every article of personal property, would have been a visitation of mercy in comparison to the curse of such a government." This statement is not extravagant if his other assertion is correct, that, during the ten years preceding 1876 New Orleans paid, in the form of direct taxes, more than the estimated value of all the property within her limits in the year named, and still had a debt of equal amount unpaid.

Kellogg had a body of Metropolitan Police, mostly colored, paid for by the city of New Orleans but under his personal command, which formed a part of his militia. Over against this was the New Orleans White League, which again is to be distinguished from the White League of the State. On September 14th a mass-meeting was called in New Orleans to protest against the Governor's seizure of arms shipped to private parties. By 11 A. M. the broad sidewalks were filled for several squares, and there was a general suspension of business. A committee was appointed to wait upon the Governor and request him to abdicate. He had fled from the Executive Office to the Custom-house, a great citadel, garrisoned at that time by United States troops. From his retreat he sent word declining to entertain any communication. Their leaders advised the people to get arms and return to assist the White League in executing plans that would be arranged. A large number formed in procession and marched

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up Poydras Street. By 3 p. m. armed men were posted at street-crossings south of Canal Street. Soon a strong position was taken in Poydras Street, the streets between Poydras and Canal being barricaded with cars turned sideways. General Ogden commanded the citizens and superintended these arrangements. Five hundred Metropolitans, with cavalry and artillery, took their station at the head of Canal Street, while General Longstreet, their leader, rode up and down Canal Street calling upon the armed citizens to disperse. About 4 p. m. the Metropolitans assaulted the citizens' position. A sharp fight ensued. General Ogden's horse was shot under him, as was General Badger's, on the Kellogg side. The colored Metropolitans broke at the first fire, deserting their white comrades. The citizens' victory was soon complete, General Longstreet and others seeking refuge in the Custom-house. Next morning, at seven, the State-house was in the citizens' hands; two hours later the whole Metropolitan force surrendered. The barricades were torn down and street-cars resumed their trips.

Lieutenant-Governor Penn hastened to assure the blacks that no harm was meant toward them, their property or their rights. "We war," said he, "only against the thieves, plunderers and spoilers of the State." All the morning Penn's residence was filled with congratulatory crowds. Throughout Louisiana the *coup-d'état* roused delirious enthusiasm. At the



WILLIAM PITT KELLOGG

same time leading citizens counseled moderation, especially urging that no violence toward colored people should be permitted. Penn, in a speech, said: "If you have any affection for me, if you have any regard for me, if you have any respect for me, as I believe you have, for God's sake and my sake do nothing to tarnish the fair fame of the State of Louisiana or to diminish the victory you have achieved." The

FEDERAL AID FOR KELLOGG



JOHN McENERY

Mayor's proclamation ran: "Let me advise extreme moderation; resume your vocations as soon as dismissed. Seek no revenge for past injuries, but leave your fallen enemies to the torture of their own consciences and to the lasting infamy which their acts have wrought for them." No deeds of violence were reported, though McEnery's officials were installed all over the State. About 2 P. M., as three thousand of General Ogden's militia marched past

the Custom-house, the United States troops gathered in the windows, took off their hats and gave the citizens three hearty cheers, which were returned. At 3 P. M. ten thousand unarmed citizens, preceded by a band of music, escorted Penn to the State-house.

The triumph was short-lived. The resort to arms displeased President Grant. He commanded the insurgents to disperse in five days—half the time he had allowed in Arkansas and one-fourth the time he had allowed in his Louisiana proclamation of 1873. Troops and men-of-war were ordered to New Orleans, and General Emory was instructed under no circumstances to recognize the Penn government. A Cabinet meeting concluded that "it was important to adopt measures for maintaining, if not the *de jure*, at least the *de facto* government in Louisiana." Attorney-General Williams compared the case with that of Arkansas, where, he confessed, he always believed Brooks had a majority, but said: "The question is not who ought to be Governor, but who is." Emory received positive directions to recognize the Kellogg government, and on the next day Kellogg was induced to venture



GENERAL DE TROBRIAND

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from his asylum and resume his office. Not all the McEnery officials were turned out, as several of the Kellogg placemen had fled upon the news of Penn's success and could not be found. The new city police, under Mr. Boylan, a well-known detective, were retained, owing to the demoralization of the Metropolitans. For a time United States soldiers were employed on police duty. On an election day as much as six weeks later, to remove apprehension caused by the inefficiency of the Metropolitans, a detail of the McEnery militia was made to preserve the peace at each polling-place.

McEnery and Penn advised cheerful submission, and while surrendering the State-house to Colonel Brooks showed him every courtesy. The only excess reported was an unsuccessful attack by negroes upon Bayou Sara. In answer to Attorney-General Williams's pronouncement Penn asserted that the McEnery government had been organized ever since 1872; that McEnery's armed supporters were not insurgents, but militia; that the sole reason why the McEnery government was not *de facto* in function in the whole State was that it was overpowered by the United States forces, but for which it could assert its authority and would be universally obeyed. The Kellogg government, he said, could be placed and kept in power by the United States army, but in no other way whatever. "Is this," he asked, "the Republican form of government guaranteed to every State under the Constitution?"

Happily the army had no command to repress free speech, which was usefully employed in appeals to the country. Some of these papers were written with unusual clearness and force. Besides describing anew the corruptions already alluded to, they accused the Kellogg faction of altering the registration laws in its own interest. "Many white citizens clearly entitled to registry were refused arbitrarily, while the colored people were furnished registration papers on which, in many instances, they could vote in different wards; and colored crews of steamboats.

BREAK IN THE COLORED VOTE



GENERAL PHILIP H. SHERIDAN
*From a photograph in the historical collection of
H. W. Fay*

transiently visiting this port were permitted to swell the number of voters." The White League, which, outside New Orleans, seems not to have been an armed body, was declared a necessary measure of defence against a formidable oath-bound order of blacks.

Governor Kellogg sought to explain the uprising. He said: "They first want the offices, and that is the meaning of this outburst. The Governor of Louisiana wields an enormous amount of patronage, for which McEnery and his friends hun-

ger." However, at his instance an Advisory Board, consisting of two men from each party and an umpire chosen by them, was arranged to supervise and carry on the registration for the next election. Though perhaps honestly conceived, this plan amounted to little. About the middle of October the umpire resigned, and the functions of the Board virtually came to an end. Further, the Conservatives were to cause all violence to cease, and were permitted to fill two vacancies on the Returning Board created by resignation for this purpose.

The election of November, 1874, was quiet. Indications seemed to point to Democratic success. A break in the colored vote was foreshadowed, among other things, by an address of leading colored men in New Orleans, setting forth that the Republican party in the State had, since reconstruction, been managed and controlled by men in all respects as bad as "the most rampant White Leaguer," that they had shut out the colored wealth and intelligence and put in office "illiterate and unworthy colored men." The colored people,

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it said, "are ready to adopt any honorable adjustment tending to harmonize the races," to further law and order and a higher standard of administration in public offices.

Of course the Returning Board played an important part in this election. One example will illustrate its methods. The parish of Rapides chose three legislators. The United States Supervisor certified that the election was in all respects full, fair, and free. In the parish itself no one knew that any contest existed. At one of its last sittings the Board, upon an affidavit of its President, Wells, alleging intimidation, counted in all three Republicans. This, like other acts of the kind, was done in secret or "executive" session. The Counsel of the Democratic Committee declared that they had no chance to answer. It came out that Wells was not present at Rapides, and he declined, though given the opportunity, to explain to the Congressional Committee his action. The Rapides change alone sufficed to determine the complexion of the lower house.

After recounting instances of illegal action and fraud on the part of the Returning Board, the Inspecting Committee appealed to the nation: "We, the down-trodden people of once free Louisiana, now call upon the people of the free States of America, if you would yourselves remain free and retain the right of self-government, to demand in tones that cannot be misunderstood or disregarded, that the shackles be stricken from Louisiana, and that the power of the United States army may no longer be used to keep a horde of adventurers in power."

Toward the end of 1874, the Returning Board completed its labors. It gave the treasury to the Republicans, and allowed them a majority of two in the Legislature, five seats being left open. These changes from the face of the returns were made on the ground of alleged fraud, intimidation, or other irregularity at the polls, or in making the returns. The Board dismissed as preposterous all complaints of intimidation

MEETING OF THE LEGISLATURE

by United States soldiery, though at least one case is reported of a federal officer making out affidavits against citizens, and arresting them upon these affidavits. He was stopped later by orders from his superior.

The Congressional Investigating Committee, composed of two Republicans and one Democrat, after citing three or four instances of fraud on the part of the Returning Board, unanimously found itself "constrained to declare that the action of the Returning Board on the whole, was arbitrary, unjust, and illegal; and that this arbitrary, unjust, and illegal action alone prevented the return of a majority of the Conservative members to the lower house."

A few days before the assembling of the legislature one of the Republican members was arrested and confined till after the opening. The Conservatives alleged that this was for embezzlement; the Republicans charged that it was for political purposes, and that their opponents were attempting to kidnap and even threatening to assassinate Republican legislators to wipe out the majority. So threatening an aspect of affairs induced Grant to give Sheridan command of the Military Department of the Gulf in addition to his own. Sheridan started on telegraphic notice.

The legislature convened on January 4th. Suppressed excitement could be seen in every eye. Of the memorable and unprecedented events of this day there are four varying accounts—General Sheridan's statement, two reports to Congress by committees of the two political parties in the Louisiana House of Representatives, and a recital incorporated in the Congressional Committee's report above referred to. The last, of which we give a *résumé*, is the most trustworthy.

The State-house was filled and surrounded by Metropolitans and federal soldiers, and no one permitted to enter save by Governor Kellogg's orders. At noon the clerk of the preceding House, Mr. Vigers, called the Assembly to order and proceeded to call the roll. Fifty Democrats and fifty-two

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Republicans answered to their names. Instantly a Conservative member, Mr. Billieu, nominated L. A. Wiltz as temporary chairman. The clerk interposed some objection, but Mr. Billieu, disregarding him, hurriedly put the motion and declared it carried upon a *viva voce* vote. Wiltz sprang to the platform, pushed the clerk aside, and seized the gavel. Justice Houston then swore in the members *en bloc*. In the same hurried fashion a new clerk was elected, also a sergeant-at-arms; then, from among gentlemen who had secured entrance under one pretext or another, a number of assistant sergeants-at-arms were appointed. These gentlemen at once opened their coats and discovered each his badge bearing the words "Assistant Sergeant-at-Arms." Protests, points of order, calls for the yeas and nays, were overridden. The five contesting Democrats were admitted and sworn in. The Republicans now adopted their opponents' tactics. Someone nominated Mr. Lowell for temporary chairman, and amid great confusion declared him elected, but he declined to serve. The organization of the House was completed by the election of Wiltz as Speaker. Several Republican members attempting to leave were prevented by the assistant sergeants-at-arms. Pistols were displayed, and the disorder grew so great that the House requested Colonel de Trobriand, commanding the forces at the State-house, to insist upon order in the lobby. This he did, and the House proceeded with the election of minor officers, uninterrupted for an hour. At length de Trobriand received word from Governor Kellogg, which his general orders bound him to obey, to remove the five members sworn in who had not been returned by the Board. Speaker Wiltz refusing to point them out, General Campbell did so, and in spite of protest they were removed by federal soldiers. Wiltz then left the hall at the head of the Conservative members. The Republicans, remaining, organized to suit themselves.

General Sheridan reported the matter somewhat differently. He reached Louisiana in no judicial frame of mind.



Drawn by W. R. Leigh

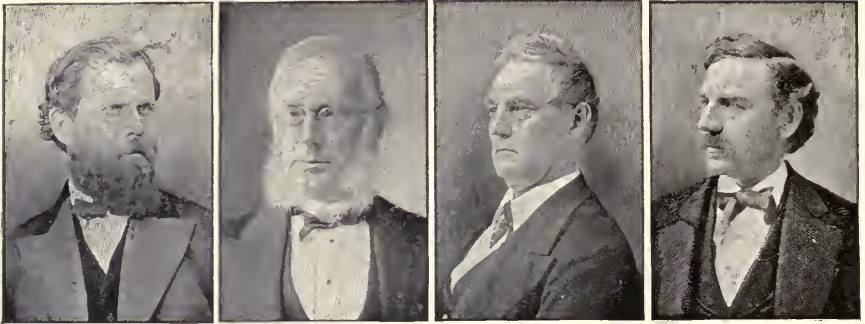
L. A. WILTZ TAKING POSSESSION OF THE SPEAKER'S CHAIR IN THE LOUISIANA STATE-
HOUSE, JANUARY 4, 1875

SHERIDAN'S ASSERTIONS DENIED

Conservative chagrin and humiliation often took form in foolish threats, which were at once seized upon by the carpet-baggers and scalawags to fan his wrath. The very air seemed to him impregnated with assassination. He suggested that Congress or the President should declare the "ringleaders of the armed White Leagues" banditti; he could then try them by military commission and put an end to such scenes as had occurred. The New Orleans Cotton Exchange, a meeting of Northern and Western residents of New Orleans, and other bodies passed resolutions denying the correctness of Sheridan's impressions. In an appeal to the American people a number of New Orleans clergymen condemned the charges lodged by Sheridan with the Secretary of War as "unmerited, unfounded, and erroneous." General Sheridan reiterated them, and accused Bishop Wilmer, one of the signers of the appeal, of having admitted before the Congressional Committee "that the condition of affairs was substantially as bad as reported." The Bishop agreed that Louisianians were more prone than others to acts of violence, saying "there is a feeling of insecurity here," an expression which he interpreted as meaning, "no security in the courts against theft."

General Sherman commented on the case as follows: "I have all along tried to save our officers and soldiers from the dirty work imposed on them by the city authorities of the South; and may thereby have incurred the suspicion of the President that I did not cordially sustain his forces. . . I have always thought it wrong to bolster up weak State governments by our troops. We should keep the peace always; but not act as bailiff constables and catch-thieves; that should be beneath a soldier's vocation. I know that our soldiers hate that kind of duty terribly, and not one of those officers but would prefer to go to the plains against the Indians, rather than encounter a street mob or serve a civil process. But in our government it is too hard to stand up in the face of what is apparent, that the present government of Louisiana is not

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S. S. Marshall

G. F. Hoar

William A. Wheeler

William P. Frye

THE COMMITTEE WHICH FORMULATED THE "WHEELER ADJUSTMENT"

the choice of the people, though in strict technical law it is the State government."

Public opinion at the North sided with the appellants. The press gave a cry of alarm at such military interference in civil affairs. A staunch Republican sheet uttered the sentiment of many when it said, "Unless the Republican party is content to be swept out of existence by the storm of indignant protest arising against the wrongs of Louisiana from all portions of the country, it will see that this most shameful outrage is redressed wholly and at once." Numerous indignation meetings were held in Northern cities. Republicans like William Cullen Bryant, William M. Evarts, Joseph R. Hawley and Carl Schurz openly condemned the use which had been made of the troops. Legislatures passed resolutions denouncing it, and it was understood that Fish, Bristow and Jewell, of the Cabinet, disapproved. Yet patience was urged upon the people of Louisiana. "Whatever injustice," said Carl Schurz, "you may have to suffer, let not a hand of yours be lifted, let no provocation of insolent power, nor any tempting opportunity seduce you into the least demonstration of violence. As your cause is just, trust to its justice, for surely the time cannot be far when every American who truly loves his liberty will recognize the cause of his own rights and liberties in the cause of constitutional government in Louisiana."

THE WHEELER ADJUSTMENT

Under a resolution introduced by Mr. Thurman the Senate called upon President Grant for explanation. A special message was the response, defending the end which had been had in view but really leaving undefended the means employed. Early in 1875 a second committee, George F. Hoar, Chairman, was appointed to investigate Louisiana affairs. The result of their labors was known as the "Wheeler Adjustment," which embraced on the one hand submission to the Kellogg government, and on the other arbitration by the committee of contested seats in the legislature. This arbitration seated twelve of the contestants excluded by the Returning Board. Mr. Hahn vacated the Speaker's chair, Mr. Wiltz withdrew as a candidate therefor, and Mr. Estilette, a Conservative, was elected. This settlement marked the beginning of the end of carpet-baggery in Louisiana.

CHAPTER VII

INDIAN WARS AND THE CUSTER DEATH

CIVILIZED INDIANS IN 1874.—GRANT'S POLICY FOR THE WILD TRIBES.—DIFFICULTIES OF THE INDIAN COMMISSIONERS.—INDIANS' WRONGS AND DISCONTENT.—TROUBLES IN ARIZONA.—GOV. SAFFORD'S DECLARATION.—MASSACRE OF APACHES IN 1871.—REPORT OF FEDERAL GRAND JURY.—THE APACHES SUBDUED.—GRIEVANCES OF THE SIOUX.—THE MODOC WAR AND GEN. CANBY'S DEATH.—TROUBLES IN 1874.—THE MILL RIVER DISASTER IN MASSACHUSETTS.—THE SIOUX REBELLION.—THE ARMY'S PLAN OF CAMPAIGN.—CUSTER'S PART.—HIS DEATH.—HOW THE BATTLE WENT.—"REVENGE OF RAIN-IN-THE-FACE."—CUSTER CRITICISED.—AND DEFENDED.

EARNESTLY as President Grant strove to improve the Indian service it was no credit to the nation during his term. In 1874 the Indian Territory contained not far from 90,000 civilized Indians. The Cherokees, 17,000 strong and increasing, who had moved hither from Alabama, Tennessee, and Georgia, now possessed their own written language, constitution, laws, judges, courts, churches, schools, and academies, including three schools for their former negro slaves. They had 500 frame and 3,500 log-houses. They yearly raised much live-stock, 3,000,000 bushels of corn, with enormous crops of wheat, potatoes and oats—an agricultural product greater than New Mexico's and Utah's combined. Similarly advanced were the Choctaws, with 17,000 people and forty-eight schools; the Creeks, with 13,000 people and thirty schools; and the Seminoles, General Jackson's old foes, having 2,500 people and four schools.

These facts inspired the President with a desire to improve the wilder tribes. Deeming clemency and justice, with firmness, certain to effect this, he proposed to transfer the

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Indian bureau to the War Department; but Congress, army officers, and the Indians themselves, opposed. He then gave the supervision of Indian affairs to a Commission made up from certain religious bodies. This kindly policy being announced, two powerful Indian delegations, one of them headed by Red Cloud, the Sioux chief, visited the Great Father at Washington, evidently determined henceforth to keep the peace.

Few of the wild Indians did this, however. Perhaps only the Apaches, always our most troublesome wards, have ever pursued murder and rapine out of pure wantonness; yet most of the red men still remained savages, ready for the war-path on slight provocation. If the frontier view—no good Indian but a dead one—is severe, many Eastern people were hardly less extreme in the degree of nobility with which their imagination invested the aborigines. Moreover, despite the Commission's exertions, the Indian service, though its cost increased from three and a quarter million in 1866 to nearly seven million in 1874, sank in character. The Commissioners were partly ignored, partly subjected to needless embarrassment in their work. Members of the Indian Ring secured positions and contracts in preference to people recommended by the Commission, and the Interior Department often paid bills expressly disallowed by the Commission, which was charged with the auditing.

Contractors systematically swindled the Indians. Professor Marsh, of Yale University, wishing to engage in scientific research upon Red Cloud's Reservation, that chief, while protecting his life, forbade him to trespass till he promised to show the Great Father samples of the wretched rations furnished his tribe. "I thought," naively confessed the chief, "that he would throw them away before he got there." But the "man who came to pick up bones" was better than his word. He exhibited the specimens to the President, who was deeply incensed and declared that justice should be done.

DISCONTENT OF THE INDIANS

Marsh drew up ten specific charges, to the effect that the agent was incompetent and guilty of gross frauds, that the number of Indians was overstated to the Department, and that the amount of food and clothing actually furnished them was insufficient and of wretched quality. Army testimony was of like tenor. "The poor wretches," said one officer, "have been several times this winter on the verge of starvation owing to the rascality of the Indian Ring. They have been compelled to eat



RED CLOUD
After a photograph by Bell

dogs, wolves, and ponies." It was urged in excuse that the supply-wagons had been delayed by snow. March 18, 1875, General Sherman wrote from St. Louis: "To-morrow Generals Sheridan and Pope will meet here to discuss the Indian troubles. We could settle them in an hour, but Congress wants the patronage of the Indian bureau, and the bureau wants the appropriations without any of the trouble of the Indians themselves."

The Indians' discontent was intensified by the progressive invasion of their preserves by white men, often as lawless as the worst Indians, and invariably bringing intemperance and licentiousness. Frontiersmen looked jealously at the unimproved acres of the reservations as an Eden which they were forbidden to enter, while a horde of thriftless savages were in idle possession. Violence against the red men seemed justifiable and was frequent.

The first troubles were in Arizona. In 1871 the legislature of the Territory, seconded by the California legislature, prayed Congress for protection. Affidavits were submitted declaring that within two years 166 persons had been killed, 801 horses and mules and 2,437 cattle killed or stolen. In

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November Governor A. P. K. Safford gave out an impassioned letter, of which we reproduce the substance. He said that with natural resources unsurpassed, with gold and silver mines that ought to be yielding annually \$20,000,000, the people of his Territory were in poverty, and had undergone for years scenes of death and torture unparalleled in the settlement of our new countries. Instead of receiving sympathy and encouragement from their countrymen they were denounced as border ruffians, though nowhere were the laws more faithfully obeyed or executed than in Arizona. In but one instance had the people taken the law into their own hands. That, as the facts showed, was done under the most aggravating circumstances. In the possession of the Indians killed was found property belonging to men and women who had been murdered while the Indians were fed at Camp Grant. For this attack on the red men the whites were indicted by a grand jury, showing that Arizona courts and judges did not screen any. The Territory was out of debt, and was soon to have a free school in every district, indicating the law-abiding character of the population; yet men who were making money at the cost of the lives and property of the Arizona people denounced them as everything bad, and represented the Apache Indians, who had for four hundred years lived by murder and robbery, as paragons of moral excellence. The people of Arizona wanted peace and cared not how it was obtained; but they knew by years of experience that to feed Indians and let them roam over large tracts of lands simply placed them in a secure position to raid the settlers and return to their reservations for safety and rest. Though possessing one of the richest Territories, all the Arizonians felt discouraged. At least five hundred had been killed, a large number of these horribly tortured. Those left, after fighting for years to hold the country, found themselves in poverty and looked upon as barbarians. General Crook struck the keynote when he enlisted Indians against Indians. It threw con-

THE APACHE MASSACRE AND ITS CAUSES

sternation among them such as was never seen before. Had he been allowed to pursue this policy it would have taken but a few months to conquer a lasting peace. But Peace Commissioner Colyer had countermanded the order and millions would have to be expended and hundreds of lives lost before the end could be reached.

The massacre of Indians referred to by Governor Safford occurred in April, 1871. A few hundred Apaches had been gathered at Camp Grant, being fed on condition of keeping the peace, which condition seemed to have been broken. A party of whites with a hundred Papago Indians fell upon the Indian camp, killed eighty-five men and women, and carried away twenty-eight children as prisoners. A Federal grand jury which found indictments against several of the attacking party reported upon a number of important points. They found that the hostile Indians in the Territory, led by many different chiefs, generally adopted the policy of making the point where the Indians were fed the base of their supplies of ammunition, guns, and recruits for their raids, each hostile chief usually drawing warriors from other bands when he undertook an important raid, whether upon Arizona citizens or upon the neighboring state of Sonora, where they were continually making depredations. With few marked exceptions the habit of drunkenness prevailed among the officers at Camps Grant, Goodwin, and Apache, where the Apache Indians were fed. The rations issued to the Indians at these camps were frequently insufficient for their support; also unjustly distributed. Bones were sometimes issued instead of meat. One United States quartermaster acknowledged that he had made a surplus of twelve thousand pounds of corn in issuing rations to the Indians at Camp Goodwin. An officer commanding at Camp Apache, besides giving liquor to the Apache Indians, got beastly drunk with them from whiskey belonging to the United States Hospital Department. Another United States Army officer gave liquor to Indians at the same camp.

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The Region Occupied by the Modocs, showing the "Lava Beds"

United States Army officers at those camps where the Indians were fed habitually used their official position to break the chastity of the Indian women. The regulations of Camp Grant, with the Apache Indians on the reservation, were such that the whole body of Indians might leave the reservation and be gone many days without the knowledge of the commanding officer. In conclusion this United States grand jury reported that five hundred of their neighbors, friends, and fellow-citizens had fallen by the murdering hand of the Apache Indians, clothing in the garb of mourning family circles in many hamlets, towns and cities of different States. "This blood," they said, "cried from the ground to the American people for justice—justice to all men."

Pacific overtures and presents were made to the Indians by Peace Commissioner Colyer, but his efforts were unpopular and proved futile. By the severer policy which the whites urged and by pitting friendly Indians against them, the Apaches were at last subdued and kept thenceforth under strict registry and surveillance.

During the autumn of 1874 gold was found in the Black Hills Sioux Reservation, between Wyoming and what is now South Dakota. General Sheridan prohibited exploration, but gold-seekers continually evaded his order. Said Red Cloud: "The people from the States who have gone to the Black Hills are stealing gold, digging it out and taking it away, and I don't see why the Great Father don't bring them back. Our Great Father has a great many soldiers, and I never knew

SAVAGES GO UPON THE WARPATH

him, when he wanted to stop anything with his soldiers but he succeeded in it." A still worse grievance was the destruction of buffaloes by hunters and excursionists. Thousands of the animals were slaughtered for their hides, which fell in price from three dollars each to a dollar. In one locality were to be counted six or seven thousand putrefying carcasses. Hunters boasted of having killed two thousand head apiece in one season. Railroads ran excursion trains of amateur hunters, who shot their victims from the car windows. The creatures were at last well-nigh exterminated, so that in 1894 buffalo robes cost in New York from \$75 to \$175 each.

Rasped to frenzy in so many ways, tribe after tribe of savages resolutely took up arms. The Klamath Indians and the Modocs, hereditary enemies, were shortly after the civil war placed upon a common reservation in Oregon. The Modocs, suffering many annoyances from the Klamaths, and indulging in some retaliation, were at last permitted, leaving their uncongenial corral, to roam abroad. Captain Jack headed the seceders, who were believed by many to have been for the most part inoffensive. Among them, however, eight or ten turbulent spirits, led by Curly-headed Doctor, were accused of such depredations that a new superintendent, appearing in 1872, made unfavorable report of the whole wandering tribe, and recommended what General E. R. S. Canby, commanding the Department of the Columbia, deprecated, a resort to force to bring them back to their reservation. Surprised in camp at gray dawn of November 29, 1872, the chiefs refused to surrender and escaped, leaving eight or nine dead warriors, and killing or wounding about the same number of soldiers, besides three citizen auxiliaries. Curly-headed Doctor's band now went upon the war-path, killing eighteen men, though sparing all women and children. While Captain Jack and his faction had no hand in this, the two chiefs, with about 50 warriors and 175 camp followers, united for defence in the Lava Beds, or "pedregal," of northern California, over which rocks of all

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shapes and sizes lay where the last ancient volcanic eruption left them, presenting crevices, chasms, and subterranean passages innumerable, with occasional verdant patches of an acre or two. Against these hostiles were sent 400 soldiers and a battery of howitzers. After nearly a month of preparation and skirmishes, on the 17th of January, 1873, 300 soldiers with twenty scouts entered the "pedregal." The stumbling advance exposed not a redskin, but man after man fell as the cracks and crannies of the gray rocks above them kept spitting spiteful puffs of smoke. At night, thirty having been wounded and ten killed, they retreated, and Colonel Wheaton, commanding, asked for 300 more men and four mortars. Meantime the Modocs, by capture or otherwise, secured guns, ammunition, and perhaps some reinforcements.

Now two Peace Commissioners, succeeding each other, endeavored in vain to induce the Indians to remove to a reservation in Arizona or the Indian Territory, far from the persecutions of the Klamaths and from the vengeance of Oregon whites. The eight or ten most desperate Modocs, known as "the murderers," urged the continuance of the war. Lest his tribal kindred should be betrayed to the hangman or some other treachery practiced, Captain Jack wished the soldiers sent away and the Lava Beds made a reservation. Finding that neither of these dangerous boons could be granted, he began to lend ear to his tempters, who surrounded him as he sat despondent on a rock. Hooker Jim said: "You are like an old squaw; you have never done any fighting. You are not fit to be a chief." In like strain George: "What do you want with a gun? You don't shoot anything with it. You don't go any place or do anything. You are sitting around on the rocks." Scar-faced Charley took up the taunt: "I am going with Hooker Jim. I can fight with him. You are nothing but an old squaw." They decked him with a squaw's dress and bonnet and further jeered him. Thus stirred, the savage in Captain Jack triumphed. He turned on them

GEN. CANBY'S CONFERENCE WITH MODOCS

and cried: "I will show you that I am no squaw. We will have war, and Keint-poos will not be the one to ask for peace." It is recorded of Captain Jack that subsequently, with Scar-faced Charley, he all night watched over a white emissary, an old-time friend of the tribe, to prevent his murder by the Indians. Upon returning he assured the Commissioners that the Modocs meant treachery. The interpreter's squaw wife, Toby, also warned them, being herself told by Modoc "Whim" to keep away and to keep the Commissioners away. A parley appointed for April 8th fell through because of the timely discovery of an Indian ambush. Nevertheless, when Bogus Charley came and proposed at the council tent near the edge of the "pedregal" an unarmed conference of the Commissioners and General Canby with an equal number of Modocs, saying that after this they would surrender, General Canby and Dr. Thomas, of the Commission, thought that the importance of the object justified the risk. The scout Riddle, as well as Meacham and Dyar, the other Peace Commissioners, urged that it was a hazardous enterprise, but all three said they would go rather than be chargeable with cowardice. Before starting, Meacham and Dyar provided themselves with pocket pistols, gave up their valuables to a friend, and indicated their last wishes.



GENERAL E. R. S. CANBY

The embassy took seats on stones around a small fire of brush. Only Dr. Thomas reclined on the ground. Captain Jack made a speech. As he closed, Hooker Jim took Meacham's overcoat and put it on, insolently remarking, "I am Meacham." Meacham said: "Take my hat, too." "I will, presently," was the response, in Modoc. Perceiving that treachery was contemplated, General Canby told how he had earned the name of "the

Indian's friend," expressing hope that the Modocs, as others had done, would some day thank him for getting them happy homes. He could not send away the Great Father's soldiers, but what the Commissioners promised should be done, and the citizens should not interfere. Dr. Thomas, too, rising to his knees, with head uncovered and with his hand on Meacham's shoulder, said: "I believe the Great Spirit put it into the heart of the President to send us here to make peace. I have known General Canby fourteen years, Mr. Meacham eighteen years, and Mr. Dyar four years. I know their hearts are good, and I know my own heart. We want no more war. I believe that God sees what we do; that he wishes us all to be at peace; that no more blood should be



THE LAVA BEDS

*Looking east, showing the Soldiers' Cemetery in the foreground
From a photograph by Taber*

shed." Captain Jack said he did not wish to leave that country for a strange one. "Jack," said Meacham, "let us talk like men and not like children. You are a man that has com-

GEN. CANBY KILLED

mon-sense ; isn't there any other place that will do you except Willow Creek and Cottonwood ?" Here, while Jack stepped back to the horses, Sconchin broke in : "Give us Hot Creek for a home, and take away your soldiers," repeating, excitedly, "Take away the soldiers and give us Hot Creek, or stop talking." Just then two Indians with three guns apiece came running from their hiding place not far off. Steamboat Frank and a third brave also soon appeared. "What does this mean, Captain Jack ?" said some one. The chief, close to Canby, levelled his revolver, said "*Atwe,*" "all ready," and pressed the trigger. The cap snapped. In an instant he cocked it again and fired. Canby fell, struck under the eye. Boston Charley shot Dr. Thomas in the left breast. He rose and ran, but Bogus Charley finished the work with a rifle ball. Scon-



THE SCENE OF THE CANBY MASSACRE

The cross indicates the spot where General Canby sat when Captain Jack fired the first shot
From a photograph by Taber

chin missed Meacham, who ran, drew his pistol and fired back, but soon fell senseless with a bullet in his head. General Canby recovered his footing and sought to flee. Ellen's

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Man brought him to the earth, while Jack dispatched him with a stab in the neck. Pressed by Hooker Jim, Dyar faced about with his pistol and the redskin fled. Riddle, the interpreter, hounded by three, managed to escape with a mere scratch. His wife, Toby, was struck down, but her life was spared. As the murderers proceeded to the usual savage consummation of their deed, she cried out: "Soldiers! soldiers!" whereat they fled. By this ruse did the faithful squaw save the bodies from mutilation.

At another place Lieutenants Doyle and Sherwood had just before been attacked under a flag of truce, and Sherwood mortally wounded. The camp force, thus apprised of treachery, hastened, too late, to the scene of Canby's death. Only Riddle and Dyar reached their advancing lines. The stripped bodies of Canby and Thomas were first found. Near by lay Meacham, also stripped, shot under his right eye, in the side of the head, and through the right arm. A temple was grazed, a finger lost, an ear cut, while a long gash gaped where Boston Charley had begun to scalp his victim. Meacham still breathed, however, and, after the bullets had been extracted, rapidly recovered.

Attack upon the Indians was now begun in earnest, and their stronghold shelled, but in vain. Not till early summer, when the "murderers" had rebelled and both factions left the lava beds, Jack making for the coveted Willow Creek, seeking, perhaps, a union with disaffected Shoshones, did General Jefferson C. Davis, who took Canby's place, scatter and capture the bloody pack. The Modocs lost a few warriors, besides women and children. Of citizens and the military and Indian allies, sixty-five were killed, sixty-three wounded. The war cost half a million dollars. Captain



GENERAL GEORGE A.
CUSTER

TWO VIEWS OF THE MODOC WAR



SITTING BULL
After a photograph by Notman



GALL
After a photograph by Barry

TWO FAMOUS SIOUX CHIEFS

Jack, Sconchin, Black Jim, Boston Charley, One-Eyed Jim, and Slolox were tried by a military commission for murder. The first four were hanged, the other two imprisoned for life on Alcatraz Island, San Francisco Harbor.

The above account of the Modoc War is substantially that of those inclined to lay the main guilt of the uprising to the whites and to think well of the Indians. What may in a sense be called the Oregon view differs from it in certain more or less important particulars, mainly (1) in ascribing the provocation to war to the Modocs rather than to the Klamaths or the whites, and to the whole of Jack's band rather than to a turbulent part of it; (2) in setting down as foolish the efforts of peace men to deal with savages, considering these as, practically without exception, heartless and treacherous.

The Cheyennes and allied tribes, in reprisal for the loss of their buffaloes, made many cattle raids. In 1874 the settlers retaliated, but were soon flying from their farms in panic. The Indians, as the papers had it, were at once "handed over to the secular arm," the army being set to deal with them instead of the Peace Commission. Resistance was brief, en-

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

tirely collapsing when at one stroke sixty-nine warriors and two thousand ponies were captured on Elk Creek. In 1874 a massacre by the Sioux was barely averted. The agent at the Red Cloud agency erected a staff, and, on Sunday, unfurled the national flag "to let the Indians know what day it was." Viewing the emblem as meaning hostility, the Sioux beleaguered the agency, and, but for Sitting Bull, would have massacred all the whites there as well as the handful of soldiers sent to their rescue.

While the catastrophes just narrated were occurring a worse horror withdrew public attention for a moment from the Indian hostilities at the remote West to a far Eastern locality over which King Philip's own braves had ranged in the first great Indian war of American history.



GENERAL GEORGE A. CUSTER
After a photograph by Gardner at Falmouth, Va., in 1863

THE WILLIAMSBURG, MASS., FLOOD

On May 16, 1874, the rupture of a reservoir dam in the town of Williamsburg, Mass., caused a disastrous flood, costing 140 lives and the loss of \$1,500,000 in property. The basin which collapsed was 300 feet above the level of Williamsburg village, and from three to four miles farther up Mill River. It covered 109 acres to a depth averaging 24 feet, its 650,000,000 gallons of water forming a reserve supply for the factories of Williamsburg, Skinnerville, Haydenville, Leeds, and Florence. The gate-keeper, one George Cheney, made the tour of the premises as usual, early on the fatal morning, but discovered nothing out of order. He went home to breakfast. The meal was just ending when Cheney's father, happening to glance through a window, exclaimed: "For God's sake, George, look there!" A vast block, fifty feet long, was shooting out from the bottom of the dam. Cheney was an old soldier and had presence of mind. Rushing to the gate he opened it to its full width, hoping thus to relieve the pressure at the break. He then made for the barn. Bridling his horse while his father cut him a stick, he mounted, just as the whole dam gave way, and dashed headlong down the valley, warning the population below. He covered the distance to Spellman's button factory, three miles away, in fifteen minutes, the thundering avalanche of waters close behind.

It was about half after seven when the brave herald reached Spellman's, himself spent with excitement and shouting, his horse worsted in the unequal race. D. Collins Graves, a milkman, here took up the news. Saying "If the dam is breaking the folks must know it," he lashed his horse at a breakneck pace to Haydenville, shouting: "The reservoir is right here! Run! It's all you can do!" Spellman's factory, the first building to test the torrent's power, was tossed from its base and dashed in pieces like a child's block-house. The help, heeding Cheney's warning, sped to the hills—too late, for many were caught and borne down to

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death. The Skinnerville silk operatives had just begun the day's work. When the warning reached them the superintendent was incredulous, and only the roar of the waters, drowning the courier's cry, wrung from him the order to quit. All hands dashed toward the high land, and but three were lost. Of these one had hurried home to save his family, arriving just in time to perish with them. Many other families were hurried to death together, amid noble efforts of the strong to save the weak, whose groans and cries formed an agonizing appeal for aid. The loss of life must have been far greater but for Cheney's and Graves's brave riding.

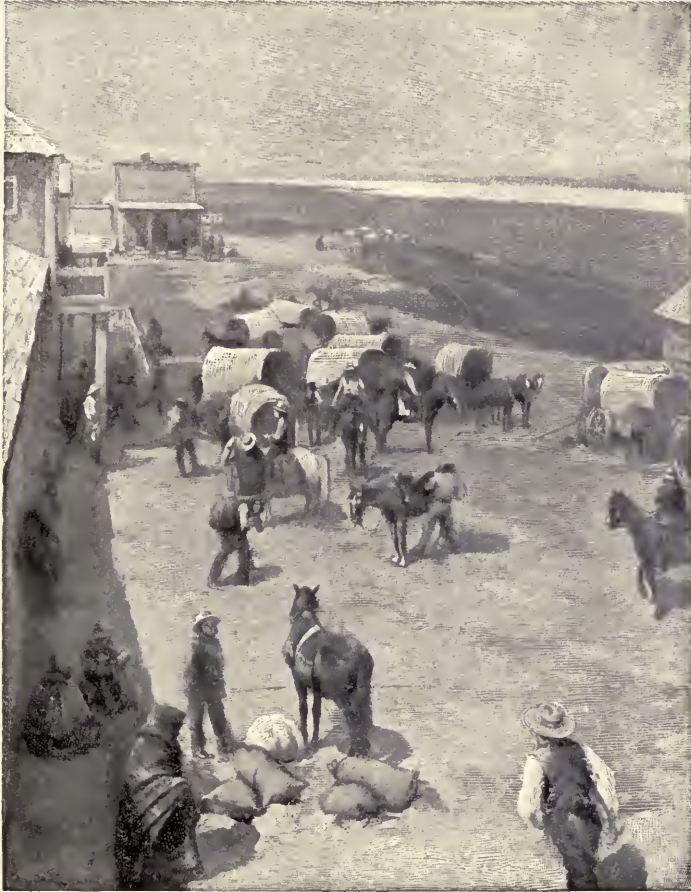
Many hair-breadth escapes occurred, accounts of which, related afterward, sounded like miracle stories. One man sailed half a mile on the very crest of the deluge, borne upon a raft of *débris*, saving himself at last by grasping a limb of one of the few trees stout enough to stem the flood. Large parts of Williamsburg and Skinnerville, including several mills and factories, were laid in hopeless ruin. The great brass works at Haydenville were totally demolished. A couple of mill-stones, weighing a ton each, were wafted a distance of half a mile. Almost the entire village of Leeds was destroyed. Much damage was done so far down as Florence, where vast fertile tracks were covered beneath feet of sand.



RAIN-IN-THE-FACE
After a photograph by Barry

Relief work for the hundreds left homeless and destitute was at once begun and nobly prosecuted. Supplies came from nearly all parts of Massachusetts and from other States. The Massachusetts legislature was in session and instituted a competent and searching investigation of the accident. Public sorrow turned to public indignation when the calamity was discovered to be due entirely to

BAD CONSTRUCTION OF THE RESERVOIR



THE INDIAN TRADERS' STORE AT STANDING ROCK, DAKOTA*
After a photograph by Barry

culpable negligence on the part of those originating, planning, constructing and approving the reservoir. The wall of the dam was too weak. It was built mainly of irregular instead of cut stone. Save at the middle, where it was re-enforced by about a foot, it was not over $5\frac{1}{2}$ feet thick. Also the earth above the stone was not properly placed or rammed.

*It was here, in the spring of 1875, that Rain-in-the-Face was arrested by Captain Tom Custer, in revenge for which he threatened to eat the latter's heart—a threat said to have been fulfilled at the fight on the Little Big Horn.

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

In 1875 there was pretence of investigating affairs at the Red Cloud post, but with scant result. Much of the testimony was by casual observers or interested parties, and none of it under oath. The Indians did not testify freely, and contradicted each other; Sitting Bull told one story, Red Cloud another. What became clear was that, in Red Cloud's phrase, the Indians were "succeeding backward."

A large portion of the Sioux, under Sitting Bull, had refused to enter into a treaty surrendering certain lands and consenting to confine themselves within a new reservation. Notice was served upon these non-treaty Sioux that, unless they moved to the reservation before January 1, 1876, they would be treated as hostiles. Sitting Bull refused to stir, and early in the spring the army assumed the offensive. The chief chose his position with rare skill, in the wild hunting country of southern Montana, now Custer County, near a quarter-circle of agencies, whence would join him next summer a great troop of discontented and ambitious young "Reservation" braves. The Bad Lands around made defense easy and attack most arduous.

It was determined to close upon the hostiles in three columns, General Gibbon from the west, General Crook from the south, and General Terry, with a somewhat larger body of troops, including the Seventh United States Cavalry, six hundred strong, under Lieutenant-Colonel Custer, from the east. Crook was delayed by unexpected attacks. The other two columns met without interference. Terry followed the Yellowstone up as far as the Rosebud, where he established a supply camp. Here Custer with his cavalry left him, June 22d, to make a detour south, up the Rosebud, get above the Indians, and drive them down the Little Big Horn into the army's slowly closing grip. Three days later, June 25th, Custer struck Sitting Bull's main trail, and eagerly pursued it across the divide into the Little Big Horn Valley. Expecting battle, he detached Major Reno with seven of his twelve companies, to cross the Little Big Horn, descend it, and strike the

THE CUSTER MASSACRE

foe from the west ; but Reno was soon attacked and held at bay, being besieged in all more than twenty-four hours. Meantime, suddenly coming upon the lower end of the Indians' immense camp, the gallant Custer and his braves, without an instant's hesitation, advanced into the jaws of death. That death awaited every man was at once evident, but at the awful sensation, the sickening horror attending the realization of that fact, not a soul wavered. Balaklava was pastime to this, for here not one "rode back." "All that was left of them," after perhaps twenty-five minutes, was so many mostly unrecognizable corpses.

"Two hundred and sixty-two were with Custer, and two hundred and sixty-two died overwhelmed. With the last shot was silence. The report might have been written: 'None wounded; none missing; all dead.' No living tongue of all that heroic band was left to tell the story. The miserable half-breed scout, Curley, who might years later be seen hanging around Fort Custer, claimed to have been with Custer when the engagement began, but he pulled a Sioux blanket over his head, mingled with the enemy, and ran away at the first fire. He could only tell that there had been a battle." "Near the high ground and not far from where the Custer monument was erected, the body of Kellogg, special correspondent of the *New York Herald*, was found. He was bravely following the gallant Custer. The guide points out the little wooden slab which marks the spot, for he died like a hero, too, in the line of his duty."

After harrassing Reno, the Indians slipped off under cover of night. Ascending the Big Horn and the Little Big Horn, Gibbon and Terry, on the 27th, discovered the bodies of Custer and his five devoted companies. Custer alone was not mutilated. He had been shot



CAPTAIN E. S. GODFREY
After a photograph by Barry

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

in the left temple, the remainder of his face wearing in death a natural look. Years subsequently a careful survey of the field and talks with savages enabled Captain Godfrey, who was with Reno on the fatal day, to see what course the Custer fight had taken



"Comanche"*

THE ONLY SURVIVORS OF
After a photograph

Finding himself outnumbered twelve or more to one—the Indians mustered about 2,500 warriors, besides a caravan of boys and squaws—Custer had dismounted his heroes, who, planting themselves mainly on two hills some way apart, the advance one held by Custer, the other by Captains Keogh and Calhoun, prepared to sell their lives dearly. The redskins say that had Reno maintained the offensive they should have fled, the chiefs having, at the first sight of Custer, ordered camp broken for this purpose. But when Reno drew back this order was countermanded, and the entire army of the savages was concentrated against the doomed Custer. By waving blankets and uttering their hellish yells, they stampeded many of the cavalry horses, which carried off precious ammunition in their saddle-bags. Lining up just behind a ridge, they would rise quickly, fire at the soldiers, and drop, exposing themselves little, but drawing Custer's fire, so caus-

*Comanche was the horse ridden by Captain Keogh, and was afterward found with seven wounds at a distance of several miles from the battle-field. The Secretary of War subsequently issued an order forbidding any one to ride him, and detailing a soldier to take care of him as long as he lived. Curley, a Crow Indian, was Custer's scout, and is said to have made his escape by wrapping himself in a Sioux blanket when the battle began.

THE REVENGE OF RAIN-IN-THE-FACE



Curley, the Scout
THE CUSTER MASSACRE
by Barry

ing additional loss of sorely needed bullets. The whites' ammunition spent, the dismounted savages rose, fired, and whooped like the demons they were; while the mounted ones, lashing their ponies, charged with infinite venom, overwhelming Calhoun and Keogh, and lastly Custer himself. Indian boys then pranced over the fields on ponies, scalping and re-shooting the dead and dying. At the burial many a stark visage wore a look of horror. "Rain-in-the-Face," who mainly inspired and directed the battle on

the Indian side, boasted that he cut out and ate Captain Tom Custer's heart. Most believe that he did so. "Rain-in-the-Face" was badly wounded, and used crutches ever after. Brave Sergeant Butler's body was found by itself, lying on a heap of empty cartridge shells which told what he had been about.

Sergeant Mike Madden had a leg mangled while fighting, tiger-like, near Reno, and for his bravery was promoted on the field. He was always over-fond of grog, but long abstinence had now intensified his thirst. He submitted to amputation without anæsthesia. After the operation the surgeon gave him a stiff horn of brandy. Emptying it eagerly and smacking his lips, he said: "M-eh, Doctor, cut off the other leg."

This distressing catastrophe, which whelmed the country in grief many days, called forth Longfellow's poem, "The Revenge of Rain-in-the-Face," ending with the stanza:

Whose was the right and the wrong?
Sing it, O funeral song,
With a voice that is full of tears,
And say that our broken faith
Wrought all this ruin and scathe
In the Year of a Hundred Years.

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

This poem mistakenly represents "Rain-in-the-Face" as having mutilated General Custer instead of his brother, the Captain. Also it is based on the "ambush" theory of the battle, which at first all shared. We now know, however, that Custer fought in the open, from high ground, not in a ravine. His surprise lay not in finding Indians before him, but in finding them so fatally numerous. Some of General Terry's friends charged Custer with transgressing his orders in fighting as he did. That he was somewhat careless, almost



THE CUSTER MONUMENT
ERECTED ON THE BATTLEFIELD
After a photograph by Barry

rash, in his preparations to attack can perhaps be maintained, though good authority declares the "battle fought tactically and with intelligence on Custer's part," and calls it unjust "to say that he was reckless or foolish." Bravest of the brave, Custer was always anxious to fight, and, just now in ill favor with

President Grant, he was eager to make a record; but that he was guilty of disobedience to his orders is not shown.

It, indeed, came quite directly from General Terry that had Custer lived to return "he would at once have been put under arrest and court-martialled for disobedience." This might have been the best way to elicit all the facts, and does not prove that even General Terry would have been sure of Custer's conviction.

The present head of the army, General Miles, is strongly of the opinion that Custer was not guilty of disobeying any

DID CUSTER DISOBEY ORDERS ?

orders. The late General Fry expressed himself with equal emphasis in the same tenor. Colonel R. P. Hughes, however, who was General Terry's chief of staff during the Sioux campaign, sought, in an able article in the Journal of the Military Service Institution for January, 1896, to defend the contrary proposition. He adduced many interesting considerations, but seemed to the present writer not at all to justify his view.

Custer's expressed hope to "swing clear" of Terry is worked too hard when made to bear the meaning that he deliberately purposed to disregard Terry's orders. To have a superior at his elbow seemed to him queer and unpleasant; he liked, especially in fighting Indians, to be trusted. Had he been minded disobediently to meet the Indians without Gibbon, getting a victory and all its glory for himself alone, he would have marched faster during his first days out from the Rosebud mouth. He in fact moved but 108 miles in four days.

Much turns on the force of Custer's written orders, which, judged by usual military documents of the kind, certainly gave Custer a much larger liberty than Colonel Hughes supposed. There is an affidavit of a witness who heard Terry's and Custer's last conversation together at the mouth of the Rosebud, just before Custer began his fatal ride. Terry said: "Use your own judgment and do what you think best if you strike the trail; and whatever you do, Custer, hold on to your wounded." Even his written orders gave Custer leave to depart from his written orders if he saw reason for doing so, *i. e.*, if, in his judgment, the end of the campaign could be best attained in that way. Hughes argues that because he, Hughes, can see no reason for any such departure, Custer could have seen none. But how can we know this? Custer, who alone could tell, cannot be interrogated; and the purposes and plans that governed his course during his eventful last days men can only surmise.

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

Hughes's contention, in opposition to General Fry, that Terry had and had communicated to Custer a perfectly definite plan of campaign, explicitly involving Gibbon's co-operation in the attack, seems still to lack proof; but the observations here made are little dependent on the decision of that point. A remark or two, however. Colonel Hughes, it seems, wishes us to think that Terry all along knew the exceeding strength of the Indian force, accounting it much too numerous for Custer safely to attack alone. Was it not, then, rash and cruel to send Custer out on that far detour, crowding him so well to the south, where, let Gibbon hurry as he might, the savages would have Custer at their mercy! He could not hope to conceal his march very long. "It is folly to suppose that either a small or a large band of Indians would remain stationary and allow one body of troops to come up on one side of it while another body came up on the other side and engaged it in battle. . . . When Custer's command was ordered to move out as it did it left the Indians, who were acting on interior lines, absolutely free to attack either one of the commands thus separated, or fight them in detail, as might be preferred."

Hughes makes the point that Custer did not report to Gibbon whether he found Indians in Tulloch Creek Valley. General Fry seems justified in calling this a purely formal and immaterial neglect. The valley up and down was completely empty of Indians, and Custer doubtless considered it a needless diminution of his scout force to detach a man to report this. That he did not send word to Gibbon at any later time may seem strange, but he certainly was not commanded to do so.

Hughes charges it as disobedience that Custer did not ride southward when he ascertained that the Indian trail turned toward the Little Big Horn. But his orders did not command him to go southward *the moment he ascertained* the course of the trail, or at any other particular moment. Moreover, what Hughes does not observe, the purpose of veering southward was simply to see that the hostiles did not escape around his

HAD RENO PRESSED FORWARD!

left. The configuration of the country, as Custer saw it, must have assured him that when the hostiles made for the Little Big Horn Valley they gave up all purpose of marching south and were bent upon going down that valley. It would have been foolish for him to have proceeded south after he felt absolutely convinced of the enemy's purpose. He would simply have wasted the strength of his command.

Hughes deems it blameworthy that from the moment when Custer found the trail leading toward the Little Big Horn he quickened his speed. In this he seems to overlook the fact that Custer's discovery may well have led him to fear for Gibbon's command. The redskins had gone to the Little Big Horn on purpose to go down that stream. Custer could not know how far down it they by this time were, or how far up it Gibbon might possibly have come. Had he not made the best of his way on he would certainly have been censurable. At the same time, it obviously would not do for him when he came upon the foe to wait before attacking to ascertain Gibbon's whereabouts. As General Fry observes, had he hesitated, either he would have been attacked himself, or else his foe would have withdrawn to attack Gibbon or to get away entirely.

Small as was Custer's total force, yet had Reno supported him as had been expected, the fight would have been a victory, the enemy killed, captured, driven down upon Gibbon, or so cut to pieces as never to have reappeared as a formidable force. In either of these cases Custer, living or dead, would have emerged from the campaign with undying glory and there would have been no thought of a court-martial or of censure.

OLD SWEDES' CHURCH, PHILADELPHIA, BUILT IN 1700
After a photograph by Rau



CHAPTER VIII

“THE YEAR OF A HUNDRED YEARS”— THE CENTENNIAL EXPOSITION AND THE HAYES-TILDEN IMBROGLIO

ORIGIN OF THE CENTENNIAL EXPOSITION.—PHILADELPHIA LAND-MARKS.—THE EXPOSITION BUILDINGS.—THE OPENING.—THE VARIOUS EXHIBITS.—ATTENDANCE.—A POLITICAL CRISIS.—GRANT AND JEWELL.—THE BELKNAP DISGRACE.—ANOTHER REFORM MOVEMENT.—FEAR OF A THIRD TERM FOR GRANT.—ISSUES BETWEEN THE PARTIES.—HAYES AND TILDEN NOMINATED.—THEIR LETTERS OF ACCEPTANCE.—THE CAMPAIGN.—PROPHECY OF TROUBLE OVER THE PRESIDENTIAL COUNT.—THE TWENTY-SECOND JOINT RULE.—RESULT OF THE ELECTION IN DOUBT.—CIPHER DESPACHES.—QUEER WAYS OF RETURNING BOARDS.—FEARS AND HOPES.—THE ELECTORAL COMMISSION.—THE CASE OF FLORIDA, OF LOUISIANA, OF OREGON, OF SOUTH CAROLINA.—HAYES DECLARED ELECTED.—AN ELECTORAL COUNT LAW.

READERS will rejoice that racial feuds at the South and the West during President Grant's second term did not make up the entire history of these years. Despite those and all its other troubles, the American body politic was

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about to round the first century of its life in satisfactory and increasing vigor.

What could be more fitting than that the hundredth anniversary of the world's greatest Republic should be kept by a monster celebration? Such a question was publicly raised in 1870 by an association of Philadelphia citizens, and it set the entire nation thinking. At first only a United States celebration was proposed, but reflection developed the idea of a Mammoth Fair where the arts and industries of the whole world should be represented. Congress took up the design in 1871-2. In 1873 President Grant formally proclaimed the Exposition, and in 1874 foreign governments were invited to participate in it. Thirty-three cordially responded, including all the civilized nations except Greece, a larger number than had ever before taken part in an event like this.

Philadelphia was naturally chosen as the seat of the Exposition. Here the nation was born, a fact of which much remained to testify. Among the ancient buildings were the "Old Swedes'" Church, built in 1700, Christ Church, begun only twenty-seven years later, still in perfect preservation, St. Peter's, built in 1758-1761, and the sequestered Friends' Meeting-house, built in 1808. The Penn Treaty Monument, unimpressive in appearance, marked the site of the elm under which Penn made his famous treaty with the Indians. Carpenters' Hall, still owned by the Carpenters' Company which built it, had been made to resume the appearance it bore when, in 1774, the first Continental Congress assembled under its roof. In the centre of a line of antique edifices known as State-house Row, stood Independence Hall, erected 1732-1735. The name specifically applied to the large first-floor east room, in which the second Continental Congress adopted the Declaration of Independence. In 1824 Lafayette held a great reception here, and six years later it was consecrated to the past. Revolutionary portraits

THE EXPOSITION BUILDINGS

and relics were placed in it, and the building restored to its original condition. In 1854 the old Liberty Bell was taken down from the tower into the hall and the walls enriched by a large number of portraits from the Peale Gallery. A keeper was then appointed and the hall opened to visitors.

In Fairmount Park, beyond the Schuylkill, a level plat of over 200 acres was inclosed, and appropriate buildings erected. Five enormous structures, the Main Building, with Machinery, Agricultural, Horticultural, and Memorial Halls, towered above all the rest. Several foreign governments built structures of their own. Twenty-six States did the same. Thirty or more buildings were put up by private enterprise in order the better to present industrial processes



STATE-HOUSE ROW, PHILADELPHIA
After a photograph by Rau

and products. In all more than two hundred edifices stood within the inclosure.

The Exposition opened on May 10th, with public exercises, a hundred thousand people being present. Wagner had

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composed a march for the occasion. Whittier's Centennial Hymn, a noble piece, was sung by a chorus of one thousand voices.

Our fathers' God ! from out whose hand
The centuries fall like grains of sand,
We meet to-day, united, free,
And loyal to our land and Thee,
To thank Thee for the era done,
And trust Thee for the opening one.

Here, where of old, by Thy design,
The fathers spake that word of Thine,
Whose echo is the glad refrain
Of rended bolt and fallen chain,
To grace our festal time, from all
The zones of earth our guests we call.

The restored South chanted the praises of the Union in the words of Sidney Lanier, the Georgia poet. President Grant then declared the Exposition open. Further simple but impressive ceremonies were held on July 4th, in the public square at the rear of Independence Hall. On temporary platforms sat 5,000 distinguished guests, and a chorus of 1,000 singers. The square and the neighboring streets were filled with a dense throng. Richard Henry Lee, grandson of the mover of the Declaration of Independence, came to the front with the original document in his hands. At sight of that yellow and wrinkled paper the vast throng burst into prolonged cheering. Mr. Lee read the Declaration, Bayard Taylor recited an ode, and Hon. William M. Evarts delivered an oration.

In the Main Building, erected in a year, at a cost of \$1,700,000, manufactures were exhibited, also products of the mine, along with innumerable other evidences of scientific and educational progress. More than a third of the space was reserved for the United States, the rest being divided among foreign countries. The products of all climates, tribes, and times were here. Great Britain, France, and Germany exhib-

THE VARIOUS EXHIBITS



The Opening Ceremonies on May 10, 1876

exhibited the work of their myriad roaring looms side by side with the wares of the Hawaiian Islands and the little Orange Free State. Here were the furs of Rus-

sia, with other articles from the frozen North; there the flashing diamonds of Brazil, and the rich shawls and waving plumes of India. At a step one passed from old Egypt to the latest born South American republic. Chinese conservatism and Yankee enterprise confronted each other across the aisle.

From the novelty of the foreign display the American visitor turned proudly to the handiwork of his own land. Textiles, arms, tools, musical instruments, watches, carriages, cutlery, books, furniture—a bewildering display of all things useful and ornamental—made him realize as never before the wealth, intelligence, and enterprise of his native country, and the proud station to which she had risen among the nations of the earth. Three-fourths of the space in Machinery Hall was taken up with American machinery.



GENERAL JOSEPH R.
HAWLEY
*President of the Centennial Com-
mission*

Memorial Hall, a beautiful permanent building of granite, erected by Pennsylvania and Philadelphia at a cost of \$1,500,000, was given up to art. This was the poorest feature of the Exposition, though the collection was the largest and most notable ever till then seen this side the Atlantic. America had few art works of the first order to show, while foreign nations, with the exception of England, which contributed a noble lot of paintings, including works by Gainsborough and Reynolds, feared to send their choicest products across the sea. All through the summer and early autumn, spite of the unusual heat that year, thousands of pilgrims from all parts of the country and the world filled the fair grounds and the city. Amid the crowds of visitors Philadelphians became strangers in their own streets. On September 28th, Pennsylvania day, 275,000 persons passed the gates. During October the visitors numbered over two and a half millions. From May 10th to November 10th, the closing day, the total admissions were 9,900,000. The aggregate attendance was larger than at any previous international exhibition, except that of Paris in 1867. The admissions there reached 10,200,000, but the gates were open fifty-one days longer than in Philadelphia. At Vienna, in 1873, there were but 7,255,000 admissions in 186 days, against 159 days at Philadelphia.

Full of peace and promise as was this Philadelphia pageant, in politics these same months saw the United States at a serious crisis. The best interests of the country seemed to depend on the party in power, yet a large and influential section of that party was in all but open revolt. Many base men to whom honest and enterprising public servants were unwelcome were tolerated near the President. Secretary Bristow's

JEWELL AND THE POST-OFFICE DEPARTMENT

noble fight against the Whiskey Ring, his victory, and his resignation from the Cabinet are described in another Chapter. Ex-Governor Marshall Jewell, of Connecticut, was a most efficient Postmaster-General. Upon taking his office he avowed the purpose to conduct it on business principles. He at once began to attack the notorious "straw bids" and other corrupt practices connected with carrying the mails in Texas and Alabama. It was he who introduced the Railway Post-office System, by which the postal matter for a State, instead of first going to the capital or to one or two central cities and being slowly distributed thence, was sent to its destination directly, by the shortest routes and in the most expeditious manner. Yet in 1876, two years from the time of his appointment, much to the surprise of the public, Jewell left the Cabinet. An officeholder explained that "they didn't care much for Jewell in Washington; why, he ran the Post-office as though it was a factory!" The ring politicians were a unit against him, and finally succeeded in displacing him. In a speech before the Senate during the impeachment trial of Belknap, Grant's War Secretary, Hon. George F. Hoar declared that he had heard the taunt from friendliest lips that "the only product of the United States' institutions in which she surpassed all other nations beyond question was her corruption."

The Sherman Letters threw much light on the Belknap disgrace. July 8, 1871, General Sherman wrote: "My office has been by law stript of all the influence and prestige it possessed under Grant (as General), and even in matters of discipline and army control I am neglected, overlooked, or snubbed." Later, Sherman wrote: "Belknap has acted badly by me ever since he reached Washington. General Grant promised me often to arrange and divide our functions, but he never did, but left the Secretary to do all those things of which he himself, as General, had complained to Stanton." "The President and Belknap both gradually withdrew from me all the powers which Grant had exercised in the same

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

office, and Congress capped the climax by repealing that law which required all orders to the army to go through the General." "I have no hesitation in saying that if the Secretary of War has the right to command the army through the Adjutant-General, then my office is a sinecure and should be abolished."

Why the General of the Army had been thus extruded from the authority and functions properly attending his office, was clear when, on February 29th, 1876, Caleb P. Marsh, one of a firm of contractors in New York City, testified before a Congressional Committee that, in 1870, Belknap had offered him the control of the post-tradership at Fort Sill, Indian Territory, for the purpose of enabling him to extort from the actual holder of the place, one John S. Evans, \$3,000 four times a year as the price of continuing in it. The Secretary and his family appeared to have received \$24,450 in this way. Belknap's resignation was offered and accepted a few hours before the House passed a unanimous vote to impeach him. Other dubious acts of Belknap's came to light, notably a contract for erecting tombstones in national cemeteries, from which, as was charged, he realized \$90,000. In the fall of 1874, General Sherman actually transferred his headquarters to St. Louis, to remove himself from official contact with Belknap, who was issuing orders and making appointments without Sherman's knowledge. Two years later, after Belknap's resignation, the office of General of the Army was re-invested with the powers which had formerly belonged to it. Then the General moved back to Washington.

Belknap demurred to the Senate's jurisdiction, but on May 29th the Senate affirmed this, 37 to 29, Morton and Conkling voting nay, Cameron, Edmunds, Morrill and Sherman aye. Thurman moved the resolution of impeachment. Belknap's counsel refused to let him plead, urging that the vote to assume jurisdiction, not being a two-thirds vote, was equivalent to an acquittal. The Senate, however, proceeded,



VIEW FROM PHOTOGRAPHIC HALL LOOKING TOWARD MACHINERY HALL

THE NEW REFORM MOVEMENT

as on a plea of "not guilty," to try him. He was acquitted, one Democrat voting for acquittal. Morton was among the Republicans who voted for conviction.

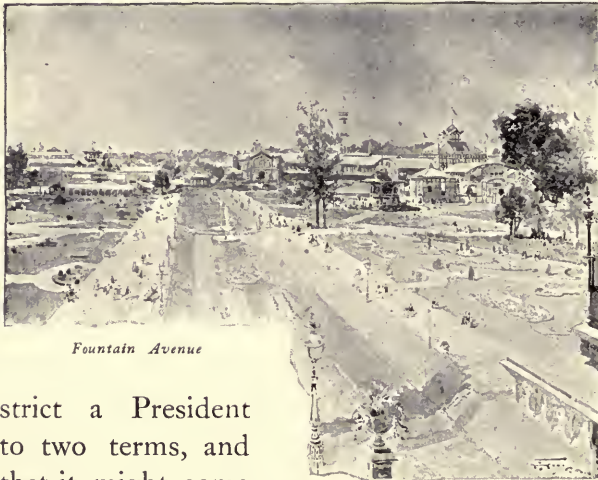
After the above recitals one is not surprised that in April, 1876, over the signatures of William Cullen Bryant, Theodore D. Woolsey, Alexander H. Bullock, Horace White, and Carl Schurz, was issued a circular call for a conference of Republicans dissatisfied at the "wide-spread corruption" with which machine politics had infected our public service. The conference organized about five weeks later, electing Theodore D. Woolsey for president, and for secretaries, among others, Henry Cabot Lodge, Francis A. Walker and Henry Armit Brown. A Committee on Business next reported "An Address to the American people," by which the assemblage, after recounting the threatening growth of official corruption hand in hand with the spoils system, invoked all good citizens to join them in a pledge to support no presidential aspirant not known "to possess the moral courage and sturdy resolution to grapple with abuses which had acquired the strength of established customs, and to this end firmly to resist the pressure even of his party friends."

The New York *Herald* had in 1874 started a cry that Grant would not be averse to breaking the canon set by Washington against a third presidential term. Democratic journals took up the alarm and soon the press all over the land was vocal with denunciations of "Grantism," "Cæsarism," "Third Termism!" So nervous did the din make Republicans, that in 1875 the Pennsylvania Republican Convention passed a resolution of unalterable "opposition to the election to the presidency of any person for a third term." Grant had thus far been almost alone in keeping silence, but he at last felt called to express himself. He wrote a letter to the chairman of the convention. "Now for the third term," said he, "I do not want it any more than I did the first." Yet he remarked that the Constitution did not re-

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME



Exterior of Horticultural Hall



Fountain Avenue

*VIEWS
AT THE
PHILADELPHIA
CENTENNIAL*

strict a President to two terms, and that it might some time be unfortunate to dismiss one so soon. However, he would not accept a nomination unless “under such circumstances as to make it an imperative duty—circumstances not likely to arise.” This was too equivocal. The National House of Representatives therefore passed a resolution, 234 to 18, seventy Republicans voting for it:

“That in the opinion of this House the precedent established by Washington and other Presidents of the United

PARTY PLATFORMS IN 1876

States after their second term, has become, by universal concurrence, a part of our Republican system of government, and that any departure from this time-honored custom would be unwise, unpatriotic, and fraught with peril to our free institutions."

The issues with a view to which, in 1876, the two great parties constructed their platforms, were mainly three: The "Southern question," specie resumption, and civil service reform. The Republican party endorsed its own civil rights and force legislation, but called for better administration. The Democracy had at last, to use J. Q. Adams's phrase, "sneaked up to its inevitable position." It reaffirmed its faith in the Union, and its devotion to the Constitution, with its amendments, universally accepted, as a final settlement of the controversy which engendered civil war. This was a re-emergence of Vallandigham's New Departure for the party. The Democratic platform rang with the cry of "Reform," which had been so effectual in New York State in the election of Tilden



Interior of Horticultural Hall

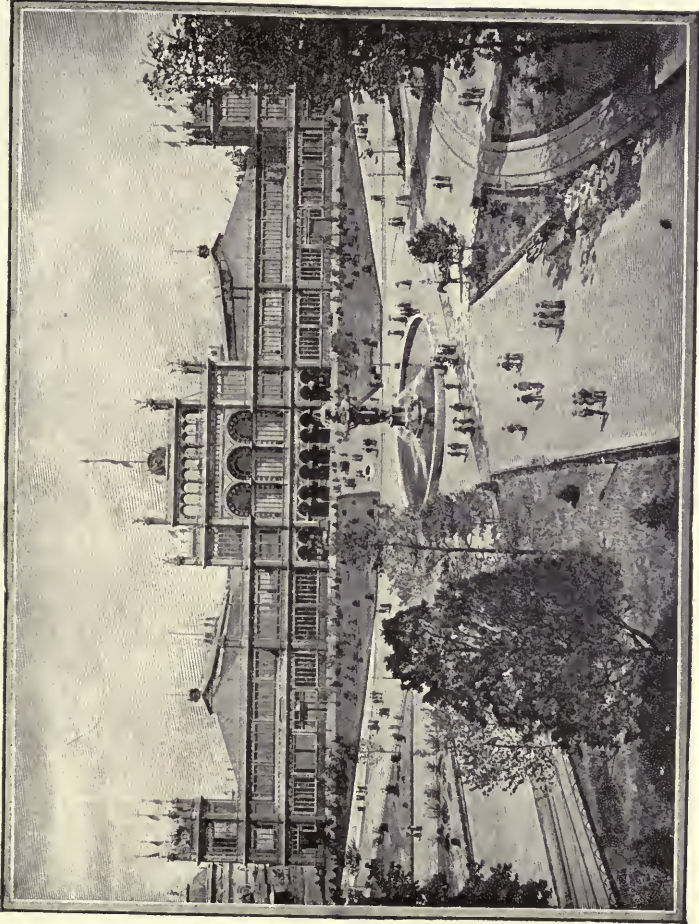
as Governor. The catalogue of shocking Republican scandals was gone over to prove the futility of attempting "reform within party lines." "President, Vice-President, Judges, Senators, Representatives, Cabinet Officers—these and all others in authority are the people's servants. Their offices are not a private perquisite; they are a

public trust." This was the origin of an expression, afterward usually referred to President Cleveland, which bade fair to be immortal.

While the Republicans favored a "continuous and steady progress to specie payments," the hard-money men failed to get the Convention to endorse the Resumption Clause of the Act of 1875. The Democrats denounced that clause as a hindrance to resumption, but their Convention would not commit itself to a condemnation of the resumption policy. The Republicans favored a revenue tariff with incidental protection. The Democrats repudiated protection, and demanded "that all custom-house taxation should be only for revenue."

The Republican Convention met in Cincinnati on June 14th. "Third-termers" saw no hope for Grant. James G. Blaine was thought the man most likely to receive the nomination. His name was placed before the Convention by Colonel Robert G. Ingersoll, in one of the most eloquent addresses ever heard on such an occasion. When in the roll-call of States Maine was reached, boundless enthusiasm reigned, with cheering that died away only to be renewed, closing with three cheers for James G. Blaine. Mr. Ingersoll mounted the platform. As he was then comparatively unknown, the epigrammatic force and the fervor of his words took his hearers by surprise. His concluding periods were not soon forgotten, and the title of "Plumed Knight" with which he dubbed his hero adhered to Mr. Blaine through life.

"This is a grand year," he said: "a year filled with the recollections of the Revolution; filled with proud and tender memories of the sacred past; . . . the span is too long filled with legends of liberty;—a year in which the sons of freedom will drink from the fountain of enthusiasm; a year in which the people call for the man who has preserved in Congress what their soldiers won upon the field; a year in which they call for the man who has torn from the throat of treason the tongue of slander; the man who has snatched the mask of Democracy



THE MAIN BUILDING AT PHILADELPHIA

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

from the hideous face of the rebellion ; the man who, like the intellectual athlete, has stood in the arena of debate, challenging all comers, and who, up to the present moment, is a total stranger to defeat. Like an armed warrior, like a plumed knight, James G. Blaine marched down the halls of the American Congress, and threw his shining lance full and fair against the brazen forehead of every traitor to his country and every maligner of his fair reputation. For the Republican party to desert that gallant man now is as though an army should desert its general upon the field of battle. . . James G. Blaine is now and has been for years the bearer of the sacred standard of the Republican party. I call it sacred because no human being can stand beneath its folds without becoming and without remaining free. . .



W. W. BELKNAP

“Gentlemen of the Convention: In the name of the great Republic, the only Republic that ever existed upon the face of the earth ; in the name of all her defenders and of all her supporters ; in the name of all her soldiers living ; in the name of all her soldiers that died upon the field of battle ; and in the name of those that perished in the skeleton clutch of famine at Andersonville and Libby, whose sufferings he so vividly remembers—Illinois—Illinois—nominates for the next President of this country that prince of parliamentarians, that leader of leaders, James G. Blaine.”

Blaine was indeed a brilliant parliamentarian, but his prospects were weakened by alleged questionable proceedings, the nature of which we shall exhibit later. Most of the Southern delegates were for Oliver P. Morton, of Indiana. Conkling, of New York, in addition to the potent support of his State, enjoyed the favor of the Administration. The reform and anti-Grant delegates were enthusiastic for the gallant destroyer of the Whiskey Ring, ex-Secretary Bristow, of Kentucky.

GOVERNOR HAYES



MARSHALL JEWELL

George William Curtis said that at the Attorney-General's table he asked Jewell whom the party—not the managers—would make the candidate, and that Jewell instantly answered, "Bristow." Pennsylvania, Connecticut and Ohio all appeared with favorite sons in their arms: Hartranft, Jewell and Hayes, respectively. The names familiar enough to evoke cheers from one faction drew "curses not loud but deep" from other cliques. Upon the seventh ballot, therefore, the Convention united upon Governor Rutherford B. Hayes, of Ohio, a man who, though little known, awakened no antagonism and had no embarrassing past, while he had made a most creditable record both as a soldier and as the chief magistrate of his State.

When Hayes was nominated for Governor in 1875 inflation was popular all over the West. Both parties were infected, though the Democrats the worse. The Ohio Democracy was led that year by William Allen and Samuel F. Carey, two of the ablest campaigners ever heard upon the stump in this country. Hayes dared them to the issue. Spite of protests from timid Republicans, he came out boldly for resumption and the re-establishment of the specie standard, turned the tide against the inflationist hosts, and carried the State. From that moment the Ohio Governor was seen by many to be of presidential stature. John Sherman was the first to name him for the higher office. In a letter dated January 21, 1876, he had written: "Considering all things I believe the nomination of Governor Hayes would give us more strength, taking the whole country at large, than that of any other man."

The Democratic Convention convened at St. Louis on June 28th, nominating Samuel J. Tilden on the second ballot. Tilden was born in New Lebanon, N. Y., February 9, 1814. In 1845 he was elected to the New York Assembly; in 1846

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and again in 1867 to the State Constitutional Convention. He was a keen lawyer. By his famous analysis of the Broadway Bank accounts during the prosecution of the Tammany Ring he rendered an invaluable service to the cause of reform. As Governor, in 1875, he waged relentless and triumphant war against the Canal Ring, "the country thieves," as they were called to distinguish them from Tweed and his coterie.

In accepting the nomination Tilden reiterated his protests against "the magnificent and oppressive centralism into which our government was being converted." He also commended reform in the Civil Service, deprecating the notion that this service existed for office-holders, and bewailing the organization of the official class into a body of political mercenaries. Hayes's letter emphasized Civil Service reform even more strongly. He zealously descanted upon the evils of the spoils system, and pledged himself, if elected, to employ all the constitutional powers vested in the President to secure reform, returning to the "old rule, the true rule, that honesty, capacity and fidelity constitute the only real qualifications for office." Both candidates wished the Executive to be relieved of the temptation to use patronage for his own re-election. Mr. Hayes made "the noble pledge" that in no case would he be a candidate again. Mr. Tilden disparaged self-imposed restrictions, but recommended that the chief magistrate be constitutionally disqualified for re-election.

Hayes's ambiguity touching the Southern question gave hope that, even if the Republicans succeeded, a milder Southern policy would be introduced. Tilden, while crying out against the insupportable misgovernment imposed upon reconstructed States, frankly accepted the Democrats' new departure. Before the end of the canvass he published a pledge that, if elected, he would enforce the constitutional amendments and resist Southern claims.

The campaign was tame. The fact that both candidates were of blameless character muffled partisan eloquence. Great

MORTON A PROPHET

efforts were made to discredit Tilden for connection with certain railroad enterprises, and he was sued for an income tax alleged to be due. Retorting, the Democrats sneered at Hayes as an "obscure" man, and roundly denounced the extortion practiced upon office-holders under Secretary Chandler's eye. This chatter amounted to little. All signs pointed to a close election.

So early as May, 1874, Mr. Morton of Indiana had proposed in the Senate an amendment to the Constitution making the President eligible by the people directly. The proposal was committed and, the next January, debated. Each State was to have as many presidential as congressional districts. The presidential candidate successful in any district would receive therefrom one presidential vote, while two special presidential votes would fall to the candidate receiving the greatest number of district votes in the State.

In reviewing the need of some such change Morton spoke like a prophet. "No State," he declared "has provided any method of contesting the election of electors. Though this election may be distinguished by fraud, notorious fraud, by violence, by tumult, yet there is no method of contesting it." Again, "It seems never to have occurred to the members of the Convention that there could be two sets of electors; it seems never to have occurred to them that there would be fraud and corruption, or any reason why the votes of electors should be set aside. It is clearly a *casus omissus*, a thing overlooked by the framers of the Constitution." The subject was, however, laid aside, and never taken up again till the dangers



SAMUEL J. TILDEN

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

which Morton had so faithfully foretold were actually shaking the pillars of our government.

Morton also sought to amend and render of service the twenty-second joint rule, the substance of which was that in counting the electoral votes no question should be decided affirmatively and no vote objected to be counted, "except by the concurrent votes of the two houses." This rule had been passed in 1865, being meant to enable the radicals to reject electoral votes from Mr. Lincoln's "ten per cent. States," viz., those reconstructed on the presidential plan. Morton proposed to modify this rule so that no vote could be *rejected* save by concurrent vote of the two houses. A bill providing for such change passed the Senate, six Republicans opposing. It was never taken up in the House. Morton introduced the bill again in the next Congress, only to see it killed by delays.

The election of 1876 passed off quietly, troops being stationed at the polls in turbulent quarters. "The result was doubtful up to the day of election; it was doubtful after the election was over, and to this day the question, Was Tilden or Hayes duly elected? is an open one. The first reports received in New York were so decidedly in favor of the Democratic ticket that the leading Republican journals admitted its success." The *Times* alone stood out, persistently declaring that Hayes was elected, which caused intense excitement among the huge crowd gathered in the square fronting the *Times* office.

"I DON'T KNOW."



1900!

*A Ku-Klux Notice Posted Up
in Mississippi During the
Election of 1876*

The next day different reports were received, and both sides claimed the victory. Hon. Hugh McCulloch, a Republican, but eminently free from partisan bias, was of the opinion at the time, and so long as he lived, that if the distinguished Northern men who visited those States had stayed at home, and there had been no outside pressure upon the returning boards, their certificates would

THE CIPHER DESPATCHES

have been in favor of the Democratic electors. This opinion was confirmed by a remark of the President of the Union Telegraph Company at the annual meeting of the Union League Club of New York, in 1878. In a conversation with that gentleman Mr. McCulloch happened to speak of the election of Mr. Hayes, when he interrupted by saying: "‘But he was not elected.’ ‘If he was not, the emanations of your office failed to show it,’ McCulloch replied. ‘Oh, yes,’ he rejoined; ‘but that was because the examiners did not know where to look.’ . . . ‘Mr. Tilden,’ said a prominent Republican, ‘was, I suppose, legally elected, but not fairly.’" This was doubtless the conclusion of a great many other Republicans, as well as of practically all the Democrats.

Pending the meeting of the State electoral colleges, some of Tilden's warmest supporters undertook negotiations to secure for him one or more electoral votes from South Carolina or Florida. As their apologists put it, "they seem to have feared that the corrupt canvassers would declare" those States for Hayes, "and being convinced that the popular vote had been cast for Tilden, to have been willing to submit to the payment of moneys which they were informed some of the canvassers demanded by way of blackmail." One Hardy Solomon, pretending to represent the South Carolina Canvassing Board, went to Baltimore expecting to receive \$60,000 or \$80,000 in this interest; but, upon applying to Mr. Tilden for the sum, he was peremptorily refused. These negotiations were authorized neither by Mr. Tilden, who, under oath, denied all knowledge of them, nor by the Democratic National Committee. The Republican members of the Clarkson investigating committee thought them traceable to Tilden's secretary, Colonel Pelton, with Smith M. Weed and Manton Marble; but the responsibility for them was never really fixed upon anyone. The despatches went back and forth in cipher. Under a subpoena from the Senate Committee on Privileges and Elections, the Western Union Telegraph Company delivered

them to that Committee, and on January 25, 1877, they were locked in a trunk in its room. When this trunk was returned to New York City on the following March 13th it was discovered that a large number of the cipher despatches had been abstracted. Of those missing, some seven hundred were, in May, 1878, in possession of G. E. Bullock, messenger of the committee last named. Part of these subsequently found their way into the office of the New York *Tribune*, where they were translated and published, causing much excitement and comment. There is some evidence that Republican cipher despatches no less compromising than these and used for the same purpose, had been filched from the trunk and destroyed.

Tilden carried New York, New Jersey, Indiana, and Connecticut. With a solid South he had won the day. But the returning boards of Louisiana, Florida, and South Carolina, throwing out the votes of several Democratic districts on the ground of fraud or intimidation, decided that those States had gone Republican, giving Hayes a majority of one in the electoral college. The Democrats raised the cry of fraud. Threats were muttered that Hayes would never be inaugurated. Excitement thrilled the country. Grant strengthened the military force in and about Washington. However, the people looked to Congress for a peaceful solution, and not in vain.

The Constitution provides that the "President of the Senate shall, in presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the (electoral) certificates, and the votes shall then be counted." Attending to the most obvious meaning of these words, a good many Republicans held that the power to count the votes lay with the President of the Senate, the House and Senate being mere spectators. The Democrats objected to this construction, since, according to it, Mr. Ferry, the Republican President of the Senate, could count the votes of the disputed States for Hayes, and was practically certain to do so.

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two houses. Double or multiple returns were, in cases of dispute, to be referred to a commission of five Senators, five Representatives, and five Justices of the United States Supreme Court, the fifth justice being selected by the four appointed in the bill. Previous to this choice the Commission contained seven Democrats and seven Republicans. The five Senators on the Commission were George F. Edmunds, Oliver P. Morton, Frederick T. Frelinghuysen, Republicans; and Allan G. Thurman and Thomas F. Bayard, Democrats. The members of the House were Henry B. Payne, Eppa Hunton and Josiah G. Abbott, Democrats; and James A. Garfield and George F. Hoar, Republicans. Four Justices of the Supreme Court were designated in the Act by the circuits to which they belonged. These were Nathan Clifford and Stephen J. Field, Democrats, and William Strong and Samuel F. Miller, Republicans. These four Justices were by the Act to select the fifth. It was expected that the fifth Justice would be Hon. David Davis, of Illinois, a neutral with Democratic leanings, who had been a warm friend of President Lincoln's but an opponent of Grant. Mr. Davis's unexpected election as Senator from his State made Justice Bradley the decisive umpire.

The Commission met on the last day of January, 1877. The cases of Florida, Louisiana, Oregon, and South Carolina were in succession submitted to it, eminent counsel appearing for each side. There were double or multiple sets of returns from each State named. Three returns from Florida were passed in. One contained four votes for Hayes, certified by the late Republican Governor, Stearns. One return gave four votes for Tilden, bearing the certificate of the Attorney-General, a member of the returning board. Third was the same return reinforced with the certificate of the new Democratic Governor, Drew, under a State law passed a few days before, directing a re-canvass of the votes. Democratic counsel urged that the first return should be rejected as the result of fraud

THE FLORIDA CASE

and conspiracy by the returning board, whose action the State Supreme Court had held to be *ultra vires* and illegal.

In Baker County, which was decisive of the result in Florida, the canvassers were the county judge, the county clerk, and a justice of the peace to be called in by them. The judge refusing to join the clerk in the canvass, the latter summoned a justice and with him made the canvass, which all admitted to be a true one. The same night the judge called in the sheriff and another justice, and together they surreptitiously entered the clerk's office, lit it up, and took out the returns from a drawer in his desk. There were only four precincts in the county, and of the four returns from these, confessedly without the slightest evidence of fraud or intimidation, they threw out two. The other two they certified.

The Republican counsel maintained that the issue was not which set of Florida electors received an actual majority, but which had received the legal sanction of State authority; in short, that the business of the Commission was not to go behind the returns, which, they argued, would be physically, legally and constitutionally impossible. This view the Commission espoused, which sufficed to decide not only the case of Florida, but also that of Louisiana, whence came three sets of certificates, and that of South Carolina, whence came two. The first and third Louisiana returns were duplicates, signed by Governor Kellogg, in favor of the Hayes electors. The second was certified by McEnery, who claimed to be Governor, and was based not upon the return as made by the board, but upon the popular vote. The return of the Tilden electors in South Carolina was not certified. They alleged that they had been counted out by the State



RUTHERFORD B. HAYES

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Board in defiance of the State Supreme Court and of the popular will.

In Oregon the Democratic Governor declared one of the Hayes electors ineligible because an office-holder, giving a certificate to Cronin, the highest Tilden elector, instead. The other two Hayes electors refused to recognize Cronin, and, associating with them the rejected Republican elector, presented a certificate signed by the Secretary of State. Cronin, as the Republican papers had it, "flocked all by himself," appointed two new electors to act with him, and cast his vote for Tilden, though his associates voted for Hayes. The Cronin certificate was signed by the Governor and attested by the Secretary of State.

After deciding not to go behind any returns that were formally lawful the Commission, by a strict party vote of eight to seven, decided for the Hayes electors in every case. Whether the result would have been different if Justice Davis had been the fifth justice in the Commission is a question that must always remain open. By no utterance of Mr. Davis was there ever an indication of what his action would have been, but he had a high opinion of Mr. Tilden, and his political sympathies were known by his intimate friends to have been on the side of the Democrats. The Commission adjourned March 2d. The same day, "the counting of the votes having been concluded, Senator William B. Allison, one of the tellers on the part of the Senate, in the presence of both Houses of Congress, announced, as a result of the footings, that Rutherford B. Hayes had received 185 votes for President, and William A. Wheeler 185 votes for Vice-President; and thereupon the presiding officer of the Convention of the two Houses declared Rutherford B. Hayes to have been elected President, and William A. Wheeler Vice-President of the United States for four years from the 4th day of March, 1877." Hayes was inaugurated without disturbance.

For this outcome, owing to the determining position

AN ELECTORAL COUNT ACT

which he held on the Commission, Mr. Justice Bradley was made to bear wholly unmerited censure. The fault lay not in him but elsewhere. Vicious State laws were to blame for giving judicial powers to partisan returning boards, and for otherwise opening the door to confusion and fraud; but Congress was the worst sinner, failing to pass a law to forestall the difficulty of rival certificates.

The Commission having decided, the whole country heaved a sigh of relief; but all agreed that provision must be made against such peril in the future. An Electoral Count Bill was passed late in 1886, and signed by the President, February 3, 1887. It aimed to throw upon each State, so far as possible, the responsibility of determining its own vote. The President of the Senate opens the electoral certificates in the presence of both houses, and hands them to tellers, two from each House, who read them aloud and record the votes. If there is no dispute touching the list of electors from a State, such list, being certified in due form, is accepted as a matter of course. In case of dispute, the procedure is somewhat complex, but quite thorough. It will be set forth with some detail in Chapter XIII.

CHAPTER IX

HAYES AND THE CIVIL SERVICE

HAYES'S CHARACTER.—HIS CABINET.—END OF BAYONET RULE AT THE SOUTH.—THIS THE RESULT OF A "DEAL."—"VISITING STATESMEN" AT THE LOUISIANA COUNT.—HAYES FAVORS HONESTY.—HIS RECORD.—HAYES AND GARFIELD COMPARED.—THE SPOILS SYSTEM.—EARLY PROTESTS.—A CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION.—ITS RULES.—RETROGRESSION UNDER GRANT.—JEWELL'S EXIT FROM THE CABINET.—HOAR'S.—BUTLER'S "PULL" ON GRANT.—COLLECTOR SIMMONS.—THE SANBORN CONTRACTS.—BRISTOW A REFORMER.—THE WHISKEY RING.—MYRON COLONY'S WORK.—PLOT AND COUNTER-PLOT.—"LET NO GUILTY MAN ESCAPE."—REFORMERS OUSTED.—GOOD WORK BY THE PRESS.—THE "PRESS-GAG."—FIRST DEMOCRATIC HOUSE SINCE THE WAR.—HAYES RENEWS REFORM.—OPPOSED BY CONKLING.—FIGHT OVER THE NEW YORK COLLECTORSHIP.—THE PRESIDENT FIRM AND VICTORIOUS.

PARTLY the mode of his accession to office and partly the rage of selfish placemen who could no longer have their way, made it fashionable for a time to speak of President Hayes as a "weak man." This was an entire error. His administration was in every way one of the most creditable in all our history. He had a resolute will, irreproachable integrity, and a comprehensive and remarkably healthy view of public affairs. Moreover, he was free from that "last infirmity," the consuming ambition which has snared so many able statesmen. He voluntarily banished the alluring prospect of a second term, and rose above all jealousy of his distinguished associates. Never have our foreign affairs been more ably handled than by his State Secretary. His Secretary of the Treasury triumphantly steered our bark into the safe harbor of resumption, breakers roaring this side and that, near at hand. In his appointments as well as his other official duties Hayes acted for himself, with becoming independence even of his Cabinet. On

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one occasion, as he was announcing certain appointments connected with the State Department, Secretary Evarts looked up in surprise, evidently hearing the names for the first time. "Mr. President," said he, with veiled irony, "I have never had the good fortune to see the 'great western reserve' of Ohio, of which we have heard so much." That Hayes was such men's real and not their mere nominal chief, in naught dims their fame, though heightening his.

True to his avowed principles, President Hayes had made up his Cabinet of the ablest men, disregarding party so far as to select for Postmaster-General a Democrat, David M. Key, of Tennessee. William M. Evarts was Secretary of State; John Sherman, Secretary of the Treasury; Carl Schurz, Secretary of the Interior. The first important act of his administration was to invite the rival Governors of South Carolina, Hampton and Chamberlain, to a conference at Washington. It will be remembered that when Chamberlain became Governor his integrity awakened the hate of his old supporters, while his former antagonists smothered him with embraces. The hate was more enduring than the love. Good government was restored, but this was purely an executive reform, which the vulgar majority ridiculed as a weakness. Race antipathy still rankled, for Governor Chamberlain would not yield an inch as a defender of the negro's political and civil rights. The Democratic successes of 1874 in the country at large inspired the South Carolina Democrats with the wildest zeal. Wade Hampton, "the Murat of the Confederacy," dashing, fervid, eloquent, the Confederate veterans' idol, was nominated for Governor. The party which elected Chamberlain was forced to re-nominate him. The pressure of



WADE HAMPTON

CHAMBERLAIN AND HAMPTON

official patronage was used to this end, and it was known that he alone among Republicans could preserve the State from a reign of terror.

The whites rallied to Hampton with delirious enthusiasm. "South Carolina for South Carolinians!" was their cry. White rifle clubs were organized in many localities, but the Governor disbanded them as unsafe and called in United States troops to preserve order. In the white counties the negroes were cowed, but elsewhere they displayed fanatical activity. If the white could shoot, the black could set fire to property. Thus crime and race hostility increased once more to an appalling extent. The Hamburg massacre, where helpless negro prisoners were murdered, was offset by the Charleston riot, where black savages shot or beat every white man who appeared on the streets. The course of events in Louisiana had been similar, though marked by less violence. Nicholls was the Democratic aspirant, and S. B. Packard the Republican. Both were in earnest, and, if federal forces were to be kept in use as a Southern police, the conflict bade fair to last forever. But this was not to be. Even President Grant had now changed his view of the Southern situation, stating frankly "that he did not believe public opinion would longer support the maintenance of State governments in Louisiana by the use of the military, and that he must concur in this manifest feeling."

President Hayes withdrew federal support from the South Carolina and Louisiana governments, and they at once fell. Many Republicans fiercely criticised this policy. Some said that by failing to support the governments based upon the canvass of the very returning boards that gave him the electoral delegations in the two States named, he impeached his own title. This was untrue. With regard to State officers, the judicial powers of the returning boards were clearly usurpations, contrary to the State constitutions, while, as to federal officers, such as electors, the power of the boards to



FRANCIS T. NICHOLLS

modify or reject returns was independent of the State constitutions, yet not forbidden by any federal law.

As the old *Cincinnati Commercial* once expressed it, Hayes was "good, but not goody-good." He was no mere idealist, no doctrinaire, but a practical though honorable man of affairs. The new "deal" in the South was probably due to an understanding arrived at before the electoral count, and shared by the President-elect, though F. H. Wines and others among Hayes's warmest friends denied that he was privy to it. In the *Charleston News and Courier* under date of June 20, 1893, Hon. D. H. Chamberlain showed that, while the proceeding was not necessarily corrupt, and was probably the part of good politics and even of statesmanship, Hayes was certainly party to a "bargain," agreeing to remove troops from South Carolina in case he was permitted to be seated. Chamberlain said: "While Hayes did not expressly promise to remove the troops, he did by speech or by failing to speak give sufficient assurance to the 'shrewd, long-headed men' with whom he was dealing to warrant them in supporting his claim to the Presidency on so tremendous an issue to the South." "Hayes's friends assembled, met the 'shrewd, long-headed men' of the South, negotiated, winked and nodded, and finally gave the express promise which the South demanded. Hayes knew it all. He did not contradict his friends. He accepted his seat, secured to him by the attitude of the South. He removed the troops. Here was a bargain in all its elements."

Unless this understanding may be considered such, Mr. Hayes had no part in any of the devices by which he was placed in the presidential chair. When Senator Edmunds introduced the Electoral Commission Bill, Hayes viewed it with no favor. He did not regard the Commission as constitutional, but considered the duty of Congress in reference to counting the

HAYES DEPRECATES FRAUD

electoral ballots to be purely ministerial. The same as to post-election proceedings in the South. The prominent Republicans who visited New Orleans to witness the canvass of the Louisiana presidential vote did so solely at the instance of President Grant. From Ohio went John Sherman, Stanley Matthews, J. A. Garfield and Job E. Stevenson. From Iowa went J. M. Tuttle, J. W. Chapman, W. R. Smith and W. A. McGrew; from Illinois, C. B. Farwell, Abner Taylor, S. R. Haven and J. M. Beardsley; from New York, E. W. Stoughton and J. H. Van Alen; from Indiana, John Coburn and Will Cumback; from Pennsylvania, William D. Kelley; from Kansas, Sidney Clarke; from Maryland, C. Irving Ditty; from Maine, Eugene Hale.

Not only had Governor Hayes nothing to do with the origination of this ambassage, but when it was in function he urged that it should be guilty of no abuse. From Columbus, O., November 27, 1876, he wrote: "A fair election would have given us about forty electoral votes at the South—at least that many. But we are not to allow our friends to defeat one outrage and fraud by another. There must be nothing crooked on our part. Let Mr. Tilden have the place by violence, intimidation and fraud, rather than undertake to prevent it by means that will not bear the severest scrutiny." Even had Mr. Hayes wished fraud it is hard to see how, under the circumstances, he could have procured or induced such; for watchers for the Democratic party were also at the count: from Indiana, J. E. McDonald, George W. Julian, M. D. Manson and John Love; from Illinois, John M. Palmer, Lyman Trumbull and William R. Morrison; from Pennsylvania, Samuel J. Randall, A. G. Curtin and William Bigler; from Kentucky, Henry Watterson, J. W. Stevenson and Henry D. McHenry;



S. B. PACKARD
From a photograph by Vandyke.
lent by Charles W. Boothby.

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from Wisconsin, J. R. Doolittle and George B. Smith; from Ohio, J. B. Stallo and P. H. Watson; from New York, Oswald Ottendorfer and F. R. Coudert; from Missouri, Louis V. Bogy, James O. Brodhead and C. Gibson; from Maryland, John Lee Carroll and William T. Hamilton; from Connecticut, Professor W. G. Sumner. Upon invitation of the Returning Board, five of the Democratic "visitors," as well as a like number of the Republicans, attended the several sessions of the Board to watch. The proceedings were thrice reported, once for the Board itself and once for each body of the Northern guests. The evidence taken and the acts performed were published by Congress. Senator Sherman felt "bound, after a long lapse of time, to repeat what was reported to General Grant by the Republican visitors, that the Returning Board in Louisiana made a fair, honest and impartial return of the result of the election." Sherman wrote Hayes at the time: "That you would have received, at a fair election, a large majority in Louisiana, no honest man can question; that you did not receive a majority is equally clear."* Some pretended to think that if Hayes had the slightest doubt touching the legitimacy of any proceedings resorted to for the purpose of seating him he ought not to have accepted the presidency. Such failed to bear in mind that the country was then at a crisis, and that Mr. Hayes's refusal of the presidency would in all probability have resulted in anarchy and war. His acceptance, under the circumstances, was therefore clearly his duty, whatever he thought of antecedent procedure.

Mr. Sherman believed "that the nomination of Hayes was not only the safest, but the strongest that could be made. The long possession of power by the Republicans naturally produced rivalries that greatly affected the election of any one who had been constantly prominent in public life, like Blaine, Conkling and Morton. Hayes had growing qualities, and in every respect was worthy of the high position of President. He

*John Sherman's Recollections, p. 557.

HAYES'S RECORD



Sir

As Governor of South Carolina chosen by the people thereof I have qualified in accordance with the Constitution & I hereby call upon you as my predecessor in this office to deliver up to me the Great Seal of this State together with the possession of the State House, the public records, & all other matters & things appertaining to said office

Wm. Pickens
Governor

D. H. Chamberlain Esq



Sir:

I have received the communication in which you call upon me to deliver up to you the Great Seal of the State, &c. &c.

I do not recognize in you any right to make the foregoing demand and I hereby refuse compliance therewith.

Yours, Sir,
Obedt servant
D. H. Chamberlain
Governor S. C.

Wm. Pickens, Esq.

An incident of the State Election of 1876 in South Carolina, when both Hampton and Chamberlain claimed to have been elected Governor.

had been a soldier, a member of Congress, thrice elected as Governor of Ohio, an admirable executive officer, and his public and private record was beyond question. He was not an aggressive man, although firm in his opinions and faithful in his friendships. Among all the public men with whom I have been brought in contact, I have known none who was freer from personal objection, whose character was more stainless, who was better adapted for a high executive office."

"There was a striking contrast between the personal qualities of Garfield and Hayes. Hayes was a modest man, but a very able one. He had none of the brilliant qualities of his successor,

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but his judgment was always sound, and his opinion, when once formed, was stable and consistent. . . During his entire term, our official and personal relations were not only cordial, but as close and intimate as those of brothers could be. I never took an important step in the process of resumption and refunding . . . without consulting him. . . Early in his administration we formed the habit of taking long drives on each Sunday afternoon in the environs of Washington. He was a regular attendant with Mrs. Hayes, every Sunday morning, at the Methodist Episcopal Church, of which she was a member. This duty being done, we felt justified in seeking the seclusion of the country for long talks about current measures and policy.”*

Mr. Hayes came to the presidency at a very critical time. The financial situation of the country, the still unsettled state of affairs at the South, faction, rebellion, and greed for official spoils within his own party, called upon the new Chief Magistrate for skill and resolution such as few men in his place could have supplied. Mr. Hayes responded nobly and successfully. He triumphed in a task which ablest and purest political leaders have always found so hard: he repressed corruption in his own party. Under President Hayes the systematic prostitution of our public offices for partisan and private purposes was, if not definitively ended, so discouraged that it has never since recovered its old shamelessness. In this those years form an epoch in the Nation's history.

Ever since the days of President Jackson, in 1829, appointments to the minor federal offices had been used for the payment of party debts and to keep up partisan interest. Though this practice had incurred the deep condemnation of Webster, Clay, Calhoun, and all the best men in public life, it did not cease, but prevailed more and more. So early as 1853 pass examinations had been made prerequisite to entering the civil service, but the regulation had amounted to

*John Sherman's Recollections, pp. 550, 551, 807.

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM

nothing. President Lincoln once inquired where he could get the small-pox. "For," said he, "then I should have something I could give to everybody." The honor of being the first to make a systematic endeavor against the spoils abuse belongs to the Hon. Thomas A. Jenckes, a representative in Congress from Rhode Island between March, 1863, and March, 1871. Beginning in 1865, Mr. Jenckes, so long as he continued in Congress, annually introduced in the House a bill "to regulate the civil service of the United States." Early in 1866 Senator B. Gratz Brown, of Missouri, also undertook to get the "spoils system" superseded by the "merit system." No success attended these efforts.

In 1870-1871 reform in the civil service almost became an issue. It was one of the three cardinal principles of the Liberal Republicans, was an item in the "New Departure" made by the Democrats that year, received compliments, more or less sincere, from politicians of all stripes, and in 1872 was recognized for the first time in all the party platforms. On March 3, 1871, an act was passed authorizing the President, through a commission to be appointed by himself, to ascertain "the fitness of candidates as to age, health, character, knowledge and ability, by examination," and to prescribe regulations for the conduct of appointees. The President that year appointed a commission, George William Curtis its chairman. On December 19th he sent a message to Congress, transmitting the report of the commissioners, together with the rules submitted by them in relation to the appointment, promotion and conduct of persons filling the offices covered by the law.

These rules provided that each applicant should furnish evidence as to his character, health and age, and should pass a satisfactory examination in speaking, reading and writing the English language. Positions were to be grouped and graded according to the nature of the work, admission to the civil service always introducing the candidate to the lowest group.

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

Public competitive examinations were to be instituted, and a list of examinees made up and kept on record, with the order of their excellence. Each appointment was to be made from the three leading eligibles. Admission to a group above the lowest could be had only by one of three candidates from the next lower grade who stood highest in a competitive examination. An applicant for a place of trust where another officer was responsible for his fidelity could not be appointed without the approval of such officer; and postmasterships yielding less than two hundred dollars a year were not placed under the rule. With some exceptions, notably of postmasters and consuls, appointments were to be probationary for a term of six months. Best of all the regulations presented was the following: "No head of a department or any subordinate officer of the Government shall, as such officer, authorize or assist in levying any assessment of money for political purposes, under the form of voluntary contributions or otherwise, upon any person employed under his control, nor shall any such person pay any money so assessed." Higher officials and some others were, however, excepted from the operation of this rule.

President Grant reported that the new methods "had given persons of superior capacity to the service"; yet Congress, always niggardly in its appropriations for the Commission's work, in 1875 made no appropriation at all, so that the rules were perforce suspended. Ardor for spoils was not the sole cause of this. Many friends of reform thought the new system, as it had been begun, too stiff and bookish, too little practical; nor could such a view be declared wholly mistaken. Intelligent labor-leaders, it was found, usually opposed the reform in that shape, as it would exclude themselves and all but the most favored of their children from public office.

Unfortunately, the President cared as little as Congress for a pure civil service. This was everywhere apparent. It cannot be ignored that Grant's second administration was

William M. Evarts, State

Carl Schurz, Interior

Richard W. Thompson, Navy



David M. Key, Post.-Gen.

George W. McCrary, War

John Sherman, Treasury

Charles Devenis, Attorney-Gen.

PRESIDENT HAYES'S CABINET

GRANT'S SECOND TERM

shamefully weak and corrupt. "The very obstinacy of temper which made him so formidable in the field, now, when combined with the self-confidence bred by his re-election and the flattery of his adherents, not only made him impervious to public opinion but made all criticism of him seem an act of insolent hostility, to be punished or defied." Charles Francis Adams quoted it as the opinion of a Republican, he thought Evarts, during Grant's second four years, that "the Republican party was like an



BENJAMIN F. BUTLER

army the term of enlistment of which had expired." It was a happy simile. Straggling was common, complaints were numerous, and mutiny had begun. Summary, worse than military methods of appointment and dismissal were employed.

In respect to the manner of Jewell's resignation, the story went—believed to be on the authority of Vice-President Wilson—that Grant and Jewell were alone together, talking over matters, when, without any previous suggestion of the subject, the President said: "Jewell, how do you suppose your resignation would look written out?" Thinking or affecting to think the question a joke of Grant's, Jewell said he would write it and see. "All right," said Grant, "you just take some paper and write it down and see how it looks." Jewell wrote and handed the paper to Grant. The President eyed it a moment and then remarked: "That looks well. I will accept that." He was in earnest, and on July 11, 1876, Jewell was out of the Cabinet. Verisimilitude is lent this account by the known abruptness with which Judge Hoar was ejected from the office of Attorney-General. He was sitting in his room,

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

bent upon the business of his office, absolutely without a hint of what was coming, when a messenger entered with a letter from Grant. It contained the naked statement that the President found himself under the necessity of asking for Mr. Hoar's resignation. "No explanation of any kind was given, nor reason assigned. The request was as curt and as direct as possible. A thunderclap could not have been more startling."

Benjamin F. Butler obtained great power with Grant, which immensely aided him in "capturing" the Massachusetts governorship. Patronage was liberally accorded him. "In every town and village a circle was formed round the postmaster, the collector, or some other government officer, who was moved by the hope of personal gain. Not a man who wished for place or had a job on hand but added to their numbers." Foiled at two elections, Butler was not in the least daunted, but spurred to renewed exertion, sure that the powers at Washington would deny him nothing. At last "Mr. Simmons, who, in a subordinate position, had particularly distinguished himself in the management of the last canvass, was promoted by the President to the Collectorship of Boston, in the hope that the most important national office in New England might offer a fitting sphere of action for his peculiar abilities." Even a Republican Convention had rebuked this man for his unendurable officiousness as a political boss. *Harper's Weekly* for March 21, 1874, said: "No recent political event is comparable in the excitement it has caused to the appointment of the Boston Collector. The situation every day forces upon the most unwavering Republicans the question, When will it be necessary for our honor as men and patriots to oppose the party?"

In 1874 public wrath was aroused by the exposure of the "Sanborn Contracts," made in 1872, between the Hon. William A. Richardson, then Acting Secretary of the Treasury, subsequently promoted to Mr. Boutwell's seat in the Cabinet, and Mr. John D. Sanborn, giving Sanborn the right to collect

BRISTOW IN THE TREASURY

for the Treasury, "share and share alike," taxes which were already collected by regular officers of the Government. Such officers were not only directed not to interfere with Mr. Sanborn, but bidden to co-operate with him. By March, 1874, less than two years, this profitable arrangement had paid Sanborn over \$200,000. Morally indefensible as it was, it seems to have been legal. The House Committee of Ways and Means examined into the case. Unable, on the evidence adduced, exactly to fix the responsibility of making the contracts, the committee could not "in justice to itself ignore the fact" that three persons, Richardson, Secretary of the Treasury, the Assistant Secretary, and the Solicitor of the Treasury, "deserved severe condemnation for the manner in which they permitted this law to be administered." The committee, however, found no fact on which to base a belief that any of these officers had acted from wrong motives. It recommended repealing the law and the annulment of all contracts made under it. Mr. Richardson's resignation was soon after reluctantly accepted by the President, and his nomination to the Court of Claims confirmed with equal reluctance by the Senate. Hon. B. H. Bristow, of Kentucky, succeeded him in the Treasury.

The new Secretary at once bent his attention to reorganizing and improving the customs and internal revenue service. His fearless removals and searching investigations soon stirred the venomous hostility of various corrupt cliques which had been basking on the sunny side of the Treasury. There were the instigators of the Safe-Burglary frauds, of the Seal-Lock frauds, and of the Subsidy frauds, besides jealous, chagrined and corrupt officials; but most formidable of all, and in a sense, at the head of all, was the Whiskey Ring. It was patent from statistics that the United States had, by 1874, in St. Louis alone, lost at least \$1,200,000 of the revenue which it should have received from whiskey, yet special agents of the Treasury set to work from time to time had failed to do more than cause an occasional flurry among the thieves. The

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME



ORVILLE E. BABCOCK

guilty parties were somehow always effectively forewarned and forearmed against any effort to punish or identify them. The Ring seemed to have eyes, ears and hands in every room of the Internal Revenue Department, in the Secretary's office, and even in the Executive Mansion.

The Whiskey Ring was organized in St. Louis, when the Liberal Republicans there achieved their first success. It occurred to certain politicians to have the revenue officers raise a campaign fund among the distillers. This idea the officers modified later, raising money in the same way for themselves, and in return conniving at the grossest thievery. As it became necessary to hide the frauds, newspapers and higher officials were hushed, till the Ring assumed national dimensions. Its headquarters were at St. Louis, but it had branches at Milwaukee, Chicago, Peoria, Cincinnati, and New Orleans. It had an agent at Washington. A huge corruption fund was distributed among gaugers, storekeepers, collectors, and other officials, according to a fixed schedule of prices. Subordinate officers were not merely tempted to become parties, but were even obliged to do so on penalty of losing their places. Honest distillers and rectifiers were hounded with false accusations and caught in technical frauds, till their choice seemed to lie between ruin and alliance with the Ring. One or two inquirers peculiarly persistent were assaulted and left for dead. They besought the Government for speedy relief, threatening, unless it was granted them, to expose the corrupt intimacy between the Internal Revenue Bureau and the Ring. So potent had the organization grown that the politicians persuaded Grant, "for the party's sake," to countermand, though he had at first approved, Bristow's order directing a general transfer of super-

MYRON COLONY'S WORK

visors, as such transfer would have thrown the thieves' machine out of adjustment.

At length, upon the recommendation of Mr. George Fishback, editor of the *St. Louis Democrat*, the reform Secretary appointed Mr. Myron Colony, of St. Louis, a special agent to unearth the frauds, with the co-operation of Bluford Wilson, the Solicitor of the Treasury. One of the conditions upon which Mr. Colony accepted his grave and difficult charge was that of perfect secrecy. The first plan was to ascertain by means of detectives the amount of grain carted into the distilleries, with the amount of whiskey shipped to rectifying-houses or elsewhere, and to establish the fact of illegal nocturnal distillation—for the law allowed but one distillation every seventy-two hours. This effort the guilty parties discovered and opposed, midnight combats taking place between the burly detectives and ruffians hired to fight them. That line of attack was finally abandoned, but not till valuable evidence had been secured.

The next move was as follows: Under pretext of gathering commercial statistics, a work which, as financial editor of the *Democrat* and as Secretary of the St. Louis Board of Trade, Mr. Colony had often done, and could, of course, do without suspicion, he obtained, at landings and freight depots, copies of bills of lading that showed all the shipments of staple articles, including whiskey, to or from St. Louis, Chicago, and Milwaukee. The record gave the names of the shippers and the consignees, the number of gallons and the serial number—never duplicated—of the revenue stamps on each and every package. The discrepancies between these way-bills and the official records furnished to the Internal Revenue Office showed conclusively the extent of the frauds and the identity of the culprits. From July 1, 1874, to May 1, 1875, no less than \$1,650,000 had been diverted from the government till.

The illicit distillers lay quite still while the toils were woven around them. They were aware of the Secretary's

enmity and cordially reciprocated it, but their suspicions had been lulled by his first retreat. Moreover, they felt that news of any proposed investigation would be sure to reach them from their official correspondents. They were not prepared for an investigation conducted in the main by private citizens, and kept secret from the Department, which was in more intimate alliance with them than with its own chief or with the people whom he was serving. When little remained but to unmask the batteries, a vague sense of uneasiness began to express itself in Congressional and other queries at the Internal Revenue Office—which was as blissfully ignorant as the Ring itself—and later at the White House, where it was learned that investigation was indeed on foot. The investigators, too, were startled, after they had fixed Monday, May 10th, as the date for the *coup*, by learning of a telegram to St. Louis running, “Lightning will strike Monday! Warn your friends in the country!” It turned out that this telegram was from a gentleman who had been informed of the purpose to strike on that day, and had communicated it to a distilling firm in St. Louis hostile to the Ring.

Its torpid writhings availed the monster naught. Equally vain the pious preparations at once made against a mere raid. The traps set with secrecy and patience were sprung simultaneously in St. Louis, Chicago and Milwaukee. Records seized justified numerous arrests in nearly every leading city. Indictments were found against one hundred and fifty-two liquor men and other private parties, and against eighty-six Government officials, among them the chief clerk in the Treasury Department, and President Grant’s Private Secretary, General O. E. Babcock. On the back of a letter from St. Louis, making a charge or suggestion against Babcock, Grant had indorsed, “Let no guilty man escape.” Five or six times in the progress of the case he said: “If Babcock is guilty there is no man who wants him proven guilty as I do, for it is the greatest piece of traitorism to me that a man could possibly practise.”

THE REFORMERS OUT

Still, Babcock's prosecutors complained that efforts were made to transfer the case to a military court, to deprive them of papers incriminating the Private Secretary, and to prevent important testimony being given by informers on promise of immunity. All the prominent defendants were convicted save Babcock, but three of them were pardoned six months later. After his acquittal Babcock was dismissed by the President.

In the spring of 1876 the dauntless Secretary Bristow assaulted the California Whiskey Ring, but here at last he was foiled. When the temperature rose to an uncomfortable degree a Senator demanded, and in spite of the Secretary secured, the removal of the more active government prosecutors in that section. The retirement of Secretary Bristow followed soon after. With him went Solicitor Wilson, Commissioner Pratt, Mr. Yaryan, chief of revenue agents, and District-Attorney Dyer. The Treasurer and the First and Fifth Auditors of the Treasury also resigned. The whole course of proceedings was embarrassed by misunderstandings with the President, who was misled into the belief that his own ruin and that of his family was sought by the investigators, especially by Bristow, who, it was whispered, had designs upon the Presidency. The President broke from these maligners



A. B. CORNELL

more than once, but there was enough in the press, in the popular applause with which the prosecution was hailed, and in the conduct of the trials, to renew his suspicions, to hinder the prosecution of the St. Louis Ring, and finally to unseat the anti-machine Secretary himself. This officer's retirement occurred not quite a month before that of Postmaster-General Jewell.

Great credit was due to the press for its assistance in discovering and

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exposing the whiskey frauds. Notwithstanding exaggerations and errors here and there, laying faults at wrong doors, its work was praiseworthy in the extreme. As the *New York Times* had exposed the "Tweed Ring," so to the St. Louis newspaper men was due, in large part, the glory of bringing to light the whiskey iniquity. As in so many other instances, the press proved the terror of unclean politicians and the reliance of the people. In those times and in the course of such complicated investigations, it was inevitable that libels should occur and do harm. Naturally, and perhaps justifiably, Congress undertook to remedy this ill by amending the law of libel. The debate over the measure was in great part composed of philippics against "the licentious newspaper." The licentious newspaper retorted in the teeth of the law, which was christened the "Press-Gag Law." The enactment, too much resembling the old "Sedition Law," was universally unpopular, contributing not a little to the Democratic victories of 1874. Judge Poland, of Vermont, the chief sponsor for it, was defeated in this election. As a further consequence of it, in the Forty-fourth Congress, first session, meeting in 1875, the National House of Representatives, for the first time since the Civil War, had a Democratic majority. It was seventy strong, and elected Hon. Michael C. Kerr Speaker.

These paragraphs perhaps afford the reader sufficient insight into the condition of Republican politics when Mr. Hayes became President; they indicate the strength of the evil tide which he so resolutely set himself to turn. Even from a party point of view the plunder system of party politics had failed to justify itself. Yet, while his efforts for reform were endorsed by thousands of the rank and file Hayes found himself strenuously opposed by a large and powerful Republican faction. As the head and front of this, championing all that Grant had stood for, his sins of omission and his sins of commission alike, towered Senator Roscoe Conkling, of New

HAYES AND THE NEW YORK CUSTOM-HOUSE



THEODORE ROOSEVELT

York, one of the most formidable personal leaders in the grand old party. Though knowing of this gentleman's sure and potent antagonism, the President did not hesitate, but early and firmly took the bull by the horns.

He touched the danger-line in removing Chester A. Arthur from the office of Collector of the Port of New York, A. B. Cornell from that of Naval Officer, and George H. Sharpe from that of Surveyor. Over two-thirds of the nation's customs revenue was received at that port, and its administration could not but be important. Numerous complaints having been made concerning affairs and methods at the port, a Commission was appointed in April, 1877, to make an examination. Its first report, dwelling on the evils of appointments for political reasons without due regard to efficiency, was rendered May 24th, and it recommended considerably sweeping changes. President Hayes concurred in these recommendations. He wrote Secretary Sherman: "It is my wish that the collection of the revenues should be free from partisan control, and organized on a strictly business basis, with the same guarantees for efficiency and fidelity in the selection of the chief and subordinate officers that would be required by a prudent merchant. Party leaders should have no more influence in appointments than other equally respectable citizens. No assessments for political purposes on officers or subordinates should be allowed. No useless officer or employé should be retained. No officer should be required or permitted to take part in the management of political organizations, caucuses, conventions, or election campaigns. Their right to vote, and to express their views on public questions, either orally or through the press, is not denied, provided it does not interfere with the discharge of their official duties."

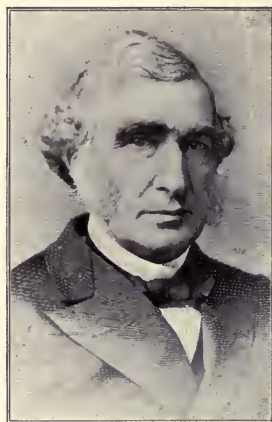
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Five more reports were made, exhibiting in all their gravity the evils then prevalent in the business of the port. Twenty per cent. of the persons employed needed to be dropped. Ignorance, inefficiency, neglect of duty, dishonesty, inebriety, bribery, and various other forms of improper conduct were all common. At first there was no thought of removing Arthur or Cornell, but they were seen to be so bound up with the unbusiness-like system that they must fall with it. The Commissioners "found that for many years past the view had obtained with some political leaders that the friends of the Administration in power had a right to control the customs appointments; and this view, which seemed to have been acquiesced in by successive administrations, had of late been recognized to what the commission deemed an undue extent by the chief officer of the service. These gentlemen, on the ground that they were compelled to surrender to personal and partisan dictation, appeared to have assumed that they were relieved, in part at least, from the responsibilities that belonged to the appointing power." The Administration became convinced "that new officers would be more likely to make the radical reforms required," that in order to accomplish any thorough reform of the Government's business methods at the New York port, the Collector, the Naval Officer and the Surveyor must either resign or be removed. On September 6, 1877, Secretary Sherman wrote his Assistant Secretary :

"After a very full consideration and a very kindly one, the President, with the cordial assent of his Cabinet, came to the conclusion that the public interests demanded a change in the three leading offices in New York, and a public announcement of that character was authorized. I am quite sure that this will, on the whole, be considered to be a wise result. The manner of making the changes and the persons to be appointed will be a subject of careful and full consideration, but it is better to know that it is determined upon and ended. This made it unnecessary to consider the telegrams in regard

ARTHUR, CORNELL, AND SHARPE REMOVED

to Mr. Cornell. It is probable that no special point would have been made upon his holding his position as Chairman of the State Committee for a limited time, but even that was not the thing, the real question being that, whether he resigned or not, it was better that he and Arthur and Sharpe should all give way to new men, to try definitely a new policy in the conduct of the New York Custom-house. I have no doubt, unless these gentlemen should make it impossible by their conduct hereafter, that they will be treated with the utmost consideration, and, for one, I have no hesitation in saying that I hope General Arthur will be recognized in a most complimentary way."



JUSTIN S. MORRILL
of Vermont

A great fight was now on. Arthur was offered the eligible post of Consul-General at Paris, thought likely to be highly agreeable to him, but he declined it. None of the officials would resign. On the contrary, pushed by Senator Conkling, all three preferred to make an issue against the proposed reform. On October 24, 1877, the President nominated for Collector Theodore Roosevelt, for Surveyor Edward A. Merritt, and for Naval Officer L. B. Prince. Five days later the Senate rejected them. Conkling was in high feather. On December 6th, during the following session, the three were again nominated, but only the last, ten days later, confirmed. "No doubt," said Sherman, "the Democratic majority in the Senate might defend themselves with political reasons, but the motive of Mr. Conkling was hostility to President Hayes and his inborn desire to domineer." After the session closed, in 1878, the President temporarily placed Edwin A. Merritt in the office of Collector, and Silas W. Burt in that of Naval Officer. With the opening of the next

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Senate it became necessary to submit the nominations to that body for confirmation. The Secretary of the Treasury, so interested in the case that he had determined to resign should the Senate reject again, wrote Senator Allison :

“ I would not bother you with this personal matter, but that I feel the deepest interest in the confirmation of General Merritt, which I know will be beneficial to us as a party, and still more so to the public service. Personally I have the deepest interest in it because I have been unjustly assailed in regard to it in the most offensive manner. I feel free to appeal to you and Windom, representing as you do Western States, and being old friends and acquaintances, to take into consideration this personal aspect of the case. If the restoration of Arthur is insisted upon, the whole liberal element will be against us and it will lose us tens of thousands of votes without doing a particle of good. No man could be a more earnest Republican than I, and I feel this political loss as much as anyone can. It will be a personal reproach to me, and merely to gratify the insane hate of Conkling, who in this respect disregards the express wishes of the Republican members from New York, of the great body of Republicans, and as I personally know, runs in antagonism to his nearest and best friends in the Senate.”

To Senator Justin S. Morrill Sherman wrote a much longer letter, giving reasons in detail in favor of confirming the new men, and containing specific charges of neglect of duty on the part of Arthur and Cornell. After seven hours of struggle in the Senate Conkling was decisively defeated, Merritt being confirmed 33 to 24, and Burt 31 to 19. Four-fifths of the Democrats and two-fifths of the Republicans voted for confirmation.

While temper over this controversy was at its hottest George William Curtis supported in the New York State Republican Convention a resolution commending Hayes's Administration, and especially his course with regard to the

HAYES AND HIS PARTY

civil service. This aroused Conkling to make a fierce personal attack upon Curtis. Curtis wrote: "It was the saddest sight I ever knew, that man glaring at me in a fury of hate and storming out his foolish blackguardism. It was all pity. I had not thought him great, but I had not suspected how small he was. His friends, the best, were confounded. One of them said to me next day, 'It was not amazement that I felt, but consternation.' Conkling's speech was carefully written out, and therefore you do not get all the venom, and no one can imagine the Mephistophelian leer and spite."

After all, strange as it may seem, Hayes's bold independence did not seriously divide his party. Few stalwarts dared call him a traitor. Democratic opposition fortified him against this. The House, Democratic throughout his term, fought nearly all his wishes, as did the Senate, now also Democratic, during his last two years. To balk him, appropriation bills were laden with riders involving legislation which he could not approve, but he firmly applied the veto. The futile attempt to "right" the alleged "fraud of 1877" by ripping up the Electoral Commission's work, kept Hayes before the country as the Republicans' man, incidentally doing much to advertise his sterling character. Refreshing decency marked all of Mr. Hayes's public doings. The men placed in office by him were as a rule the best available, chosen with the least possible regard to political influence, and, like all others in the civil service, they were required to abstain from active participation in political affairs. This policy enraged politicians, but, by immensely relieving the party from the odium into which it had fallen, aided to put it in condition for the campaign of 1880.

CHAPTER X

“THE UNITED STATES WILL PAY”

BACK TO HARD MONEY.—ACT TO STRENGTHEN THE PUBLIC CREDIT.—DIFFICULTY OF CONTRACTION.—IGNORANCE OF FINANCE.—DEBTORS PINCHED.—THE PANIC OF 1873.—CAUSES.—FAILURE OF JAY COOKE & CO., AND OF FISKE & HATCH.—BLACK FRIDAY NO. 2.—ON CHANGE AND ON THE STREET.—BULLS, BEARS AND BANKS.—CRITICISM OF SECRETARY RICHARDSON.—FIRST USE OF CLEARING-HOUSE CERTIFICATES.—EFFECTS AND DURATION OF THE PANIC.—AN IMPORTANT GOOD RESULT.—RESUMPTION AND POLITICS.—THE RESUMPTION ACT.—SHERMAN'S QUALIFICATIONS FOR EXECUTING IT.—HIS FIRMNESS.—RESUMPTION ACTUALLY BEGUN.—MAGNITUDE AND MEANING OF THIS POLICY.—OUR BONDED DEBT RAPIDLY REDUCED.—LEGAL TENDER QUESTIONS AND DECISIONS.—JUILLIARD VS. GREENMAN.—THE “FIAT-GREENBACK” HERESY.—“DOLLAR OF THE FATHERS” DEMONETIZED.—NOT BY FRAUD BUT WITHOUT DUE REFLECTION.—THE BLAND BILL AND THE “ALLISON TIP.”—THE AMENDED BILL VETOED, BUT PASSED.—SUBSEQUENT SILVER LEGISLATION.

THE most momentous single deed of Mr. Hayes's Administration was the restoration of the country's finances, public and private, to a hard-money basis. On January 1, 1879, the United States began again the payment, suspended for more than sixteen years, of specie in liquidation of its greenback promises. The familiar legend upon our Treasury notes, “The United States will pay,” became true at last. Our paper dollar had begun to sink below par so early as December 28, 1861, after which date it underwent the most painful fluctuations. On July 11, 1864, it was sixty-five per cent. below par, thenceforward sinking and rising fitfully, but never reaching gold value again till the month of December, 1878.

The difficulties of replacing the country's business on a solid monetary platform had been foreseen as soon as the subject loomed into view. Senator Sherman, upon whom finally fell the main burden of carrying the operation through, wrote

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in 1868: "I am in real embarrassment about questions that I must now act upon. My conviction is that specie payments must be resumed, and I have my own theories as to the mode of resumption, but the process is a very hard one and will endanger the popularity of any man or administration that is compelled to adopt it."

The very first act of the Forty-first Congress was one entitled "An Act to strengthen the public credit." Introduced in the House by General Schenck on March 12, 1869, it there passed on that day, reaching the Senate on the 15th, where also it speedily passed. On the 19th this memorable bill became law. It ran:

"That, in order to remove any doubt as to the purpose of the Government to discharge all just obligations to the public creditors, and to settle conflicting questions and interpretations of the laws by virtue of which said obligations have been contracted, it is hereby provided and declared that the faith of the United States is solemnly pledged to the payment in coin, or its equivalent, of all obligations of the United States not bearing interest, known as United States notes, and of all interest-bearing obligations of the United States, except in cases where the law authorizing the issue of such obligations has expressly provided that the same may be paid in lawful money or other currency than gold or silver. . . And the United States also solemnly pledges its faith to make provision, at the earliest practicable period, for the redemption of the United States notes in coin."

However necessary to final prosperity, the contraction of our currency was a sore process, and it encountered at every stage the most bitter opposition. The war left us, as it found us, with painfully little grasp on the principles of money. Men of one type felt that low or falling prices, however caused, meant prosperity; another class attached this meaning to high prices, however caused. Few reflected enough to see that great and solid prosperity may attend rising prices, as

G. F. Edmunds
O. P. Morton

John Sherman

W. B. Allison
John A. Logan



T. W. Ferry
Roscoe Conkling

F. T. Frelinghuysen

T. O. Howe
G. S. Boutwell

Painted by W. R. Leigh

A. A. Sargent

THE REPUBLICAN CAUCUS COMMITTEE WHICH FORMULATED THE RESUMPTION ACT
IN DECEMBER, 1874

ANTI-CONTRACTION

between 1850 and 1870, or that, on the other hand, prices may be going down and yet greater and greater effort be required to obtain the necessaries of life. The generally conceded desirableness of replacing business upon a precious-metal basis, whatever hardship in lowered values this might cost those whose property consisted of goods or lands and not of money, misled many, even after the gold platform was reached, to hail each drop in general prices with hallelujahs. Eastern people and the creditor class elsewhere were usually in this frame of mind.

Far different felt those, so numerous throughout the West, who had run in debt when rank inflation was on, and who, tied to their mortgaged farms, were compelled to produce against a constantly falling market. They writhed under the pinch, and more or less correctly understood the philosophy of it. A Montgomery County, Pa., farmer once went into a store in Norristown and bought a suit of clothes. The storekeeper said: "That is the cheapest suit of clothes you ever bought." "Oh, no," said the farmer, "this suit cost me twenty bushels of wheat. I have never paid over fifteen bushels of wheat for a suit of clothes before."

The panic of 1873, so far as it resulted from contraction, had its main origin abroad, not in America, so that its subordinate causes were generally looked upon as its sole occasion; yet these by causes were important. The shocking destruction of wealth by fires and by reckless speculation, of course had a baneful effect. During 1872 the balance of trade was strongly against the United States. The circulation of depreciated paper money had brought to many an apparent prosperity which was not real, leading to the free creation of debts by individuals, corporations, towns, cities and States. An unprecedented mileage of railways had been constructed. Much supposed wealth consisted in the bonds of these railroads and of other new concerns, like mining and manufacturing corporations. Thus the entire business of the country was on a

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

basis of inflation, and when contraction came disaster was inevitable.

In the course of the summer solid values began to be hoarded and interest rates consequently to rise. In August there was a partial corner in gold, broken by a government sale of \$6,000,000. In September panic came, with suspension of several large banking-houses in New York. Jay Cooke & Co., who had invested heavily in the construction of the Northern Pacific Railway, suspended on September 18th. When authoritative news of this event was made known in the Stock Exchange a perfect stampede of the brokers ensued. They surged out of the Exchange, tumbling pell-mell over each other in the general confusion, hastening to notify their respective houses. Next day, September 19th, Fiske & Hatch, very conservative people, went down.

September 19th was a second Black Friday. Never since the original Black Friday had the street and the Stock Exchange been so frantic. The weather, dark and rainy, seemed to sympathize with the gloom which clouded the financial situation. Wall, Broad and Nassau Streets were thronged with people. From the corner of Wall Street and Broadway down to the corner of Hanover Street a solid mass of men filled both sidewalks. From the Post-office along Nassau Street down Broad Street to Exchange Place another dense throng moved slowly, aimlessly, hither and thither. Sections of Broadway itself were packed. Weaving in and out like the shuttles in a loom were brokers and brokers' clerks making the best speed they could from point to point. All faces wore a bewildered and foreboding look. To help them seem cool, moneyed men talked about the weather, but their incoherent words and nervous motions betrayed their anxiety. The part of Wall Street at the corner of Broad Street held a specially interested mass of men. They seemed like an assemblage anxiously awaiting the appearance of a great spectacle. High up on the stone balustrade of the Sub-Treasury were numerous



Painted by Howard Pyle

THE RUSH FROM THE NEW YORK STOCK EXCHANGE ON SEPTEMBER 18, 1873

SECOND BLACK FRIDAY

spectators, umbrellas sheltering them from the pelting rain as they gazed with rapt attention on the scene below. All the brokers' offices were filled. In each, at the first click of the indicator, everybody present was breathless, showing an interest more and more intense as the figures telegraphed were read off.

It was half-past ten in the morning when the Fiske & Hatch failure was announced in the Stock Exchange. For a moment there was silence; then a hoarse murmur broke out from bulls and bears alike, followed by yells and cries indescribable, clearly audible on the street. Even the heartless bear, in glee over the havoc he was making, paused to utter a growl of sorrow that gentlemen so honorable should become ursine prey. The news of the failure ran like a prairie fire, spreading dismay that showed itself on all faces. Annotators of values in the various offices made known in doleful ticks the depreciation of stocks and securities. Old *habitués* of the exchanges, each usually placid as a moonlit lake, were wrought up till they acted like wild men.

At the corner of Broad Street and Exchange Place a delirious crowd of money-lenders and borrowers collected and tried to fix a rate for loans. The matter hung in the balance for some time until the extent of the panic became known. Then they bid until the price of money touched one-half of one per cent. a day and legal interest. One man, after lending \$30,000 at three-eighths per cent., said that he had \$20,000 left, but that he thought he would not lend it. As he said this, he turned toward his office, but was immediately surrounded by about twenty borrowers who hung on to his arms and coat-tails till he had agreed to lend the \$20,000.

The Stock Exchange witnessed the chief tragedy and the chief farce of the day. Such tumult, push and bellowing had never been known there even in the wildest moments of the war. The interior of the Exchange was of noble altitude, with a vaulting top, brilliantly colored in Renaissance design, that

sprang upward with a strength and grace seldom so happily united. A cluster of gas-jets, hanging high, well illuminated the enclosure. On the capacious floor, unobstructed by pillars or by furniture, save one small table whereon a large basket of flowers rested, a mob of brokers and brokers' clerks surged back and forth, filling the immense space above with roars and screams. The floor was portioned off to some twenty different groups. Here was one tossing "New York Central" up and down; near by another playing ball with "Wabash;" "Northwestern" jumped and sank as if afflicted with St. Vitus's dance. In the middle of the floor "Rock Island" cut up similar capers. In a remote corner "Pacific Mail" was beaten with clubs, while "Harlem" rose like a balloon filled with pure hydrogen. The uninitiated expected every instant to see the mob fight. Jobbers squared off at each other and screamed and yelled violently, flinging their arms around and producing a scene which Bedlam itself could not equal.

Behind the raised desk, in snowy shirt-front and necktie, stood the President of the Exchange, his strong tenor voice every now and then ringing out over the Babel of sounds beneath. The gallery opposite him contained an eager throng of spectators bending forward and craning their necks to view the pandemonium on the floor. The rush for this gallery was fearful, and apparently, but for the utmost effort of the police, must have proved fatal to some. Excitement in Wall Street not infrequently drew crowds to the main front of the Exchange; but hardly ever, if ever before, had the vicinity been so packed as now. Two large blackboards exhibited in chalk figures the incessantly fluctuating quotations. Telegraph wires connected the Exchange with a thousand indicators throughout the city, whence the quotations, big with meaning to many, were flashed over the land.

The first Black Friday was a bull Friday; the second was a bear Friday. Early in the panic powerful brokers began

* STOCK EXCHANGE CLOSED

to sell short, and they succeeded in hammering down from ten to forty per cent. many of the finest stocks like "New York Central," "Erie," "Wabash," "Northwestern," "Rock Island" and "Western Union." They then bought to cover their sales. Bull brokers, unable to pay their contracts, shrieked for margin money, which their principals would not or could not put up. They also sought relief from the banks, but in vain. It had long been the practice of certain banks, though contrary to law, early each day to certify checks to enormous amounts in favor of brokers who had not a cent on deposit to their credit, the understanding in each case being that before three o'clock the broker would hand in enough cash or securities to cancel his debt. The banks now refused this accommodation. In the Exchange, eighteen names were read off of brokers who could not fulfill their contracts. As fast as the failures were announced the news was carried out on to the street. In spite of the rain hundreds of people gathered about the offices of fallen reputation, and gazed curiously through the windows trying to make out how the broken brokers were behaving. Toward evening, as the clouds lifted over Trinity spire, showing a ruddy flush in the west, everybody, save some reluctant bears, said, "The worst is over," and breathed a sigh of relief. The crowd melted, one by one the tiny little Broadway coupés rattled off, one by one the newsboys ceased shrieking, and night closed over the wet street.

In deference to a general wish that dealings in stocks should cease, the Exchange was shut on Saturday, September 20th, and not opened again till the 30th. Such closure had never occurred before. On Sunday morning President Grant and Secretary Richardson, of the Treasury, came to New York, spending the day in anxious consultation with Vanderbilt, Clews, and other prominent business men.

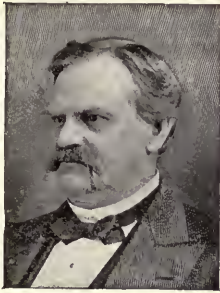
Had the Secretary of the Treasury acted promptly and firmly he might have relieved the situation much; but he vacillated. Some \$13,500,000 in five-twenty bonds were

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

bought, and a few millions of the greenbacks which Secretary McCulloch had called in for cancellation were set free. But as Mr. Richardson announced no policy on which the public could depend, most of the cash let loose was instantly hoarded in vaults or used in the purchase of other bonds then temporarily depressed, so doing nothing whatever to allay the distress. On the 25th the Treasury ceased buying bonds. The person who, at the worst, sustained the market and kept it from breaking to a point where half of the street would have been inevitably ruined, was Jay Gould, mischief itself on the first Black Friday, but on this one a blessing. He bought during the low prices several hundred thousand shares of railroad stocks, principally of the Vanderbilt stripe, and in this way put a check on the ruinous decline.

The national banks of New York weathered this cyclone by a novel device of the Clearing-house or associated banks. These pooled their cash and collaterals into a common fund, placed this in the hands of a trusty committee, and issued against it loan certificates that were receivable at the Clearing-house, just like cash, in payment of debit balances. Ten million dollars worth of these certificates was issued at first, a sum subsequently doubled. This Clearing-house paper served its purpose admirably. By October 3d confidence was so restored that \$1,000,000 of it was called in and cancelled, followed next day by \$1,500,000 more. None of it was long outstanding. The Clearing-house febrifuge was successfully applied also in Boston, Philadelphia, Pittsburg and other cities, but not in Chicago.

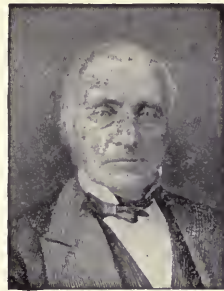
The panic overspread the country. Credit in business was refused, debtors were pressed for payment, securities were rushed into the market and fell greatly in price. Even United States bonds went down from five to ten per cent. There was a run upon savings banks, many of which succumbed. Manufactured goods were little salable, and the prices of agricultural products painfully sank. Factories began to run on



*W. A. Richardson, Massachusetts,
March 17, 1873-June 2, 1874*



*B. H. Bristow, Kentucky,
June 2, 1874-June 21, 1876*



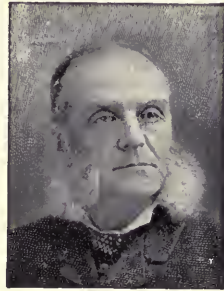
*L. M. Morrill, Maine,
June 21, 1876-March 8, 1877*



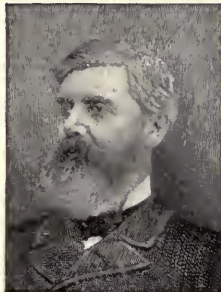
*John Sherman, Ohio,
March 8, 1877-March 5, 1881*



*William Windom, Minnesota,
March 5, 1881-October 27, 1881*



*C. J. Folger, New York,
October 27, 1881-October 24, 1884*



*W. Q. Gresham, Indiana,
October 24, 1884-October 28, 1884*



*Hugh McCulloch, Indiana,
October 28, 1884-March 6, 1885*



*Daniel Manning, New York,
March 6, 1885-April 1, 1887*



*C. S. Fairchild, New York,
April 1, 1887-March 5, 1889*



*Charles Foster, Ohio,
February 24, 1891-March 6, 1893*



*John G. Carlisle, Kentucky,
March 6, 1893-*

THE SECRETARIES OF THE TREASURY DURING THE LAST QUARTER-CENTURY*

*For G. S. Boutwell, March 11, 1869-March 17, 1873, see page 35.

RESUMPTION AND THE POLITICAL PARTIES

short time, many closed entirely, many corporations failed. The peculiarity of this crisis was the slowness with which it abated, though fortunately its acute phase was of brief duration. No date could be set as its term, its evil effects dragging on through years.

In convincing multitudes, as it did, of the imperative necessity of replacing our national finances on a coin foundation, this panic was worth all it cost. It was influential in uniting the friends of sound finance and of national honesty upon the resumption policy. Men saw that this policy, however hard to enter upon, however disastrous in the execution, however sure of terrible opposition at every step, must succeed, and could not but bring lasting credit to the political party bold enough to espouse and push it. At first the resumption plan divided both parties; but, little by little, the Republicans came generally to favor it, the Democrats, some in one way and some in another, to gainsay.

The policy and the details of resumption were hotly debated all through the presidential campaign of 1876. Many opposed return to specie from ignorance of its meaning. Some thought that after resumption no paper money of any kind would be in circulation, or at least that all greenbacks would be gone. Most, even of such as favored it, probably expected that resumption would involve paying out by the Government of almost unlimited sums in gold. Few, comparatively, could see that it consisted merely in bringing United States notes to gold par and keeping them there. Mr. Tilden would assign this work to the domain of "practical administrative statesmanship." Like all other Democrats, he urged "a system of preparation" for resumption in place of the Republican Resumption Act. "A system of preparation without the promise of a day, for the worthless promise of a day without a system of preparation would be the gain of the substance of resumption in exchange for its shadow." In reply it was maintained that "the way to resume was to resume." This

thought fortunately determined the policy of the country and was justified by the event.

The Resumption Act, passed January 14, 1875, had set a date for resumption—four years ahead, January 1, 1879. The first section provided for the immediate coinage of subsidiary silver to redeem the fractional currency. This was practicable, as the now low gold price of that metal rendered possible its circulation concurrently with greenbacks. The master-clause of the act authorized the Secretary to buy "coin" with any of his surplus revenues, and for the same purpose "to issue, sell, and dispose of bonds of the United States." It was fortunate for the country that Mr. Sherman, who, as Senator, had drafted the measure, was, as Secretary of the Treasury in the Hayes Cabinet, called to execute it.

Ever since 1859 his connection with the Committee of Ways and Means in the House and with the Committee on Finance in the Senate had brought him into close official relations with the Treasury Department. This legislative training gave him a full knowledge of the several laws that were to be executed in relation to public revenue, to all forms of taxation, to coinage and currency and to the public debt. The entire system of national finance then existing grew out of the Civil War, and Mr. Sherman had participated in the passage of all the laws relating to this subject. His intimate association with Secretaries Chase, Fessenden, and McCulloch, and his friendly relations with Secretaries Boutwell and Richardson, led him, as Chairman of the Senate committee on finance, to have free and confidential intercourse with them as to legislation affecting the Treasury. Though a good lawyer and an able man, Secretary Bristow had not had the benefit of experience either in Congress or in the Department. He doubted whether resumption would be effective without a gradual retirement of United States notes, a measure to which Congress would not agree, repealing even the limited retirement of such notes provided for by the resumption act. Secretary Morrill,

SHERMAN AND RESUMPTION

Sherman's immediate predecessor, was in hearty sympathy with the policy of resumption, but his failing health had kept him from that efficiency as Secretary which he would otherwise have displayed. For some time before the end of his term in the Treasury, illness had confined him to his lodgings. The Treasury Department was, however, well organized, most of its chief officers having been long in service. But few changes here were made under Hayes, and only as vacancies occurred or incompetency was demonstrated.*

In resolutely preparing for Resumption, spite of cries that it was impossible, or, if possible, certain to be ruinous and deadly, Sherman, whom many had thought timid and vacillating, evinced the utmost strength of will. The Democracy was for the most part adverse to all effort for immediate resumption, favoring, rather, an enlarged issue of Treasury notes. The elections of 1877 and 1878, generally either Democratic or Republican by lowered majorities, would have made many an administration retreat or pause. Opposition to the party in power was of course due in part to the wide belief that Hayes had been jockeyed into the presidency, and in part to the great railway strikes, where the President had promptly suppressed criminal disorder by the use of federal arms. Clearly, however, very much of it arose from the Administration's avowal that the resumption act "could be, ought to be, and would be executed if not repealed."

In the advertising and placing of his loans, Mr. Sherman showed himself a master in big finance. By the sale of four-and-a-half per cent. bonds, callable in 1891, he had, before the appointed day, accumulated an aggregate of \$140,000,000 gold coin and bullion, being forty per cent. of the then outstanding greenbacks. Partly owing to several abundant harvests, throwing the balance of European trade in our favor and crowding gold this way, resumption proved easier than any anticipated. The greenbacks rose to par thirteen days before

*John Sherman's Recollections, pp. 565, 566.

RESUMPTION BEGUN

of United States notes in circulation, based upon a reasonable reserve in the Treasury pledged for that purpose, and supported also by the credit of the Government, proved generally satisfactory, and the exclusive use of these notes for circulation may become, in time, the fixed financial policy of the Government.”*

The straggling applications for coin made when resumption day arrived were less in amount than was asked for in greenbacks by bondholders, who could in any event have demanded coin. During the entire year 1879 only \$11,456,536 in greenbacks were offered for redemption, while over \$250,000,000 were paid out in coin obligations. It was found that people preferred paper to metal money, and had no wish for gold instead of notes when assured that the exchange could be made at their option. Notwithstanding our acceptance of greenbacks for customs—\$109,467,456 during 1879—the Treasury at the end of that year experienced a dearth of these and a plethora of coin, having actually to force debtors to receive hard money.

The magnitude and meaning of the financial policy thus launched can hardly be over-estimated. The Nation had piled up a war debt amounting to the enormous sum of \$2,844,649,626. This figure, the highest which the debt ever attained, was reached in August, 1865. Many people at home and in other countries thought that amounts so vast as were called for could never possibly be paid. When we began borrowing, the London *Economist* declared it “utterly out of the question for the Americans to obtain the extravagant sums they asked,” saying: “Europe *won't* lend them; Americans *cannot*.” The Washington agent of the London bankers through whom our Government did foreign business, after the battle of Bull Run called at the Treasury on Sunday to get his “little bill” settled, having the effrontery to ask the acting Secretary, Mr. George Harrington, to give security

*J. K. Upton, in Scribner's Magazine, July, 1892.

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

that the balance, about \$40,000, would be paid. Mr. Harrington directed the anxious Englishman to wait, as the Government would probably not break up before business hours next day. The London *Times* declared: "No pressure that ever threatened is equal to that which now hangs over the United States, and it may safely be said that if in future generations they faithfully meet their liabilities, they will fairly earn a fame which will shine throughout the world." In March, 1863, concluding an article on Secretary Chase's stupendous operations, the same newspaper exclaimed: "What strength, what resources, what vitality, what energy there must be in a nation that is able to ruin itself on a scale so transcendent!"*

No nation ever took a braver course than did the United States in deliberately beginning the reduction of that enormous war debt. The will to reduce it opened the way, and the payment went on by leaps and bounds. The policy was to call in high-rate bonds as soon as callable, and replace them by others bearing lower rates. So immense was the Government's income that to have set so late a date as 1891 for the time when the four-and-a-halves could be cancelled proved unfortunate. To fix for the maturity of the fours so remote a date as 1907 was worse still. The three-percents of 1882, which supplanted earlier issues, were wisely made payable at the Government's option. For the twenty-three years beginning with August, 1865, the reduction proceeded at an average rate of a little under \$63,000,000 yearly, which would be \$5,250,000 each month, \$175,000 each day, \$7,291 each hour, and \$121 each minute.

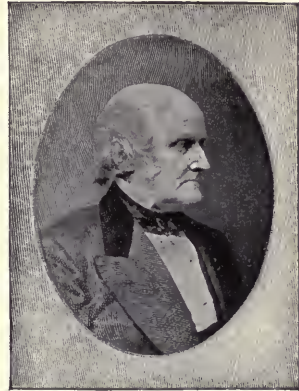
An act of Congress passed February 25, 1862, had authorized the issue of \$150,000,000 in non-interest-bearing Treasury notes. These notes had no precedent with us since colonial times. Neither receivable for duties nor payable for interest on the public debt, they were yet legal tender for all

*Shuckers, *Life of S. P. Chase*, pp. 225, 226.

CONSTITUTIONALITY OF THE GREENBACK

other payments, public and private. As the Government paid its own debts with them they amounted to a forced loan.

The legal-tender clause of the 1862 law roused bitterest antagonism. The press ridiculed it, in some cases being refused the use of the mails for that reason. "The financial fabric of the Union totters to its base," said a leading journal. Secretary Chase himself, the father of the greenback, afterward, as Chief-Justice, pronounced the law unconstitutional. This was his judgment from the first, and he overrode it, after painful deliberation, only because such a course seemed absolutely necessary to save the nation. Mr. Lincoln is said to have aided his Secretary at this crisis by the parable of the captain who, his ship aleak, worse and worse in spite of his prayers to the Virgin, threw her image overboard, and, having successfully made port and docked his vessel for repairs, found the image neatly filling the hole where the water had come in. Both deemed it patriotic to make jetsam of the Constitution if thereby they might bring safe into port the leaky ship of state, in danger of being engulfed in the mad ocean of civil war.



ELBRIDGE G. SPAULDING*

Thus the issue of legal-tenders began under the pressure of urgent necessity. From first to last \$450,000,000 of this paper had been voted, whereof, on January 3, 1864, \$449,338,902 was outstanding. Specie payments were suspended two days before the introduction of the legal-tender act. Gold went to a premium while that act was under discussion, remaining so till just before resumption, January 1, 1879. Even the subsidiary silver coinage disappeared, and Congress was obliged to issue fractional paper currency, "shin-plasters," in its stead.

*One of the chief promoters of the Legal Tender Act.

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

Several constitutional questions were connected with the greenback. In *Hepburn vs. Griswold* (8 Wall., 603) the Court held, four* Justices against three, that, while the act of February 25, 1862, might, as a war measure, be valid, making greenbacks legal tender for debts contracted after its passage, yet, so far as its provisions related to pre-existing debts, it was inconsistent with the Constitution, not being a "necessary" or "proper" means to any end therein authorized. In *Parker vs. Davis* (12 Wall., 457), the *personnel* of the Court having been changed by the resignation of Justice Grier and the appointment of Justices Bradley and Strong, though Chase, Clifford, and Field strenuously maintained their former views, the *Hepburn vs. Griswold* decision was reversed. That case, the Court now said, "was decided by a divided Court," having fewer Judges "than the law then in existence provided that this Court shall have. These cases have been heard before a full Court, and they have received our most careful consideration." Justice Bradley, whom in the judgment of Senator Hoar, "the general voice of the profession and of his brethren of the bench would place at the head of all then living American jurists," concurred with the majority in a separate opinion of his own, at once elaborate and emphatic. In the famous case of *Juilliard vs. Greenman* (110 U. S. Reports, 421) a third question was tried out, namely, whether Congress has the constitutional power to make United States Treasury notes legal tender for private debts in peace as well as in war. The decision was again in favor of the greenback, Field being the only Justice to register dissent.

Though this was the first decision of the question arrived at by strictly legal reasoning, it evoked much hostile criticism. *The Financial Chronicle* said: "All reliance upon constitutional inhibition to do anything with the currency which Congress may have a whim to do must be aban-

*Or five if Grier be counted. He agreed with the majority, but resigned before the opinion was announced.



Field Miller Clifford Nelson Chase Grier Swaine Davis

CHIEF-JUSTICE CHASE ANNOUNCING THE DECISION OF THE SUPREME COURT IN THE FIRST
"LEGAL-TENDER" TRIAL: HEPBURN VS. GRISWOLD

JUILLIARD VS. GREENMAN

done henceforth and forever." The historian Bancroft vented a formidable brochure, richer in learning than in law, entitled "The Constitution Wounded in the House of its Friends." The Court's logic, however, was not easily controverted. It closely followed John Marshall's reasoning in *McCulloch vs. Maryland*.^{*} An enactment by Congress the Supreme Court presumes to be constitutional unless it is certainly unconstitutional. If there is doubt upon the point there is no doubt. Congress is right. The authority "to emit bills of credit" as legal tender was not expressly delegated to the Federal Government, but it may well claim place in the goodly family of "implied powers," apparently being implied by its prohibition to the States, or involved in the power to borrow money, or in that to regulate commerce. Again, if Congress could pass such a law to meet an exigency, as held in *Parker vs. Davis*, Congress must be left to determine when the exigency exists. The intention of the Fathers to inhibit bills of credit cannot be conclusively shown. Even if it were certain it would be inconclusive; the question being not what they intended to do, but what they actually did in framing and ratifying the Constitution.

The wisdom of the legal tender law is a different question, but, like the other, should not be pronounced upon without reflection. It was easy to condemn it after the event. No doubt, had conditions favored, more might have been done, saving millions of debt and half the other financial evils of war, to keep the dollar at gold par, as by not compelling gold payment of the seven-thirty bonds, by heavier tax levies, by earlier resort to large loans, even at high rates, instead of emitting legal-tenders, and also by forcing national banks, created on purpose to help market bonds, to purchase new ones directly from the Government. Yet, under the circumstances, such defects in our policy early in the war could hardly have been avoided, so uncertain were national spirit and credit then,

^{*}4 Wheaton, p. 421.

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

and so little were the magnitude and duration of the war foreseen. When the old demand notes were issued, more than one professedly loyal railroad corporation refused them in payment of fares and freight. Hotels were shy of them. A leading New York bank refused to receive them save as a special deposit, though these notes, being receivable for customs, like coin, went to a premium along with gold. One depositor in the bank just referred to found on withdrawing his deposit that his notes as reckoned in legal tender* had advanced in value nearly or quite one hundred and fifty per cent. People being so shy of the demand notes, what wonder that the greenbacks, which bore no interest, were long in ill repute.

The Nation's resolute purpose to reduce its debt changed this. When equal to gold, greenbacks were glorified, and all thoughts of retiring them gave way. In 1865 Secretary McCulloch had boldly recommended the calling in of greenback notes in preparation for the restoration of specie. The people were then willing to submit to this. The act of March 12, 1866, authorized the cancellation of \$10,000,000 or less within six months, and thereafter of \$4,000,000 or less each month. By this method the amount was by the end of 1867 cut down to \$356,000,000, but the act of February 4, 1868, forbade any further decrease. Between March 17, 1872, and January 15, 1874, the amount was raised some \$25,000,000, but a bill passed in 1874, known as the "inflation bill," still further to increase it, was vetoed by President Grant. June 20, 1874, the maximum greenback circulation was placed at \$382,000,000, which the operation of the Resumption Act in 1875 brought down to \$346,681,000, letting the gap be filled by national bank notes. All further retirement or cancellation of legal-tenders was forbidden by the act approved May 31, 1878, which provided, in part, that "it shall not be lawful . . . to cancel or retire any more of the United States legal-tender

*Shuckers, Life of S. P. Chase, p. 225.

THE "FIAT-GREENBACK" THEORY

notes. And when . . . redeemed or received into the Treasury . . . they shall be reissued and paid out again and kept in circulation." Secretary Sherman recommended the passage of this law, as he believed that the retirement of greenbacks pending the preparation for resumption, by reducing the volume of the currency, increased the difficulties of resumption.

This popularity of the greenbacks stimulated to fresh life the "fiat-greenback" theory, whose pith lay in the proposition that money requires in its material no labor-cost value, its purchasing power coming from the decree of the public authority issuing it, so that paper money put forth by a financially responsible government, though involving no promise whatever, will be the peer of gold. People who held this view opposed all resumption, proximate or remote, wishing to print United States dollar notes each bearing the legend "This is a Dollar," and notes of other denominations similarly, not allowing any of them to *promise* payment or to have any other relation whatever to coin. This idea was long very influential throughout States so conservative as Illinois, Indiana, and Ohio, where, in several campaigns, the able stump addresses of men like Garfield, Schurz, and Stanley Matthews laid it pretty well to rest. It was, however, the rallying thought of the National Labor Greenback Party, organized at Indianapolis, May 17, 1876, when it nominated Peter Cooper for the Presidency. On the very day that resumption went into effect a Greenbacker Convention in New England declared it the paramount issue of their party to substitute greenbacks for national bank notes.

The old silver dollar, "the Dollar of the Fathers," had never ceased to be full legal tender until 1873, although it had since 1853 been, as compared with the gold dollar, too valuable to circulate much. In 1873 a law was unobservedly passed demonetizing it, and making gold the exclusive form of United States full-tender hard money.

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME



RICHARD P. BLAND



WILLIAM B. ALLISON

That legislation of such importance should have passed without general debate, either in Congress or by the public, was unfortunate; but, contrary to a very prevalent view, there is no evidence that a single Congressional vote for it was secured by fraud. Little silver had been coined by the United States since 1834. The monetary problem of 1873 was not that of subsequent years. Then, simplicity of monetary system was considered the great desideratum, whereas, with discussion, authorities came to agree that adequacy in volume is the most important trait in a hard-money system. In 1873 gold had been for twenty years pouring out of the earth in immense sums, rendering not unnatural the expectation that it alone, without silver, would soon suffice for the world's hard-money stock. Such was then the judgment of the leaders

of public opinion in all lands. It was the view of the Paris Conference in 1867, which recommended the general demonetization of silver—a recommendation extremely influential in determining to a gold policy the German Empire, whose course toward silver in 1873 was identical with ours.

European opinion on the subject was known and concurred in here. At intervals ever since 1816 representative Americans had suggested that we should adopt Great Britain's metallic money system. In his report of November 29, 1851, the Director of our Mint declared the "main features" of that system: "eminently worthy of adoption into the monetary

RASHNESS OF DEMONETIZING SILVER

policy of our own country." Hon. Thomas Corwin, of Ohio, then Secretary of the Treasury, whom no one will charge with obsequiousness to England or to the Money Power at home, in his Report of January 6, 1852, seconded the recommendation of the Director of the Mint, carefully setting forth the argument for adopting it. To the Act of 1873 the Senators from Oregon, California, and Nevada unanimously agreed. At the 1867 Paris Conference the United States was (by delegates) present as a gold country, Mr. Seward, then Secretary of State, being responsible for this, though no one protested. Inspired by such example and by the recommendation of the Conference, the Secretary of our Treasury, in 1870, drafted the bill discontinuing the silver dollar, which passed the Senate early in 1871 and became a law in 1873.

But, while one must thus discredit the allegation of fraud and of sinister motive in this legislation, it nevertheless seems clear that the silver people and the entire country had a grievance in connection with it. "No man in a position of trust has a right to allow a measure of such importance to pass without calling attention sharply to it, and making sure that its bearings are fully comprehended. And no man who did not know that the demonetization of silver by the United States was a measure of transcendent importance had any right to be on such a committee or to put his hand to a bill which touched the coinage of a great country. Everyone knows that but few members upon the floor of Congress read the text of one in twenty of the bills they have to pass upon; and it is the duty of the committees dealing with any class of subjects to see to it that every proposed change is fully explained, and that the attention of the House and of the country is fairly called to it. They are not discharged of their obligations simply by giving members an opportunity to find it out for themselves. If this be a requirement of ordinary political honesty, much more is it the dictate of political prudence. An important change in the money or in the industrial system of a nation,

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

if effected without full and free and thorough discussion, even though no surprise or concealment be used, is almost certain to be subsequently challenged. 'Things,' says Bacon, 'will have their first or second agitation: If they be not tossed upon the waves of counsel, they will be tossed upon the waves of fortune, and be full of inconstancy, doing and undoing, like the reeling of a drunken man.' The unwisdom of a few people assuming to be wise for the whole of a great people, was never more conspicuously shown than in the demonetization of the silver dollar."*

An increased value attaching to gold was soon apparent, or, what is the same thing, a general fall in prices. This began so soon as silver full money had been laid aside, silver falling in gold price almost exactly as products at large fell. In view of this movement, since all Government bonds outstanding in 1873 were payable in "coin," it was a nearly universal belief in most sections of the country that the annulment of the right to pay debts in silver would, if persisted in, be very unjust to taxpayers in liquidating the national debt. The Bland Bill was therefore brought forward, and in 1878 passed, restoring silver again to its ancient legal equality with gold as debt-paying money. A clause of it read: "Any owner of silver bullion may deposit the same at any coinage mint or assay office to be coined into dollars, for his benefit, upon the same terms and conditions as gold bullion is deposited for coinage under existing laws." In the act as finally passed, however, so great was now the disparity in value between gold and silver at the ratio of 16 to 1, Congress did not venture to give back to the white metal the right of free coinage. In the Senate, at the urgent request of Secretary Sherman, the "Allison tip," as it was called, was incorporated in the bill, requiring the Secretary of the Treasury to purchase monthly not less than two million dollars' worth of silver, or more than four million dollars' worth, and to coin

*Francis A. Walker.

END OF SILVER PURCHASES

it into dollars. This amendment was concurred in by the House. Spite of Secretary Sherman's attitude in favor of it the Bland-Allison Act was disapproved by President Hayes, but immediately passed over his veto by both Houses of Congress on the same day, February 28, 1878. The Senate vote was 46 yeas to 19 nays; that of the House 196 to 73.

The advocates of gold mono-metallism believed that the issue of these dollars would speedily drive gold from the country. Owing to the limitation of the new coinage no such effect was experienced, and the silver dollars or the certificates representing them floated at par with gold, which, indeed, far from leaving the country, was imported in vast amounts nearly every year. After 1880 the money in circulation in the United States was gold coin, silver coin, gold certificates, greenbacks or United States notes, and the notes of the national banks. The so-called Sherman Law, of 1890, added a new category, the Treasury notes issued in payment for silver bullion. It stopped the compulsory coinage of full-tender silver, though continuing and much increasing the purchase of silver bullion by the Government. The repeal of the purchase clause of this law, in 1893, put an end to the acquisition of silver by the United States.

CHAPTER XI

AGRARIAN AND LABOR MOVEMENTS IN THE SEVENTIES

THE "GRANGERS."—THEIR AIMS.—ORIGIN OF THE INTER-STATE COMMERCE ACT.—DEMAND FOR CHEAP TRANSPORTATION.—ILLINOIS'S "THREE-CENT WAR."—COURT DECISIONS.—LAND-GRANT COLLEGES.—THEIR SIGNIFICANCE.—VARIOUS LABOR CONGRESSES AND PLATFORMS.—RISE OF LABOR BUREAUS.—THE NATIONAL DEPARTMENT OF LABOR.—ITS WORK, METHODS, AND INFLUENCE.—VALUE OF THE STATE BUREAUS.—CONTRACT-LABOR LAW.—THE GREENBACK PARTY.—PETER COOPER AND GEN. BUTLER.—VIOLENCE IN THE LABOR CONFLICT.—CAUSES.—COMBINATIONS OF CAPITAL.—OF LABORERS.—BLACK LIST AND BOYCOTT.—LABOR WAR IN PENNSYLVANIA.—METHODS OF INTIMIDATION.—THE "MOLLY MAGUIRES."—MURDER OF ALEXANDER REA.—POWER AND IMMUNITY OF THE MOLLIES.—PLAN FOR EXPOSING THEM.—GOWEN AND McPARLAN.—ASSASSINATION OF THOMAS SANGER.—GOWEN'S TRIUMPH AND THE COLLAPSE OF THE CONSPIRACY.—GREAT RAILWAY STRIKE IN 1877.—RIOT AT PITTSBURG.—DEATH AND DESTRUCTION.—SCENES AT READING AND OTHER PLACES.—STRIKES COMMON FROM THIS TIME ON.

THE complaints evoked by industrial depression were in due time echoed in politics. Agrarian movements and labor movements in great numbers—social phenomena at first, but rapidly evolving political significance—marked the times. One of these, the California Sand Lot Campaign, because of its close connection with the Chinese question, is deferred for discussion to Chapter XIII. The "Grangers," or "Patrons of Husbandry," was a secret organization for the promotion of farmers' interests. It was founded at Washington, December 4, 1867, women as well as men being members. In 1868 there were but 11 granges. The total membership of the order by 1875, six years from the time when local granges began to

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be formed, was 1,500,000, distributed throughout nearly all the States, though most numerous in the West and South.

The central aim of Granger agitation at first was to secure better transportation and lower freight rates, particularly from the West to the East. After waiting for railway facilities to be developed the shippers of grain and beef found themselves, when railways were at last supplied, hardly better off than before. The vast demand for transportation sent freight charges up to appalling figures. All sorts of relief devices were considered, among them a project for opening canal and slack-water navigation between the Mississippi and the Atlantic coast. This was earnestly urged by the Southern Commercial Convention at Cincinnati in 1870.

The difficulties of freight transportation between the States was discussed at length by Congress, spite of railway attorneys' insistence that the subject was beyond Congressional control. In the House of Representatives, during January, 1874, Hon. G. W. McCrary, Chairman of the Committee on Railroads and Canals, made an exhaustive report affirming the constitutional power of Congress to regulate interstate commerce. This valuable paper laid bare, in Section 8, Article I., of the Constitution, a depth of meaning which, till then, few had suspected, a discovery that prepared the way for the Interstate Commerce Act, passed on February 4, 1887.



G. W. McCRARY

A National Cheap Transportation Association was organized in New York on May 6, 1873, which also demanded lower transportation rates and an increase of avenues for commerce by water and rail. Its manifesto to the public asserted that cheap transportation for persons and property is essential to the public welfare

AGRICULTURAL AND MECHANICAL COLLEGES

and to the maintenance of a homogeneous and harmonious population. Another Cheap Transportation Convention was held in Richmond, December 1-4, 1874, which petitioned Congress in this interest.

Discrimination in freight charges was a fruitful source of discontent. In Illinois a dispute known as the "Three-Cent War" intensified feeling against railroads. This particular trouble was the outgrowth of the Illinois Central's disregard of an order issued by the Illinois Railroad Commissioners, limiting passenger fares to three cents per mile. The Commissioners' decree having been found contrary to the State Constitution, the legislature passed a law to limit fares. This the railroads fought with all energy in both State and Federal Courts. In November, 1875, in the case of the people against the Chicago and Alton Railroad Company, the United States Circuit Court handed down a decision sustaining the constitutionality of the law. Several "Granger" cases went to the national Supreme Court, which affirmed a State's right to fix maximum railway charges.

An interesting line of educational development, though originating otherwise, at length became connected with the general agrarian movement here under review. On July 2, 1862, President Lincoln put his signature to an act which had just passed Congress, donating public land to the several States and Territories which might provide colleges for instruction in branches of learning bearing on agriculture and the mechanic arts. By this act every State became entitled to 30,000 acres of government land for each senator and representative falling to it by the apportionment under the census of 1860. States containing no United States land received land scrip, entitling them, not directly but through their assignees, to locate and sell the amounts of land respectively due them. All the States and Territories in the Union, without a single exception, in the course of time, provided themselves with educational institutions on this basis. Some States

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sold the scrip early and realized little. Others carefully husbanded the scrip and became possessed of large sums, founding and sustaining educational institutions of vast usefulness and importance.

No State proceeded in this matter more discreetly than New York. Her share amounted to a million acres less ten thousand. Seventy-five thousand acres of this were sold at about eighty-five cents an acre. In the fall of 1863 Ezra Cornell purchased a hundred thousand acres for fifty thousand dollars, upon condition that all the profits accruing from the sale should be paid to Cornell University. Next year the rest was purchased at thirty cents an acre, with thirty cents more contingent upon Mr. Cornell's realizing that sum upon sale of the land. In 1874 Cornell University was subrogated to Mr. Cornell's place in dealing with the State, and from the lands handed over by him the Board of Trustees had in 1894-95 realized a net return of nearly four million dollars.

On March 2, 1887, there was approved by the President of the United States another piece of land-grant legislation, known as the Hatch Act. This act was intended to diffuse "useful and practical information on subjects connected with agriculture, and to promote scientific investigation and experiment respecting the principles and applications of agricultural science." For these purposes each State received from the United States, by virtue of this act, the sum of \$15,000 a year, which was expended in connection with some agricultural experiment station or stations. The act presupposed that these stations would, as a rule, be established in conjunction with the institutions receiving the benefit of the act of 1862, and most of them were so associated; but the Hatch Act, in its 8th Section, provided that States electing so to do might join their experiment stations to agricultural schools separate from the colleges erected under the act of 1862, and this was done in a few States. By a third act of Congress, approved August 30, 1890, entitled "An Act to apply a portion of the proceeds

THE SECOND MORRILL ACT

of the public lands to the more complete endowment and support of the colleges for the benefit of agriculture and the mechanic arts established under the provisions of an act of Congress approved July 2, 1862," each of the States became entitled to \$15,000 for the year ending June 30, 1890, \$16,000 for the United States fiscal year 1890-91, \$17,000 for the next fiscal year, and so on, the sum increasing by \$1,000 each year, till it reached \$25,000 a year, which was the permanent annual appropriation. A good endowment in itself!

In the more fortunate sections of the country these government grants simply made welcome additions to the excellent educational facilities in existence already. In the South and the far West they meant, educationally, life from the dead. Good schools rose even upon the frontiers, where the children of poorest farmers and mechanics might, at a nominal cost, fit themselves for high stations in life. Large and fruitful experimentation, especially in agriculture, was made possible. In turn these colleges of agriculture and the mechanic arts became rallying centres for agrarian and populist interest, which involved them in politics, and at least in certain instances much hindered their usefulness.

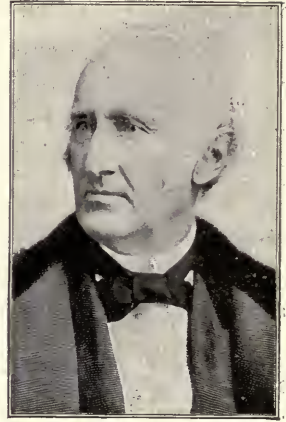
In 1865 a Labor "Congress" was held at Louisville, with but twenty-five or thirty delegates. A second sat at Baltimore in August, the next year, whose proceedings attracted some attention. Labor agitation had by this time assumed considerable proportions, most, perhaps, in Massachusetts, where the Knights of St. Crispin throve so early as 1868. Able men and influential newspapers began to espouse the labor cause. The Congress of 1867 was held in Chicago, and it mooted a scheme of labor unions, city, county and State. The Congress of 1868 was in New York, that of 1869 in Philadelphia. These marked little progress; but the National Labor Congress which met in Cincinnati August 15, 1870, was said to represent four hundred thousand people. It demanded Treasury notes not based on coin, an eight-hour work-day,

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the exclusion of Chinese laborers from the country, and the creation of a National Department of Labor.

Till now the movement was non-political, but the Chicago Congress, by a close vote, adopted a resolution creating an independent political organization to be known as the National Labor Reform Party. The party at once began to have influence. In the Massachusetts election of 1870 it fused with the Prohibitionists, making Wendell Phillips the candidate for Governor, who received nearly twenty-two thousand of the about one hundred and fifty-two thousand votes which were cast. One labor reformer was elected to the Massachusetts Senate, and eleven to the House. In 1871 the Congress met at St. Louis, August 10th. Little was done here beyond adopting a platform on which it was proposed to appeal to the country in the presidential election of 1872.

This platform, slightly modified, was launched at the Columbus Convention, which met on February 21, 1872. Twelve States were represented. The Convention demanded as the nation's money, greenbacks not based on coin. A tariff taxing luxuries and protecting home industries, a law for an eight-hour labor-day, and the governmental control of railways and telegraphs were also insisted on. Hon. David Davis was nominated for the Presidency, but declined to run. Subsequently Charles O'Connor was named. The Forty-Second Congress, second session, discussed at length some of the Labor Party's proposals, but did nothing to realize any of them. An attempt was made to erect a Labor Commission, but for the present in vain. The first State Bureau of Labor Statistics had been established in 1869 in Massachusetts, where, as we have seen, the Labor Party showed exceptional strength.



WENDELL PHILLIPS

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

Pennsylvania followed in 1872, Connecticut in 1873-75. By the end of 1884 eleven other States had bureaus. From 1884 to 1894 thirteen more were erected. At last, by an Act of Congress, approved June 13, 1888, an independent Department of Labor was established by the Federal Government, a bureau with similar functions having existed in connection with the Interior Department since 1884.

The act of 1888 provided that the design and duty of the new department should be "to acquire and diffuse among the people of the United States useful information on subjects connected with labor, in the most general and comprehensive sense of that word, and especially upon its relation to capital, the hours of labor, the earnings of laboring men and women, and the means of promoting their material, social, intellectual, and moral prosperity."*

Clothed with these powers the Commissioner undertook investigations into such matters as industrial depressions, convict labor, strikes and lockouts, the condition of working women in large cities, railroad labor, cost of production, wages

* Section 7 of the act provides more specifically, that the Commissioner "is specially charged to ascertain, at as early a date as possible, and whenever industrial changes shall make it essential, the cost of producing articles at the time dutiable in the United States, in leading countries where such articles are produced, by fully specified units of production, and under a classification showing the different elements of cost, or approximate cost, of such articles of production, including the wages paid in such industries per day, week, month or year, or by the piece; and hours employed per day; and the profits of the manufacturers and producers of such articles; and the comparative cost of living, and the kind of living. 'It shall be the duty of the Commissioner also to ascertain and report as to the effect of the customs laws, and the effect thereon of the state of the currency in the United States, on the agricultural industry, especially as to its effects on mortgage indebtedness on farmers;' and what articles are controlled by trusts, or other combinations of capital, business operations or labor, and what effect said trusts or other combinations of capital, business operations or labor have on production and prices. He shall also establish a system of reports by which, at intervals of not less than two years, he can report the general condition, so far as production is concerned, of the leading industries of the country. The Commissioner of Labor is also specially charged to investigate the causes of, and facts relating to, all controversies and disputes between employers and employes as they may occur, and which may tend to interfere with the welfare of the people of the different States, and report thereon to Congress. The Commissioner of Labor shall also obtain such information upon the various subjects committed to him as he may deem desirable from different foreign nations, and what, if any, convict-made goods are imported into this country, and if so, from whence."

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and cost of living abroad and in this country, prices, marriage and divorce. The results of these investigations were rigidly verified both in copy and in proof, and scrutinized for internal discrepancies. The information was collected through personal interviews and statements directly from parties cognizant of the ultimate facts. The Department's special agents were generally accorded a kind reception, and more and more as it appeared that no person's name was betrayed, were by manufacturers in this and in other countries given access to books and accounts. Estimates, hearsay and opinions were wholly excluded from consideration, and the returns made upon carefully prepared schedules of inquiry in the hands of experts.

The American Department of Labor established its standing by its first report upon "Industrial Depressions," made with experienced help and in face of many difficulties. After experience, the Department maintaining a non-partisan and a non-propagandist attitude, its reports came to be looked upon at home and abroad as the highest attainable evidence in their line. They were quoted in Parliament, in the Reichstag, and in the Chamber of Deputies. Foreign countries, notably England, France, Germany and Belgium, established similar bureaus.

The State Labor Bureaus also well served the public, though the spoils system and the changeable gusts of local public opinion hindered their usefulness. One New York Commissioner was at one time thought to have used his office for partisan ends, but no other functionary of his class fell under such suspicion. On the contrary, practical good of the most pronounced sort was traceable in greater or less degree to these bureaus. The tenement-house evil and the sweat-shop, if not banished, were thoroughly advertised by them. Child labor laws, laws prescribing maximum hours of labor, and employers' liability laws were placed upon many statute books mainly through the bureaus' influence. Though not banished, the "truck" or "pluck-me" store, whereby

THE CONTRACT-LABOR LAW

the employer-store-owner, forcing his employes' patronage, left them hardly a dribble of wages, was rendered far less common than it had been. Weekly in place of monthly wage payments were made more common. Frauds upon laboring men and false labor statistics were exposed. Thus when in 1878 complaint was made that Massachusetts had from 200,000 to 300,000 unemployed in her borders, the State bureau showed this estimate to be exaggerated from seven to ten times. Similarly State labor statistics, subsequently corroborated by the census, in effect bisected certain wild estimates of mortgage indebtedness, pointing out that nine-tenths of this indebtedness indicated prosperity rather than poverty.

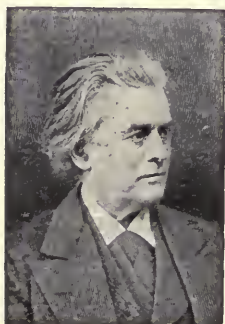
All welcomed the Act of Congress, approved August 3, 1882, forbidding convicts, lunatics, idiots and paupers to enter the United States from other lands. Under this act, up to January 30, 1893, an average of about eleven hundred persons per annum, mostly paupers, were shipped back across the ocean. February 18, 1885, a stringent contract-labor law was passed, making it unlawful for any person, company or corporation to assist or encourage the immigration into the United States of any alien under contract or agreement previously made, every such contract to be void, and each violation of the law finable in the sum of \$1,000. An amendment passed in 1885 excepted professional actors, artists, lecturers, singers, persons employed strictly as domestic servants, and even skilled workmen for a new industry which could not be established without such. Also the law did not forbid a person from assisting to this country members of his or her family intending to settle here. The amendment referred to provided for the return of persons who had come to the United States on labor contracts before the law was passed. Under this provision nearly eight thousand persons had been up to 1888 sent back to Europe. During the fiscal year ending June 30, 1893, 464 persons were thus returned. New York State having voted a tax of fifty cents upon each immigrant

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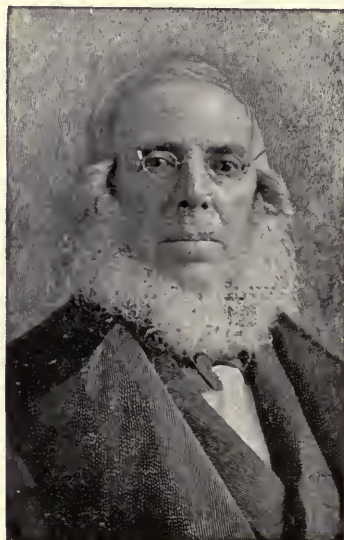
landing in its ports, the money to be for the maintenance of an Immigration Commission, the United States Supreme Court declared the act unconstitutional, whereupon Congress passed an act levying the same impost as a federal tax, its proceeds to go for the support of State Immigration Commissions in the States where most immigrants arrived. The New York Commission wrought incalculable good in preventing frauds upon immigrants, and in assisting them to their destination.

After the passage of the Resumption Act, January 14, 1875, the forces of labor reform were quite generally directed against the traction. A contractionists on August 23, 1875, protesting that they were not inflationists, they yet

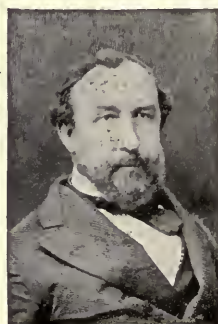
policy of convention of anti-met in Detroit, 1875. Protest were not inflationists, they yet earnestly depre-



SAMUEL F. CAREY



PETER COOPER



NEWTON BOOTH

cated any diminution in the volume of currency, which they would maintain by greenbacks redeemable only in bonds, these, in turn, being convertible into greenbacks.

The Independents, known as the National Greenback Party, assembled at Indianapolis, Ind., on May 17, 1876. Two hundred and thirty-nine delegates were present from nineteen States. The platform was essentially a demand for the immediate and unconditional repeal of the Resumption

NATIONAL GREENBACK-LABOR PARTY

Act and for the issue of United States notes convertible on demand into Government obligations bearing a low rate of interest, such notes to form our circulating medium, and such bonds, re-exchangeable for notes at the option of the holder, to render needless any further sales of bonds payable in coin. Peter Cooper was the nominee for President, Newton Booth for Vice-President. Mr. Booth declining, Samuel F. Carey, of Ohio, was chosen in his stead. Mr. Cooper accepted the nomination conditionally, expressing the hope that the Independents might attain their aims through either the Republican or the Democratic party, permitting him "to step aside and remain in that quiet which was" he declared "most congenial to his nature and time of life." Cooper ran, however, receiving 82,640 votes. The next year his party polled 187,095 votes, and in 1878, 1,000,365. The Greenback or National Greenback-Labor Party entered actively into the canvass of 1880, running General J. B. Weaver for President, who polled 307,740 votes. Four years later General B. F. Butler was the presidential candidate both of this party and of the "Anti-monopoly" party. He received 133,825 votes.

Happy had it been for the country could we have diverted the entire force of the labor agitation into political channels. But this was impossible. The worst labor troubles of these years had to be settled not at the polls but by force. This was mainly due to the large number of immigrants now arriving, among them Hungarians, Poles, Italians and Portuguese, usually ignorant clay for the hand of the first unscrupulous demagogue. Another cause of the labor wars was the wide and sedulous inculcation in this country of the social-democratic, communist and anarchist doctrines long prevalent in Europe. Influences concurrent with both these were the actual injustice and the haughty and overbearing manner of many employers. Capital had been mismanaged and wasted. The war had brought unearned fortunes to many, sudden

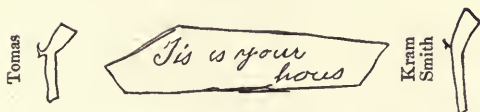
THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

wealth to a much larger number, while the unexampled prosperity of the country raised up in a perfectly normal manner a wealthy class, the like of which, in number and power, our country had never known before. As, therefore, immigration, along with much else, multiplied the poor, the eternal angry strife of wealth with poverty, of high with low, of classes with masses, crossed over from Europe and began on our shores.

The rise of trusts and gigantic corporations was connected with this struggle. Corporations worth nigh half a billion dollars apiece were able to buy or defy legislatures and make or break laws as they pleased; and since such corporations, instead of individuals, more and more became the employers of labor, not only did the old-time kindness between help and hirers die out, but men the most cool and intelligent feared the new power as a menace to democracy. Strikes, therefore, commanded large public sympathy. Stock-watering and other vicious practices, involving the ruin of corporators themselves by the few holders of a majority of the shares in order to repurchase the property for next to nothing, contributed to this hostility. So did the presence, in many great corporations, of foreign capital and capitalists, and also the mutual favoritism of corporations, showing itself, for instance, in special freight rates to privileged concerns. Minor interests, and particularly employés, powerless against these Titan agencies by any legal process, resorted to counter-organization. Labor agitation was facilitated by the extraordinary increase of urban population, it being mostly manufacturing and mechanical industry which brought the hordes of workmen together. Trades-unions secured rank development. The Knights of Labor, intended as a sort of union of them all, attained a membership of a million. The manufacturers' "black list," to prevent any "agitator" laborer from securing work, was answered by the "boycott," to keep the products of obnoxious establishments from finding sale. Labor organizations so

LABOR WAR IN PENNSYLVANIA

"D."



Notice you have Caried this as far as you can By cheating thy men you three Bosses Be Carefull if the Above dont Be your home in A short Time.

From a Stranger
he nowes you

A "Mollie Maguire" Notice

strong often tyrannized over their own members, and boycotting became a nuisance that had to be abated by law.

In the Pennsylvania mining districts labor troubles early

became acute. The great coal barons, offending the public by pricing their indispensable product extortionately high, long received no sympathy and no aid in repressing employés' crimes. During 1873, 1874 and 1875, these grew frightfully common. Usually the motive seemed to be not so much to injure employers' property as to scare "scab" help from the mines during contests against "cuts" in wages. A cut at the Ben Franklin Colliery had been accepted by the men, who were peaceably at work, when the "breaker" was burned, throwing them all out. Another "breaker" near by a gang of strikers fired almost by daylight, first driving the workmen away.

A common method of intimidation was for ten or twelve roughs to form a gang, and, armed, to sweep through a mining camp, forcing every man to join; the numbers so collected being soon sufficient to overawe any inclined to resist. June 3, 1875, one thousand men thus gathered stopped work at several mines near Mahanoy City, and a similar band did the same at Shenandoah. At night there was an attempt to derail a passenger train approaching Shenandoah, but the plot was discovered in time. The same night a "breaker" near Mount Carmel went up in smoke, and a few days later two contractors at the Oakdale mine were shot.

For a time every passenger train on the Reading Railroad had to be preceded through the mining districts by a locomotive carrying an armed posse. Watchmen and station agents

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were beaten; loaded cars and other obstructions were put upon main tracks; switches were misplaced and warehouses plundered. At every cut or forest along the line lay armed assassins to shoot trainmen and passengers. Each engineer ran his train, his left hand on the throttle, his right clutching a revolver.

Bosses and "scabs" specially hated by the desperate miners were served with notices denouncing vengeance on them if they did not leave. Some of these are reproduced on pp. 293, 294, 295.

One admonition ran :

"Now men i have warented ye before and i willnt warind you no mor—but i will gwrintee you the will be the report of the revolver."

A rude drawing of a revolver was subjoined as the author's sign manual.

Others were as follows :

"NOTICE

"Any blackleg that takes a Union Man's job While He is standing for His Rights will have a hard Road to travel and if He don't he will have to Suffer the Consequences."

This "Notice" was followed by a picture of a dead man in his coffin, and signed "BEACHER AND TILTON."

V.

(Notice found in yard of D. Patchen, Engineer, Cressona.)

from the gap

Daniel Patch

remember you will be running in this coal region at night you took an nother mans engin we will give you fair warning in time and some more. V. L.

M. M. H. S. T.



VI.

we hear notify you to leave th Road for you took a nother mau chop take a warning to Save your live to Yost

A Notice Put in Evidence During the "Mollie Maguire" Prosecution

MURDER OF YOST

At Locust Summit, March 31, 1875, was posted the following:

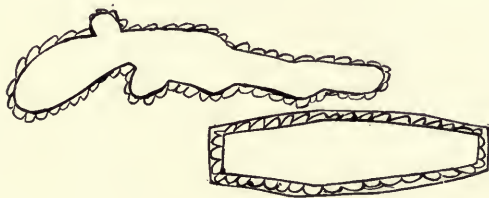
“NOTICE”

“Mr. Black-legs if you don't leave in 2 days time You meet your doom there will Be an Open war—imeateatly—”

Such threats, unless heeded, were nearly always executed. Among others notified in these ways was one McCarron, a policeman in Tamaqua, who had aroused the enmity of “Powder Keg” Carrigan. Two men were detailed to kill McCarron late on a given night, and hid themselves for this purpose near his beat. But on this night McCarron happened to have changed beats with another policeman named Yost, an old soldier, whom all, even the Mollies, liked. Climbing a lamp-post ladder early in the morning to turn out the gas, Yost was fatally shot by the men who had been lying low for McCarron.

The chief source of these atrocities was a secret society known as the “Mollie Maguires,” their name and spirit both

“C.”



Notice is here given to you men the first and the last Notice that you will get for no man to go Down this slope After to Night if yo Do you Can Bring your Coffin Along With you for By the internal Crist We mean What this Notice says you Drift man stop at home and Cut no more Coal let him go and get Coal himself I Dont mean Engineer or firemans let them mine there one Work now men the Next Notice you Will get I Dont mean to Do it With my Pen I Will Do it With that there Rolver I Dont Want no more Black legs at this Collary.

(No signature)

A “Mollie Maguire” Notice

imported from Ireland. They terrorized the entire Schuylkill and Shamokin districts. A superintendent or a boss was attacked, beaten or shot down somewhere almost every day. Gangs of these thugs would waylay a victim in the field or by the roadside if they could, but, failing in this, they surrounded his house, forced him

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out, and did him to death. Among the most brutal of their murders was that of Alexander Rea, a mine superintendent, pounded and shot to death in October, 1868. Driving along a lonely road between Mount Carmel and Centralia, supposed to be going to pay off his men, and therefore to have \$19,000, more or less, in his buggy, he was set upon by a gang of Mollies, among them Dooley (or Tully), McHugh, and "Kelly the Bum." After filling themselves with liquor, the squad, at dawn, hid in a piece of woods through which their victim was to pass, and, upon his approach, rushed at him, pistols in hand. "Kelly the Bum" fired first. Rea piteously begged for his life. He happened on this occasion to have only \$60 with him, having paid at the colliery the day previous, a day earlier than usual; but he offered his assailants all he had, as well as his watch, agreeing also to sign a check for any amount if they would spare him. In vain. Having fired several bullets into the wretched man, they made sure of the work with clubs and the butts of their revolvers. The bloody conspirators were subsequently tried, convicted, and hung for this murder, save "Kelly the Bum," who got off by turning State's evidence.

Law-abiding people feared to stir out after dark, or even by day unless well armed. The Mollies had their signs and passwords for use when necessary, but they grew so bold that such devices were rarely needed. In case of arrest plenty of perjurers were ready to swear an *alibi*, though not a witness could be drummed up for the State. The Mollies nominated officers and controlled elections. Members of the Order became chiefs of police, constables and county commissioners. One of them came very near being elected to the Schuylkill County bench. Superintendents of jobs had to hire and discharge men at the Mollies' behest, or be shot. At a certain State election a high State official gave the Order large money for casting its vote his way. Jack Kehoe, a leading Mollie, when in prison for murder, boasted that if he were convicted



THE TRIAL OF THOMAS MUNLEY, THE "MOLLIE MAGUIRE," AT POTTSVILLE, PA.

Painted by W. R. Leigh, from photographs by George A. Bretz

McPARLAN BECOMES A "MOLLIE"



JAMES McPARLAN,
the detective

THOMAS MUNLEY

"JIMMY" KERRIGAN,
the "squealer"

From photographs by George A. Bretz

and sentenced "the old man up at Harrisburg" would never let him swing. The entire power of the Catholic Church in the region was used against the Order, but in vain.

The principal honor of exposing and suppressing this Pennsylvania Mafia is due to Hon. Franklin B. Gowen, a lawyer, at the time President of the Pennsylvania and Reading Coal and Iron Co. Knowing the uselessness of attempting the work with the local police, he, in 1873, secured from Pinkerton's Detective Agency in Chicago the services of one James McParlan, a young Irishman of phenomenal tact and grit, to go among the Mollies as a secret detective. No bolder, no more dangerous, no more telling work was ever wrought by a



FRANKLIN B. GOWEN
From a photograph by Gutekunst

detective than that now undertaken by McParlan. Calling himself McKenna, he began operations in the autumn of 1873. By stating that he had killed a man in Buffalo and that his favorite business had been "shoving the queer," he was at once admitted to the Order, and soon became one of its prominent officers. He seems, however, to have been from the first the object of some suspicion, so that the progress of his mission was slow.

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It was not till 1875 that McParlan's work began to tell. Two murders to which he was privy he unfortunately could not prevent, so closely was he watched. One of these was that of Thomas Sanger, a young English boss miner. Early on the morning of September 1st Sanger started from his house to his work. Hardly out of sight of his door a man faced him and shot him through the arm. Running round a house near by he was met by a second villain, pistol in hand. Turning, he stumbled and fell, just as a third appeared, who shot him fatally. A fourth deliberately turned the body over so as to make sure of hitting a vital part, and shot him again. Robert Heaton, an employer, heard the firing and rushed, armed, to Sanger's aid. The murderers fled. Poor, brave Sanger, bleeding to death, told Heaton: "Never mind me, give it to them, Bob." Sanger's agonized wife, from whom he had just parted, reached his prostrate form barely in time to hear him gasp: "Kiss me, Sarah, for I am dying."

The assassins escaped Heaton, but went straight to the house where McParlan was, acquainting him with every detail of their bloody deed. Gowen had employed him on the express condition that he should never be called as a witness or be required in any way to show his hand, but when arrests were made the Mollies suspected him, so that it appeared to be his safest course to come out openly for the prosecution. Going upon the witness stand he demolished the sham *alibi* which the culprits sought to establish, and gave clues which led to the extirpation of the entire gang. Schuylkill County, where the worst crimes had occurred, rose in its might and stamped out the conspiracy. A small army of *alibi* witnesses were punished for perjury. Nine of the Mollies were sentenced to death, and most of the other leaders imprisoned for long terms.

"Then," said Mr. Gowen, who acted as counsel for the prosecution, "we knew that we were free men. Then we could go to Patsy Collins, the commissioner of this county,



THE ATTEMPT TO FIRE THE PENNSYLVANIA RAILROAD ROUND-HOUSE IN
PITTSBURG, AT DAYBREAK ON SUNDAY, JULY 22, 1877

Painted by *W. R. Leigh*, from photographs by *Robinson*

COLLAPSE OF THE MOLLIE MAGUIRES

and say to him : ‘ Build well the walls of the new addition to the prison ; dig the foundations deep and make them strong ; put in good masonry and iron bars ; for, as the Lord liveth, the time will come when, side by side with William Love, the murderer of Squire Gwither, you will enter the walls that you are now building for others.’ Then we could say to Jack Kehoe, the high constable of a great borough in this county : ‘ We have no fear of you.’ Then we could say to Ned Monaghan, chief of police and murderer and assassin : ‘ Behind you the scaffold is prepared for your reception.’ Then we could say to Pat Conry, commissioner of this county : ‘ The time has ceased when a governor of this State dares to pardon a Mollie Maguire—you have had your last pardon.’ Then we could say to John Slattery, who was almost elected judge of this court : ‘ We know that of you that it were better you had not been born than that it should be known.’ Then all of us looked up. Then, at last, we were free, and I came to this county and walked through it as safely as in the most crowded thoroughfares of Philadelphia.”

The times evoked a specially bitter feeling against great railway corporations, and a widespread desire to set legal limitations to their power. Their reckless rivalries, their ruinous borrowing and extravagance were freely criticised even by such as did not deem themselves injured thereby ; but their employés were rendered frantic.

The most desperate and extensive strike that had yet occurred in this country was that of 1877, by

*Owing to the general congestion of traffic, there were miles of freight cars blocked at this point, which the rioters burned as they stood.



BURNT FREIGHT CARS AT
PITTSBURG*



Union Station

Round-house

SCENES AFTER THE RAILWAY RIOT OF 1877 IN PITTSBURG

the employés of the principal railway trunk lines—the Baltimore & Ohio, the Pennsylvania, the Erie, the New York Central, and their western prolongations. The immediate grievance was a ten per cent. “wage cut,” reinforced, however, by irregular employment, irregular and tardy payment, forced patronage of “pluck-me” hotels, and the like. On some roads the trainmen were assessed the cost of accidents. At a preconcerted time junctions and other main points were seized. Freight traffic on the roads named was entirely suspended, and the passenger and mail service greatly impeded. When new employés sought to work, militia had to be called out to preserve order. Pittsburg was the scene of a bloody riot. At Martinsburg, also at Pittsburg, a great part of the State troops sympathized with the strikers and would not fire upon them. At Pittsburg, where the mob was immense and most furious, the Philadelphia militia were besieged in a round-house, which it was then attempted to burn by lighting oil cars and pushing them against it, until the soldiers were compelled to evacuate. Fortunately they made good their retreat with only four

RAILWAY STRIKE OF 1877

killed. The militia having had several bloody and doubtful encounters on July 21, 22 and 23, at the request of the Governors, President Hayes dispatched United States troops to Pennsylvania, Maryland and West Virginia. Faced by these forces the rioters in every instance gave way without bloodshed.

Scranton's mayor narrowly escaped death, but was rescued by a posse of special police, who killed three of the mob ring-leaders. In disturbances at Chicago nineteen were killed, at Baltimore nine. At Reading, endeavoring to recapture a railroad train held by the mob in a cut near the city, the soldiers were assailed with bricks and stones hurled from above, and finally with pistol shots. One militiaman retorted, scattering shots followed, and then a sustained volley. Only 50 of the 253 soldiers escaped unhurt, but none were seriously injured. Of the crowd 11 were killed and over 50 wounded, two of the killed and some of the wounded being mere on-lookers.

The torch was applied freely and with dreadful effect. Machine-shops, ware-houses and two thousand freight-cars were pillaged or burned. Firemen in Pittsburg were at first threatened with death if they tried to stop the flames, and the hoses were cut; but, finally, permission was given to save private property. In that city attacks did not cease till the corporation property had been well-nigh destroyed. 1,600 cars and 126 locomotives were burned or ruined in twenty-four hours. Allegheny County alone became liable for about \$3,000,000. Men, women and children fell to thieving, carrying off all sorts of goods—kid ball-shoes, parasols, coffee-mills, whips and gas-stoves. In one house the police found seven great trunks full of clothes, in another eleven barrels of flour. It is said that a wagon-load of sewing machines was sold on the street, the machines bringing from ten cents to \$1 apiece. The loss of property was estimated at \$10,000,000.

One hundred thousand laborers are believed to have taken part in the entire movement, and at one time or another 6,000

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or 7,000 miles of road were in their power. The agitation began on July 14th, and was serious till the 27th, but had mostly died away by the end of the month, the laborers nearly all returning to their work.

Hosts of Pennsylvania miners went out along with the railroad men. The railway strike itself was largely sympathetic, the ten per cent. reduction in wages assigned as its cause applying to comparatively few. The next years witnessed continual troubles of this sort, though rarely, if in any case, so serious, between wage-workers and their employers in nearly all industries. The worst ones befell the manufacturing portions of the country, where strikes and lock-outs were part of the news almost every day.

CHAPTER XII

ANYTHING TO BEAT GRANT

PRESIDENTIAL POSSIBILITIES IN 1880.—GRANT THE LION.—REPUBLICAN CONVENTION.—A POLITICAL BATTLE OF THE WILDERNESS.—GARFIELD THE DARK HORSE.—GRANT'S OLD GUARD DEFEATED BUT DEFIANT.—DEMOCRATS NOMINATE HANCOCK.—“THE INS AND THE OUTS.”—PARTY DECLARATIONS.—THE MOREY FORGERY.—BLAINE CAN'T SAVE MAINE.—CONKLING'S STRIKE OFF.—GARFIELD ELECTED.—“SOAP” VS. INTIMIDATION AND FRAUD.—FROM MULE BOY TO PRESIDENT.—HANCOCK'S BRILLIANT CAREER.—THE FIRST PRESIDENTIAL APPOINTMENTS.—CONKLING'S FRENZY AND HIS FALL.—THE CABINET.—GARFIELD ASSASSINATED.—GUILTEAU TRIED AND HANGED.—STAR ROUTE FRAUDS.—PENDLETON CIVIL SERVICE ACT.

MR. HAYES'S very honorable administration neared its end and the presidential campaign of 1880 approached. Spite of the wide unpopularity of resumption, spite of the hard times and the labor troubles, the party in power was now in far better condition to win than it had been in 1876. The Republicans therefore had no dearth of potential standard-bearers. Returning from a remarkable tour around the world, General Grant became, in 1880, a candidate for a third-term nomination. There is reason to think that Grant himself did not greatly desire this but was pushed forward by Senator Roscoe Conkling, of New York, to insure the defeat of James G. Blaine, of Maine, whom Conkling not merely disliked but hated. Conkling was now in effect Republican dictator in his State. Its delegation to the Convention was hence expected to be a unit for Grant, in which case it would form a good nucleus for the third-term forces. Don Cameron, of Pennsylvania, and General John A. Logan, of Illinois, like Conkling, strongly favored Grant, securing for him, not without some contest, the delegations from their respective States and at the same time

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securing control of the National Committee, which dictated the time and place of holding the Convention. Mr. Blaine had great strength in the West and considerable elsewhere. Senator Edmunds was the cynosure of a knot of Independents, mostly Eastern men. Sherman's masterly handling of the Treasury brought him also into prominence, almost into popularity, as a candidate. He was able, practically, to name the four Ohio delegates-at-large, Warner M. Bateman, William Dennison, Charles Foster and James A. Garfield. The last-named had expressed his wish to be a delegate-at-large, in order that he might more effectively aid the Sherman cause.

General Grant was now more than ever a hero. He had recently visited every prominent court and country on the globe. The Emperors of Germany and Austria, the Czar, the Queen of Great Britain, the Sultan, the Pope, the Kings of Belgium, Italy, Holland, Sweden and Spain, the Khédive of



ROScoe CONKLING

Egypt, the Emperor of Siam, the Mikado of Japan, the Viceroy of India, and with them a host of the world's most distinguished statesmen, soldiers and literary men, had vied with one another in rendering the ex-President's progress from land to land a continuous ovation. No human being in all history had ever received such honors. The ex-President's self-possession amid all this pomp, his good sense and sturdy maintenance of simple, democratic man-

“ANYTHING TO BEAT GRANT”

ners, impressed everyone. Some who had opposed him in 1876 now wished him elected, on the ground that four so honorable years in private station justified renewed promotion, while not transgressing the unwritten law against a third term.

So formidable did Conkling's movement for Grant become that the opponents of the two rallied to the war-cry, “Anything to beat Grant.” About this time the superstitious were stirred by Mother Shipton's prophecy,

“The world to an end will come
In eighteen hundred and eighty-one.”

An anecdote was told of a preacher who dwelt upon the impending cataclysm, urging his hearers by all means to be prepared. While he was describing the peril an earnest voice from the congregation ejaculated, “Thank God!” The minister sought out the possessor of the voice and asked why he was thankful for a prospect at which most men shuddered. “Anything to beat Grant,” was the answer. A determined sentiment hostile to the ex-President's candidacy found expression in the resolutions of the Republican Anti-third-term Convention, held in St. Louis on May 6th. These resolutions declared against the Grant movement as likely to revive the memory of old scandals, and certain, if successful, to introduce personal government and to hinder civil service reform.

After the revelations described in Chapter IX the movement to elect Grant President for a third term was sure to awaken bitter opposition in his own party. The story of his second term, which might have been left for posterity to extract from the records as best it could, was vividly recalled to memories which had never fully lost it, being rehearsed in a thousand newspapers, now piecemeal, now in whole chapters, till all intelligent people were perfectly familiar with it.

The Republican Convention met at Chicago on June 2d. Conkling, who had charge of the Grant canvass, sanguine of carrying the Convention but fearing a “bolt” afterward, intro-

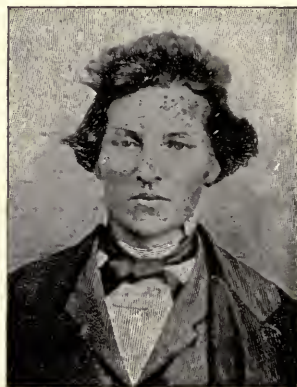
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duced the following disciplinary resolution, which was passed by a vote of 719 to 3 :

“ *Resolved*, As the sense of this Convention, that every member of it is bound in honor to support its nominee, whoever that nominee may be, and that no man should hold his seat here who is not ready to so agree.”

An effort was made to expel the three recalcitrants, but it proved abortive. The rule requiring State delegations each to vote as a unit, which had been assailed at the Cincinnati Convention of 1876, was now definitively abandoned. This gift of a voice to minorities in State delegations lopped off ninety votes from Grant's constituency, which was a great victory for his opponents. It was in effect another blow against the Grant cause when Mr. Flanagan, of Texas, uttered the memorable query: “What are we here for if it isn't for the offices?”

The State of New York had seventy votes in the Convention. Knowing that they would all be needed if Grant were to win, Conkling had gotten the New York Convention to instruct the delegation to vote as a unit for the nominee desired by the majority. But nineteen of them, led by Conkling's opponent in New York Republican politics, William H. Robertson, refused to obey this mandate and voted for Blaine. Nine of the Ohio delegation bolted from Sherman to Blaine, a move which solidified the rest of the Ohio delegation against Blaine, and thus “undoubtedly,” says Sherman, “led to his defeat.” The first ballot showed Grant in the lead, with Blaine a close second, and they maintained this relative position through thirty-five consecutive ballots. The thirty-fourth ballot called attention to James A.



JAMES A. GARFIELD
Before entering college. From a daguerreotype by Ryder

GARFIELD NOMINATED

Garfield, who received seventeen votes, fifteen more than any preceding ballot had given him. As a feeler Wisconsin, near the foot of the list, bolted to him. Galleries and Convention went wild. Garfield had been somewhat prominent in the Convention, having charge of Sherman's cause and being, in some sense, the leader of all the forces opposed to Grant, but scarcely anyone had dreamed of his being nominated. It having become plain that the New York split must defeat Blaine and Grant alike, the bulk of the Blaine and Sherman delegates, under instructions from their chiefs at Washington, went over to Garfield. Conkling was confident till Maine cast her vote for Garfield, when he sent the word around for delay. In vain. Too late. Conkling's old guard of 306 delegates, remaining steadfast to the last, rendered him too confident, and he was outgeneralled. That very morning some one asked Garfield: "Well, General, who is going to win the battle of the Wilderness?" "The same little man that won the first will win it," he replied, deliberately, "and I am afraid it will mean the destruction of the Republican party." The stampede gave Garfield 399 votes, twenty-one more than were needed to make him the choice of the Convention. While the State banners were seized and waved in a circle above his head, while all was enthusiasm and hubbub, Garfield himself sat, as if in a stupor, dazed and benumbed. The second place on the ticket being conceded to a Grant man, Conkling, as a stab at President Hayes, named for Vice-President Chester A. Arthur, the same whom Hayes had deposed from office. "Garfield and Arthur" was therefore the ticket.

The country hailed the presidential nomination with extreme satisfaction. Blaine, in spite of his defeat, hastened to send Garfield his congratulations. So did Sherman, who blamed Governor Foster, and not the nominee, for perfidy. But Conkling sulked, cursing the nineteen rebellious New York delegates, and vowing eternal vengeance upon Robertson in particular. Grant's phalanx, which had stood solid for

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him from the first, alone failed to partake of the general enthusiasm.

The Democratic Convention assembled at Cincinnati on June 22d. Mr. Tilden could, no doubt, have had the nomination had he signified his willingness to accept it, but his friends were wholly ignorant of his wishes until just as the Convention met, when he wrote declining re-nomination. On the third ballot the delegates nominated the hero of Gettysburg, the brave and renowned General Winfield S. Hancock, of Pennsylvania.



WINFIELD S. HANCOCK

The two parties were at this time best classed as "the ins" and "the outs." Though not exactly one upon the fading issue of intervention at the South, or upon that of "incidental protection" *versus* a "tariff for revenue only," neither these issues nor any others were kept steadily in sight during the campaign. The Republicans had not yet wearied of reminiscences, while the Democrats nursed their party fealty by calling Hayes "the fraud President." On the people at large the ceaseless repetition of this phrase had not the slightest effect, particularly after the publication of the "cipher despatches," which involved certain Democratic leaders in attempts, pending the Hayes-Tilden controversy, to bribe electors representing doubtful States.

The Republicans' platform charged Democrats with "a supreme and insatiable lust of office," yet their own *devoir*

PLATFORMS AND ISSUES

to civil service reform they paid only as an afterthought, amid the jeers of delegates. To detach the Republican reform vote, the Democratic platform made three distinct allusions to that subject, indorsing a general and thorough reform, "execrating" the course of the Administration in using offices to reward political crime, and promising "a genuine and lasting improvement in case of a change." The Republicans suspected the other party of coquetting with the Roman Catholic Church, and urged an amendment forbidding State appropriations for sectarian schools; but both parties applauded public education and separation between Church and State. They were at one also in decided opposition to Chinese immigration. The pensioner was becoming conspicuous. Republicans boasted of paying annually more than thirty millions of dollars in pensions, and promised the old soldiers—sincerely, as events showed—undiminished gratitude in future. They further declared against polygamy. The Democrats avowed themselves in favor of "free ships and a chance for American commerce on the seas and on the land;" also for gold, silver and convertible paper money.

Though living issues were little discussed in the campaign, it was not wanting in warmth or movement. Republicans were incessantly "waving the bloody shirt," a Democratic phrase which became familiar at this time. The Democrats, as we have said, harped upon the "fraud" that they ascribed to the Electoral Commission which "counted out" Mr. Tilden. Incidentally, as election-day grew near, protection to home industry and restriction to Chinese immigration were more or less discussed, with, perhaps, considerable local effect, but the election was in no sense decided by either. Seizing upon a luckless utterance of General Hancock's, to the effect that the tariff was "a local issue," the Republicans took occasion to ridicule his ignorance of economic and political affairs. Garfield was accused of disreputable connection with the Credit Mobilier, and with the Washington Ring back in the seventies,

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but nothing worse than indiscretion was proved against him. Shortly before election-day Democratic politicians sowed broadcast *facsimiles* of a letter signed with Garfield's name, and representing him as so lovingly attached to "our great manufacturing and corporate interests" as to favor Chinese immigration until laborers should be sufficiently abundant to satisfy capital. This letter was proved to be a forgery, and one of the authors of it was sentenced to prison for eight years.

In 1878 Maine had surprised everyone by electing a Democratic governor, through a fusion of Democrats with Greenbackers. After the next annual election, acting as a Canvassing Board, professedly under the law, this governor, Garcelon, and his counsel declared a Democratic legislature to be elected—a proceeding denounced as a "counting in" worthy of the most approved Louisiana model. This course contravened the judgment of the State Supreme Court. It was not upheld by public opinion either in the State or elsewhere, not even by Democratic opinion, unless as a species of "poetic justice." Most fatal of all, the new legislature was unsupported by the State militia, upon which, as no federal troops were at command, devolved, during the interregnum, the charge of keeping order. The fusionists, therefore, gave up in discouragement. But in the State election of the presidential year, in September, renewed success came to them. Their candidate, Harris M. Plaisted, was elected Governor, spite of the Republicans' activity under the personal lead of Mr. Blaine.

Until this reverse in Maine most supporters of Grant had sulked, but they did so no longer. The "strike" was now declared "off," and all the available resources of the party called into requisition for the election of Garfield. Persuaded by Grant, Conkling himself took the stump, working for the nominees with all his might. Popular audiences found his eloquence irresistible. No man did more than he to carry the

GARFIELD AND ARTHUR VICTORIOUS

important State of New York. He took Grant with him throughout the State, exhibiting him for five-minute speeches, while he himself made long orations. This occasioned much comment, but probably "did good." Conkling and his supporters deemed his agency decisive of the result in the nation as well as in New York, and considered President Garfield as under the deepest obligation on this account. Hancock swept every Southern State. Garfield carried every Northern one except New Jersey, Nevada, and California. For the first time in our history the presidential electors were all chosen by popular vote, and for the first time their votes were counted as cast.

Thus the victory was won for Garfield and Arthur. It was not obtained, however, without employing, to some extent, illegitimate means. At a dinner in honor of Hon. S. W. Dorsey, Vice-President Arthur, in a vein of pleasantry, remarked that the Republicans had been victorious in Indiana by a liberal use of "soap." After the election discreditable exposures were made respecting contributions by government civil servants to the Republican campaign-fund.

But if machine politics had much to do with Garfield's election, machine politics no more determined it than intimidation and fraud solidified the South for Hancock. Garfield had a highly honorable record—literary, military, and civil. From a mule-boy on the tow-path of the Ohio Canal between Cleveland and Marietta — which rough life, it seems, bade fair for a time injuriously to affect his character—he had risen to a college presidency and to the Senate of Ohio, all before the war. Entering the service early, he rose rapidly in



HARRIS M. PLAISTED

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

rank—as he deserved, for no civilian commander had proved a better soldier. His martial quality came out at Middle Creek, Shiloh, and pre-eminently at Chickamauga, where his gallant and meritorious services made him a major-general. At Chickamauga, when the right wing of Rosecrans's army was in full retreat, leaving to its fate the left, under General Thomas, Garfield, through a fiery storm of shot, fatal to most of his escort, had ridden back to acquaint Thomas with the state of affairs, encourage him, and arrange for the safe re-formation of the Union forces on a new line. Entering Congress in December, 1863, he at once became a leader, serving with distinction on the most important committees, a power in debate and on the stump, eloquent, sensible, patriotic—not, indeed, an adroit politician, but no little of a statesman. While in Congress he probably had a more thorough acquaintance with important public questions than any other man in official life. His firm and decisive stand for honest money when a formidable faction in his party was for fiat greenbacks has already been alluded to in this History. That his State made him its Senator, and his country made him its President, were in nowise mere accidents.

Hancock's record, too, was altogether spotless and proud. A West Point graduate and a patriot to the backbone, brevetted for gallantry at Contreras and Cherubusco, at the front whenever he could possibly get there in any serious engagement of our army in Virginia during the entire Civil War, always a fighter, the bravest of the brave, the cause of Union victory at Gettysburg if any one man could be so called, Hancock at the time of his nomination came before the public as perhaps the most consummate specimen of a mere military man in the whole history of the country. Grant said Hancock's name "was never mentioned as having committed in battle a blunder for which he was held responsible." Nor can any well doubt that Hancock would have made a successful President. Few, in fact, questioned this. It was his

BLAINE VERSUS CONKLING

party that was distrusted. Had the Democracy held the place in public esteem which was accorded to the candidate, Hancock would almost certainly have been elected. As it was, Garfield's popular majority was trifling, though in the Electoral College he had 214 votes to Hancock's 155.

If it was Garfield's wish, as he again and again declared, to treat all stripes of the party alike, it is hard to understand what led him to select Blaine as Secretary of State in his Cabinet. The mere rumor of this purpose roused Conkling's utmost ire. Blaine and Conkling had long been openly and bitterly at feud. Their quarrel, beginning in empty trifles, had grown by incessant fanning until it menaced the party with fatal schism. Tried and wise friends of both besought Blaine not to accept the offered portfolio. Senator Dawes was one of these. He says: "I warned Mr. Blaine that if he entered the Cabinet with the intent or hope of circumventing his rival, it would be fatal to him and to the administration of Garfield, and I expressed the opinion that it would be impossible for him to keep the peace if he took the office. He replied with frankness, and, I have no doubt, with entire sincerity, that it would be his purpose if he accepted the office to ignore all past differences, and so deport himself in it as to force reconciliation. He said also that he could not agree with me, even if the effect should prove otherwise, that he should for that reason be debarred from the great opportunity, for which he felt himself qualified, to administer the Foreign Office on the broad and grand scale he did afterward undertake but was not permitted to perfect. I foresaw the rocks all too plainly, and advised him to remain in the Senate. But he determined otherwise and accepted the position."

Garfield and Blaine probably thought that Conkling's influence against them might be safely ignored (in which they proved not wholly right), considering him a very shallow man (wherein they were not wholly wrong). It is among William Winter's reminiscences that Conkling and George William

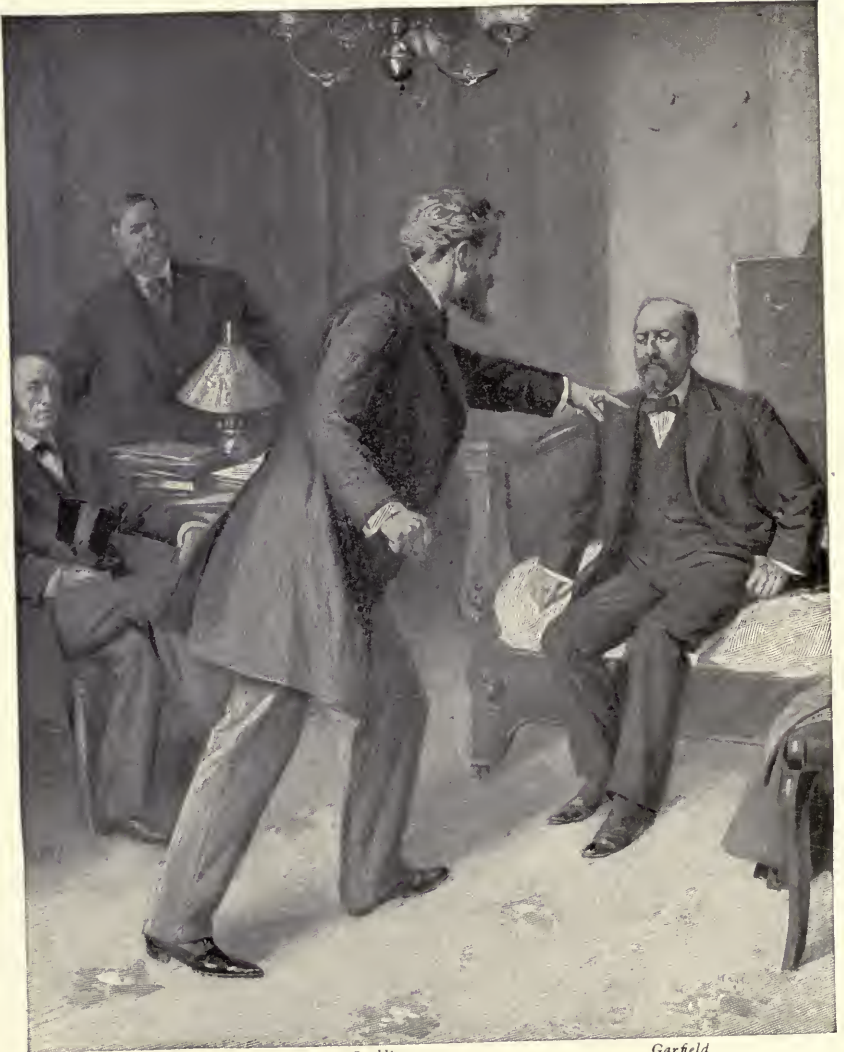
THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

Curtis once compared judgments touching poetry and oratory, each citing passages that seemed to him ideal. Conkling named Mrs. Hemans's "Casabianca," "The boy stood on the burning deck," etc., as his model poem, and some fine sentences from Charles Sprague as what suited him best in eloquence. It was Sprague, we recall, whose Fourth of July oration at Boston, in 1825, contained the smart period beginning: "Not many generations ago, where you now sit, circled by all that adorns and embellishes civilized life, the rank thistle nodded in the wind and the wild fox dug his hole unscared." Curtis, for eloquence, presented the following from Emerson's Dartmouth College oration, delivered on July 24, 1838: "You will hear every day the maxims of a low prudence. You will hear that the first duty is to get land and money, place and name. 'What is this Truth you seek? What is this Beauty?' men will ask, with derision. 'If nevertheless, God have called any of you to explore Truth and Beauty, be bold, be firm, be true. When you shall say, 'As others do, so will I. I renounce, I am sorry for it, my early visions; I must eat the good of the land, and let learning and romantic expectations go until a more convenient season;' then dies the man in you; then once more perish the buds of Art and Poetry and Science, as they have died already in a thousand thousand men."

This Conkling thought rather tame.

Conkling looked upon Blaine's promotion as nothing but a deliberate attempt to humiliate himself, and his friends concurred in this view. "Garfield, of whose great brain-power political sagacity formed no part, could not be made to see in the opposition anything but an attempt by dictation to trench upon his constitutional prerogatives in the choice of his own councillors, and all Blaine men agreed with him."

Bad was made worse when Garfield offered the post of Secretary of the Treasury to Charles J. Folger, of New York, not only without consulting Conkling but against Conkling's



Platt

Arthur

Conkling

Garfield

THE INTERVIEW AT THE RIGGS HOUSE

CONKLING DENOUNCES GARFIELD

warm recommendation of Mr. Morton. That Mr. Folger declined the portfolio did not pacify Conkling. No man in the Cabinet represented Conkling, whereas he and his friends thought that on account of his great service in the campaign all New York appointments, at least, should be filled by him from among his friends. Garfield, undoubtedly influenced by Blaine, would not consent to this. He was willing to do what he reasonably could to pacify Conkling, but he refused to renounce his constitutional privilege of personally selecting the men who were to aid him in discharging his arduous duties.

Shortly before the inauguration, in the spring of 1881, Senator Platt, who was politically and sympathetically in accord with his colleague, received the information that Mr. James had been selected for the position of Postmaster-General. Up to this time the two New York Senators had received assurances from the President-elect that the Empire State was to be favored with the portfolio of the Treasury Department, which was regarded as a more dignified and more influential position in every respect. As soon as Mr. Platt heard of the President's change of mind, he repaired at once to Chamberlain's, where he found Vice-President Arthur and Senator Conkling at breakfast. He broke the news to them. Arthur and Conkling at once left the table and all three repaired to the Riggs House, where Garfield had rooms. They received an audience without delay, and for over an hour Conkling stormed up and down the room, charging Garfield with treachery to his friends in New York and asserting that he was false to his party. Garfield sitting on the side of the bed listened in silence to the tirade, violent and unseemly as all thought it. Both General Arthur and Senator Platt subsequently declared that for invective, sarcasm and impassioned eloquence this was the speech of Conkling's life.

On March 23, 1881, Conkling's dearest foe, Mr. Robertson, was nominated by the President as Collector of Customs at the Port of New York, the then incumbent, E. A. Merritt,

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being nominated for the post of Consul-General at London. Both appointments were opposed by Conkling and his colleague, Mr. Platt, but in spite of this they were subsequently confirmed by the Senate. Conkling's ire grew into a frenzy. Sober Republicans were aghast at the chasm widening in the party. A committee of conciliation, consisting of five gentlemen representing different attitudes to the litigants, was appointed to try and harmonize them. Conkling met these gentlemen to recount his wrongs. Said Mr. Dawes, who was chairman of the committee: "On that occasion he surpassed himself in all those elements of oratorical power for which he was so distinguished. . . He continued for two hours and a half to play with consummate skill upon all the strings known to the orator and through all the notes from the lowest to the highest which the great masters command, and concluded in a lofty apostrophe to the greatness and glory of the Republican party and his own devotion to its highest welfare. 'And,' said he, 'I trust that the exigency may never arise when I shall be compelled to choose between self-respect and personal honor on the one side and the temporary discomfiture of that party on the other; but if that time shall ever come I shall not hesitate in the choice, and I now say to you, and through you to those whom it most concerns, that I have in my pocket an autograph letter of this President, who is now for the time being its official head, which I pray God I may never be compelled in self-defence to make public; but if that time shall ever come, I declare to you, his friends, he will bite the dust.'"

This letter proved to be one like the "My dear Hubbell" epistle mentioned below. It had been written in the course of the campaign to press collections from government officials and clerks for campaign expenses. President Garfield had retained a copy. His friends urged him to publish it forthwith, thus anticipating Conkling; and he, at first, consented, but Mr. Blaine dissuaded him. True to his threat, Conkling gave it out, but too late, so that it fell flat. The conciliation



H. L. Dawes, Mass.

E. H. Rollins, N. H.

J. P. Jones, Nevada

Roscoe Conkling

"I DECLARE TO YOU, HIS FRIENDS, HE WILL BITE THE DUST"

Conkling's speech before the "Committee of Conciliation"

CONKLING AND PLATT OUT OF THE SENATE

committee waited on the President to see if there was not some way by which he could consistently accord Conkling fuller recognition. Nothing came of the effort, as Conkling would be satisfied only by the President's utter neglect and humiliation of the Robertson faction in New York. Conkling was labored with again and begged to be magnanimous, but he would not yield a hair. Instead of placing the good of the party before his personal spite, he proposed to rule or ruin. "Should I do as I am urged," he said, "I should myself go under, and should be burned in effigy from Buffalo to Montauk Point, and could not be elected a delegate to a county convention in Oneida County." It is said that he did actually seek, later, an election to a convention in that county, but without success.

Republicans after the heart of Conkling and Arthur, constituting "the Prince of Wales's Party," now called themselves "Stalwarts," a term invented by Mr. Blaine, at the same time styling administration Republicans "Half-breeds." Those declining to take sides either way they dubbed "Jelly-fish." On May 16th, before Robertson's confirmation, the two New York Senators, Conkling and Platt, resigned their places, expecting the honor and indorsement of an immediate re-election. In this they were disappointed. They were defeated in the New York Legislature by E. C. Lapham and Warner Miller, administration or "Half-breed" Republicans. Mr. Conkling never again reappeared in politics. Mr. Platt, on the contrary, suffered only a temporary loss of influence. Disliked by a large section—perhaps a majority—of the New York Republicans, he still did not cease to be the determining factor of the fortunes of the party in his State. It is not unlikely that Mr. Bryce had Conkling and Platt in mind when, in his chapter upon "Rings and Bosses," he wrote: "There have been brilliant instances of persons stepping at once to the higher rungs of the ladder in virtue of their audacity and energy, especially if coupled with oratorical power. However,

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THE ANTI-CHINESE RIOT OF 1880, IN DENVER, COL.*

the position of the rhetorical boss is less firmly rooted than that of the intriguing boss, and there have been instances of his suddenly falling to rise no more.”

Mr. James was well succeeded in the New York Post-office by Mr. Pearson, who had been the Assistant Postmaster. Robert T. Lincoln, of Illinois, Secretary of War, was not well known, but the illustrious name of his father made the selection a popular one. He had supported Grant in the convention, and his appointment was an acknowledgment of the Logan faction. Of Mr. Kirkwood, Secretary of the Interior, it is sufficient to say that he was indorsed by Carl Schurz, his predecessor in the department. Judge William H. Hunt was placed in charge of the navy portfolio. He was an Old-Line

*The publication of the “Morey Letter” (see p. 315) stirred up a general anti-Chinese feeling, particularly through the West. On October 31, 1880, a mob attacked the Chinese quarter in Denver, and were only driven back when the firemen turned the stream from their hose on them.

GARFIELD'S CABINET

Whig, born in South Carolina, who had moved to Louisiana. Throughout the war he was a staunch Union man, and afterward a consistent Republican. He had been counsel for Governor Kellogg against McEnery in the famous Durell case, and also a candidate for the office of Attorney-General on the Louisiana State ticket with Packard. President Hayes made him a judge of the Court of Claims, a position which he held till he received this promotion from Mr. Garfield.

Wayne MacVeagh, of Pennsylvania, Attorney-General in Garfield's Cabinet, was universally respected for his high character and ability. Though a son-in-law of Simon Cameron, he was an Independent, and therefore, politically, no friend to either of the Camerons. William Windom, of Minnesota, Secretary of the Treasury, the East suspected of monetary "unsoundness," but this occasioned little anxiety, as Garfield was well known to be perfectly trustworthy in this regard. Windom was immensely popular in the West because of his antagonism to monopolies, some of which had already made themselves formidable and odious. By this time telegraph and railway lines had become consolidated and one or two "Trusts" had arisen.

In the fall of 1880 a Mr. Hudson, of Detroit, confided to Senator Sherman a fear that General Garfield would be assassinated, giving particulars. Being at once apprised, Mr. Garfield, under date of November 16, 1880, replied: "I do not think there is any serious danger in the direction to which he refers, though I am receiving what I suppose to be the usual number of threatening letters on that subject. Assassination can no more be guarded against than death by lightning; and it is not best to worry about either." Hardly had President Garfield entered upon his high duties when Mr. Hudson's fears were realized. This was only six weeks after the murder of Czar Alexander II. The President had never been in better spirits than on the morning of July 1, 1881. Before he was up one of his sons entered his room. Almost the boy's

first words were "There!"—taking a flying leap over his bed—"you are the President of the United States, but you can't do that." Whereupon the Chief Magistrate arose and did it. Later in the morning, thus healthy and jovial, he entered the railway station at Washington, intending to take an Eastern trip. Charles J. Guiteau, a disappointed office-seeker, crept up behind him and fired two bullets at him, one of which lodged in his back.

The country already had a deep affection for Mr. Garfield, all except those immediately interested in party politics and many of these, sympathizing with him against Conkling in the struggle that had arisen over appointments. Democrats honored him for his course in this business. The terrible misfortune now come upon him ostensibly in consequence of his boldness in that matter wonderfully endeared him to the popular heart. He was likened to Lincoln, as another "martyr President." In all the churches throughout the North often as the congregations met for worship, earnest prayers were offered for the President's recovery. In every city crowds watched the bulletin boards daily from morning till night to learn from the despatches constantly appearing the distinguished sufferer's condition. The bullet had pierced the tissues by a long, angry and crooked course, leaving a wound that could not be properly drained. Spite of treatment by the most famous medical practitioners—whom, however, high authorities deemed somewhat fussy and irresolute in handling the case—blood-poisoning set in, and at length proved fatal. The President's hardy constitution enabled him to fight for life as few could have done. He languished on and on through weeks of dreadful suffering, till September 19th, when he died.

On the 21st of December the Houses of Congress passed resolutions for memorial services, to occur on February 27, 1882, to which were invited the President and ex-Presidents, the heads of departments, Supreme Court Judges, Ministers of

James G. Blaine, State

William Windom, Treasury

Robert T. Lincoln, War



W. H. Hunt, Navy

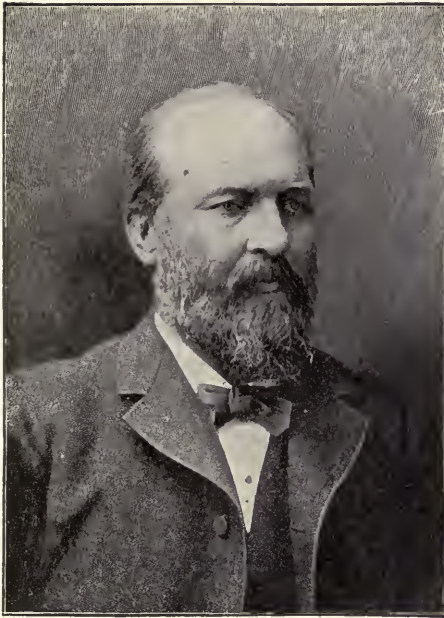
Thos. J. Kirkwood, Interior

T. L. James, Post-Gen.

Wayne MacVeeagh, Atty-Gen.

PRESIDENT GARFIELD'S CABINET

BLAINE'S ORATION ON GARFIELD



JAMES A. GARFIELD

After a photograph by Bell—the last picture made before the assassination

foreign countries, Governors of States, and distinguished officers of the army and the navy. Upon that occasion Mr. Blaine delivered an oration on the life and character of the dead Chief Magistrate. The closing periods ran: "As the end drew near, his early craving for the sea returned. The stately mansion of power had been to him the wearisome hospital of pain, and he begged to be taken from its prison walls, from its oppres-

sive, stifling air, from its homelessness and its hopelessness. Gently, silently, the love of a great people bore the pale sufferer to the longed-for healing of the sea, to live or to die, as God should will, within sight of its heaving billows, within sound of its manifold voices. With wan, fevered face tenderly lifted to the cooling breeze, he looked out wistfully upon the ocean's changing wonders; on its far sails, whitening in the morning light; on its restless waves rolling shoreward to break and die beneath the noonday sun; the red clouds of evening, arching low to the horizon; on the serene and shining pathway of the stars. Let us think that his dying eyes read a mystic meaning which only the rapt and parting soul may know. Let us believe that in the silence of the receding world he heard the great waves breaking on a further shore, and felt already upon his wasted brow the breath of the eternal morning."

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

The sorrow over President Garfield's death, said George William Curtis, in another eulogy, was "more world-wide and pathetic than ever before lamented a human being. In distant lands men bowed their heads. The courts of kings were clad in mourning. The parish bells of rural England tolled, and every American household was hushed with pain as if its first-born lay dead."

It may be doubted whether posterity will give Mr. Garfield quite the high place assigned him by contemporary judgment; yet he was certainly among our greater men. Somewhat vacillating and passive, and too much dominated by Blaine's stronger nature, Garfield was a man of solid character, no little personal magnetism, and great information. In many respects he and Blaine were alike. In aptness for personal intercourse with men, and in the power of will, he was Blaine's inferior, while in logic, learning and breadth of view he was in advance of Blaine.

Guiteau had been by spells a politician, lawyer, lecturer, theologian and evangelist. He pretended to have been inspired by Deity with the thought that the removal of Mr. Garfield was necessary to the unity of the Republican party and to the salvation of the country. He is said to have exclaimed, on being arrested: "All right, I did it and will go to jail for it. I am a Stalwart, and Arthur will be President." His trial began in November and lasted over two months. The defense was insanity. The prosecution showed that the man had long been an unprincipled adventurer, greedy for notoriety; that he first conceived the project of killing the President after his hopes of office were finally destroyed; and that he had planned the murder several weeks in advance.

The public rage against Guiteau knew no bounds. Only by the utmost vigilance on the part of his keepers was his life prolonged till the day of his execution. Sergeant Mason, a soldier set to guard him, fired into Guiteau's cell with the evident intention of applying to the assassin assassins' methods.

GUITEAU IN COURT

The sergeant was tried by court-martial, dismissed from the army, deprived of his back pay, and sentenced to eight years in the Albany Penitentiary. Two months later, as they were taking the wretched Guiteau from jail to court, a horseman, dashing past, fired a pistol at him, the bullet grazing his wrist.

The prisoner's disorderly conduct and scurrilous interruptions of the proceedings during his trial, apparently to aid the plea of insanity, impaired the dignity of the occasion and



PRESIDENT GARFIELD'S REMAINS LYING IN-STATE AT THE CAPITOL

elicited, both at home and abroad, comment disparaging to the court. Judge Cox threatened to gag the prisoner or send him out of court; but as neither of these courses could be taken without infringing Guiteau's right to confront his accusers and to speak in his own behalf, the threats were of no avail.

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

Guiteau was found guilty in January, 1882. As the last juror signified his assent to the verdict the condemned man sprang to his feet and shrieked: "My blood will be upon the heads of that jury. Don't you forget it! God will avenge this outrage!" He was executed at Washington on June 30, 1882, and his skeleton is now in the Army Medical Museum in that city. The autopsy showed no disease of the brain.

Although it had no logical connection with the spoils system, the assassination of President Garfield called the attention of the country to the crying need of reform in the civil service. Through March, April, May and June, 1881, Washington streets had been blockaded with office-seekers and political adventurers, bearing "testimonials" of their worth, seeking indorsers and backers and awaiting chances to "interview" the President himself. Contributors to the election fund were especially forward in demanding positions. The President's time and strength were wasted in weighing the deserts of this or that politician or faction of a State to control patronage there. All who had known him in the army, in Congress or at home now made the most of such acquaintance.

We have seen that Hayes's administration marked in this respect, as in others, an immense improvement. Secretary Schurz in the Interior Department enforced competitive examinations. They were applied by Mr. James to the New York Post-office, and, as a result, one-third more work was done with less cost. Similar good results followed the adoption of the "merit system" in the New York Custom-house after 1879. President Hayes also strongly condemned political assessments upon office-holders, but with small practical effect, as his effort lacked full legislative sanction and sympathy.

But the corruption which had enjoyed immunity so long could not be put down all at once. During Hayes's last years, and thereafter, much public attention was drawn to the "Star Route" frauds. The Star Routes were stage-lines for



SCENE AT A STATION ON THE PENNSYLVANIA RAILROAD AS THE GARFIELD AMBULANCE TRAIN PASSED ON ITS WAY TO ELBERON*

*On September 6th, the President was removed to Elberon, N. J., in a specially designed car, the bed being arranged so as to minimize the jolting. It was an extremely hot day and the train went very fast, the President sending a message to the engineer to increase the speed. At the stations and in the fields knots of people congregated to watch the passage of the train, instinctively removing their hats as it came into sight.

THE STAR ROUTES



THE GARFIELD FUNERAL CAR ABOUT TO START FROM THE PUBLIC SQUARE,
CLEVELAND, O., FOR THE CEMETERY

Drawn by T. L. Thulstrup from a photograph by Ryder

carrying the mails in sections of the West where railroads and steamboats failed. In 1878 there were 9,225 of these Star Routes, for the maintenance of which Congress in that year appropriated \$5,900,000. A Ring made up on the one hand of Democratic and Republican public men, some of these very prominent, and on the other hand of certain mail contractors, managed to increase the remuneration for service on 135 pet routes from \$143,169 to \$622,808. On twenty-six of the routes the pay-roll was put up from \$65,216 to \$530,319. The method was, first, to get numerous signed petitions from the districts interested, praying for an increase in the number of trips per week and shortening the schedule

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time of each trip, get "estimates" from the contractors vastly in excess of actual cost for the service, get these estimates allowed at Washington, and then divide profits between the "statesmen" and citizens interested in the "deal." Over some of these lines, it was asserted, not more than three letters a week were carried.

Attention was drawn to the Star Route matter before the close of Hayes's term, but exposure was staved off until Mr. James, "the model New York Postmaster," assumed the office of Postmaster-General. On May 6, 1881, Mr. James wrote Thurlow Weed: "Rest assured I shall do my whole duty in the matter of the Star Route swindlers. It is a hard task, but it shall be pushed fearlessly, regardless of whom it may involve."

Thomas W. Brady, Second Assistant Postmaster-General, was supposed to be a member of the Ring. At any rate, he threatened, unless proceedings were stopped, to publish a letter of President Garfield's written during the campaign. This he did. It was the famous "My dear Hubbell" epistle. The writer, addressing "My dear Hubbell," hoped that "he" (referring to Brady) "would give them all the assistance possible." According to Brady, this meant that he should, among other things, get money from the Star Route contractors. Garfield insisted that it was simply a call on Brady to contribute from his own pocket. In the next sentence of the letter, however, the presidential candidate asks: "Please tell me how the departments generally are doing." This will hardly bear any other construction than that of party extortion from the government employés, especially since this same Hubbell, as chairman of the Republican Congressional Committee, was



GEORGE H. PENDLETON

PENDLETON CIVIL SERVICE ACT



Dorman B. Eaton

John M. Gregory

Leroy D. Thoman

THE CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSIONERS APPOINTED BY PRESIDENT ARTHUR

later called to account by the reformers for levying two per cent. assessments upon the clerks—styled by him and his friends “voluntary contributions.” Whether Brady’s *tu quoque* availed him, or for some other reason, his trial was postponed and he was never convicted. Senator Dorsey, of Arkansas, was also arraigned, but, upon his second trial, in 1883, was acquitted. Indeed, of those prosecuted for fraud in connection with the Star Routes, only one was ever punished; and in this case the Government was in error, as the man was innocent.

The tragic fate of President Garfield, taken in connection with these and other revelations of continuing political corruption, brought public sentiment on Civil Service Reform to a head. A bill prepared by the Civil Service Reform League, and in 1880 introduced in the Senate by Senator Pendleton, of Ohio, passed Congress in January, 1883, and on the 16th of that month received the signature of President Arthur.

Renewing, in the main, the provisions adopted under the Act of 1871, it authorized the President, with the consent of the Senate, to appoint three Civil Service Commissioners, who were to institute competitive examinations open to all persons desir-

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

ing to enter the employ of the Government. It provided that the clerks in the departments at Washington, and in every customs district or post-office where fifty or more were employed, should be arranged in classes, and that in the future only persons who had passed the examinations should be appointed to service in these offices or promoted from a lower class to a higher, preference being given according to rank in the examinations. Candidates were to serve six months' probation at practical work before receiving a final appointment.

The bill struck a heavy blow at political assessments, by declaring that no official should be removed for refusing to contribute to political funds. A Congressman or government official convicted of soliciting or receiving political assessments from government employés became liable to \$5,000 fine or three years' imprisonment, or both. Persons in the government service were forbidden to use their official authority or influence to coerce the political action of anyone, or to interfere with elections. Dorman B. Eaton, Leroy D. Thoman, and John M. Gregory were appointed commissioners by President Arthur. By the end of the year the new system was fairly in operation. Besides the departments at Washington, it applied to eleven customs districts and twenty-three post-offices where fifty or more officials were employed.

CHAPTER XIII

DOMESTIC EVENTS DURING MR. ARTHUR'S ADMINISTRATION

MR. ARTHUR'S DILEMMA.—HIS ACCESSION.—RESPONSIBILITY EVOKES HIS BEST.—THE PRESIDENTIAL SUCCESSION QUESTION.—SUCCESSION ACT PASSED.—ELECTORAL COUNT ACT PASSED.—ARTHUR'S CABINET.—CONDITION OF THE COUNTRY IN 1881.—DECADENCE OF OUR OCEAN CARRYING.—TARIFF COMMISSION OF 1882 AND THE TARIFF OF 1883.—MAHONE AND THE VIRGINIA "READJUSTERS."—MAHONE'S RECORD.—HIS ENTRY INTO THE SENATE.—PRESIDENT ARTHUR AND THE CHINESE.—ORIGIN OF THE CHINESE QUESTION.—ANSON BURLINGAME.—THE 1878 EMBASSY.—CHINESE THROG HITHER.—EARLY CALIFORNIA.—THE STRIKE OF 1877 AFFECTS CALIFORNIA.—RISE AND CHARACTER OF DENIS KEARNEY.—HIS PROGRAM.—THE "SAND-LOT" CAMPAIGN.—KEARNEY'S MODERATION.—HE IS COURT-ED.—AND OPPOSED.—HIS CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION.—ITS WORK.—KEARNEYISM TO THE REAR.—THE JAMES DESPERADOES.—THEIR CAPTURE.—THE YORKTOWN CELEBRATION.—MEMENTOES OF OLD YORKTOWN.—THE PAGEANT.—"SURRENDER" DAY.—THE OTHER DAYS.—CLOSE OF THE FÊTE.—FLOOD AND RIOT IN CINCINNATI.

DURING Garfield's illness Mr. Arthur's predicament had been most delicate. The second article of the Constitution provides that "in case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation or inability to discharge the powers and duties of said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President." What is here meant by a President's "inability," and how or by whom such inability is in any case to be ascertained, had never been determined. Was the question of "inability" to be decided by the President himself, by the Vice-President, or by Congress? Could the Vice-President take up Presidential duties temporarily, giving way again to the President in case the latter recovered, or must he, having begun, serve through the remainder of

the four years, the once disabled President being permanently out of office? These problems doubtless weighed heavily upon Mr. Arthur's mind while his chief lay languishing. They were everywhere discussed daily. A popular view was advocated by General Butler, to the effect that the Vice-President himself was charged with the duty of deciding when to take up the higher functions. As Garfield's was a clear case of "inability to discharge the powers and duties of the Presidency," Mr. Arthur may actually have felt it, from a technically legal point of view, incumbent upon him to assume these "powers and duties." In a Cabinet meeting Mr. Blaine suggested that Mr. Arthur be summoned to do this, intimating that the chief direction ought certainly to be devolved on Arthur should an extraordinary emergency in administration arise. It was fortunate that no such emergency occurred, and that Mr. Arthur did not feel for any reason called upon to grasp the reins of government. At this critical juncture he might easily have acted, or even spoken, in a manner seriously to compromise himself and his country. Far from doing anything of the sort, he was singularly discreet through the whole trial.

Hardly had Garfield breathed his last, when, the same night, in the small morning hours of September 20, 1881, Mr. Arthur took oath as President. This occurred in his house in New York City, Judge Brady, of the New York State Supreme Court, officiating. The next day but one, the oath was again administered by Chief Justice Waite in the Senate Chamber at Washington. On this occasion Mr. Arthur delivered a brief inaugural address. He said: "The memory of the murdered President, his protracted sufferings, his unyielding fortitude, the example and achievements of his life and the pathos of his death, will forever illuminate the pages of our history. Men may die; but the fabrics of our free institutions remain unshaken. No higher or more assuring proof could exist of the strength and power of popular

S. B. French

D. G. Rollins Elibu Root



President Arthur

Judge Brady

Drawn by W. R. Leigh

PRESIDENT ARTHUR TAKING THE INAUGURAL OATH AT HIS LEXINGTON AVENUE RESIDENCE

IMPORTANT LEGISLATION

government than the fact that, though the chosen of the people be struck down, his constitutional successor is peacefully installed without shock or strain."

Responsibility brought out the new President's best qualities. He had little special preparation for his exalted office. Save among the New York Republicans, he was almost unknown till his nomination as Vice-President, and when he succeeded Garfield there was much misgiving. Yet his administration was distinguished as few have been for ability, fairness, elevation of tone and freedom from mean partisanship. He was extremely diligent, circumspect, considerate and firm. That he had nerve men saw when, in 1882, he resolutely vetoed a portentously large River and Harbor Bill. His public papers were in admirable spirit, thoroughly considered, and written in a style finer than those of any preceding President since John Quincy Adams.

The country's ordeal in connection with Garfield's death led to an important piece of legislation. Few were then or are now aware by what a slender thread the orderly government of our country hung between the shooting of Garfield in July, 1881, and the second special session of the Senate of the Forty-seventh Congress the following October. Had Mr. Arthur died at any moment during this period—and it is said that he was for a time in imminent danger of death—or had he become in any way unable to perform a President's duties, there could have been no constitutional succession to the Presidency. The law of March, 1792, declares that in case the Vice-President as well as the President dies, is removed, or is disqualified, "the President of the Senate *pro tempore*, or, if there is none, then the Speaker of the House of Representatives for the time being, shall act as President until the disability is removed or a President elected." But at the time of Garfield's assassination, neither a President *pro tempore* of the Senate nor a Speaker of the House existed. It had been customary for the Vice-President before the end of a session of

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the Senate to retire, and so require the appointment of a President *pro tempore* who should continue as such during the recess; but on this occasion the special session of the Senate in May had adjourned without electing any such presiding officer. On October 10th Senator Bayard was made President *pro tempore* of the Senate, followed on the 13th by Senator David Davis. Of course there could be no Speaker at this time, as the Forty-sixth Congress had ceased to exist in March, and the House of the Forty-seventh did not convene till December.

In his first annual message President Arthur commended to the "early and thoughtful consideration of Congress" the important questions touching the Presidential succession which had so vividly emerged in consequence of his predecessor's assassination. It had been a question whether the statute of 1792 was constitutional. The ground of the doubt was that, according to the doctrine agreed to when, in 1798, an attempt was made to impeach Senator Blount, of Tennessee, Speakers of the House and temporary Presidents of the Senate are not, technically, "officers of the United States." Hence, were either a speaker or a temporary head of the Senate to take a President's place, Presidential duties would be devolved on an official who could not be impeached for malfeasance. The law of 1792 was objectionable for other reasons. It originally passed only by a narrow majority. Many then wished that the Presidential succession should take the direction of the Secretary of State, and had not Jefferson held this office at the time the law would probably have so provided.

On the second day of its first regular session the Senate of the Forty-seventh Congress ordered its Judiciary Committee to consider the question of the Presidential succession, inquire whether any, and if so, what, further legislation was necessary in respect to the same, and to report by bill or otherwise. A bill to meet the case was soon introduced by Senator Garland, of Arkansas. The matter was briefly debated both then and

PRESIDENTIAL SUCCESSION ACT

at intervals for a number of years ; but no legislation upon it occurred till January, 1886, when the Forty-ninth Congress passed a law based on Garland's draft. It provided that if the Presidency and the Vice-Presidency are both vacant the Presidency passes to the members of the Cabinet in the historical order of the establishment of their departments, beginning with the Secretary of State. If he dies, is impeached or disabled, the Secretary of the Treasury becomes President, to be followed in like crisis by the Secretary of War, he by the Attorney-General, he by the Postmaster-General, he by the Secretary of the Navy, and he by the Secretary of the Interior. To be thus in the line of the Presidential succession a Cabinet officer must have been duly confirmed as such and must be constitutionally eligible to the Presidency. If Congress is not in session when one of these officers thus comes to the Presidency, and is not to convene in twenty days, the new

President must issue a proclamation convening Congress after twenty days, and Congress must then order a new election for President.

The Forty-ninth Congress also passed, on February 3, 1887, an act to fix the day for the meeting of the electors of President and Vice-President, and to provide for and regulate the counting of the votes for President and Vice-President and the decision of questions arising thereon. The ascertainment of the electors



CHESTER A. ARTHUR

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within and for any State is so far as possible made the business of that State, any judicial determination made for this purpose within six days of the electors' meeting being binding on Congress. In case of a single return fixing the *personnel* of the electors the vote of any elector can be rejected only by the two Houses concurrently agreeing that it was not legally cast. In case of conflicting returns one of which a State tribunal has adjudged to be legal, only those votes denoted by this return can be counted. If there is question which of two or more authorities or tribunals had the right to determine the legal electoral vote of the State, the votes, being regularly cast, of the electors whose title the two Houses acting separately concurrently decide to be the legal ones, are counted. If there has been no determination of the question of electors' legitimacy, those votes and those only are counted which the two Houses concurrently decide to have been cast by the lawful electors; unless the two Houses acting separately concurrently decide that such votes were not the legal votes of the legally elected electors.

We still have no legal or official criterion of a President's "inability to discharge the powers and duties of his office," nor has any tribunal been designated for the settlement of the question when it arises. We do not know whether, were another President so ill as Garfield was, it would be proper for the Cabinet to perform Presidential duties, as Garfield's did, or whether the Vice-President would be bound to assume those duties. Barring this chance for conflict, it is not easy to think of an emergency in which the chief magistracy can now fall vacant or the appropriate incumbent thereof be in doubt.

The only member of Garfield's Cabinet whom Arthur permanently retained was Robert T. Lincoln, Secretary of War. However, the old Cabinet did not dissolve at once. Not till December 19, 1881, did Mr. Blaine, who had practically been at the head of the Government from the President's assassination till his death, surrender the State portfolio.

CONDITION OF THE COUNTRY

Frederick T. Frelinghuysen, of New Jersey, took his place. Ex-Governor Edwin D. Morgan, of New York, had been nominated and confirmed as Secretary of the Treasury, but had declined on account of ill health. Judge Charles J. Folger took the Treasury portfolio November 15, 1881. In April, 1882, William E. Chandler, of New Hampshire, and Henry M. Teller, of Colorado, were called to the Navy and Interior Departments respectively. January 5, 1882, Timothy O. Howe, of Wisconsin, was confirmed as Postmaster-General, but he died in March, 1883. Walter Q. Gresham succeeded him. Benjamin H. Brewster, of Pennsylvania, was confirmed Attorney-General in December, 1881. Secretary Folger died in 1884. Gresham was then transferred to the Treasury, Assistant Postmaster-General Frank Hatton being advanced to the head of the Post-office Department. Mr. Gresham soon resigned to accept a Circuit Judgeship on the Seventh Circuit. His place as Secretary of the Treasury was filled by Hugh McCulloch, who had administered most acceptably the same office from 1865 to 1869.

In addressing Congress for the first time, President Arthur was able to represent the condition of the country as excellent. Colorado had been admitted to the Union in 1876. During the decade ending in 1880 our population had grown somewhat over twenty-five per cent., that is, from thirty-eight millions to fifty millions. The net public debt, December 31, 1880, was a trifle less than \$1,900,000,000, a decrease in the face of the debt of \$600,000,000, in the ten years. Agricultural production was found to have advanced one hundred per cent., while, according to the ninth census, the increase from 1870 to 1880 had been but twelve per cent. The tenth census corrected certain figures relating to our national area, making the country eight hundred square miles smaller than it had been supposed to be.

Americans thought it a serious matter that for the year 1879 the foreign trade of Great Britain exceeded \$3,000,000,-

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

000, two and a half times the amount of ours. It was also a source of solicitude that we were the only civilized country in the world whose ocean-carrying had absolutely decreased since 1856. In that year American ships bore seventy-five per cent. of all we exported and of all we imported. In 1878 American ships bore twenty-five per cent.; in 1882 fifteen per cent. Though our foreign commerce had increased seventy per cent. in amount, the cargoes transported in American ships were \$200,000,000 less valuable in 1878 than in 1857. In 1856 foreign vessels entered at our ports had a tonnage of 3,117,034. By 1881 it had increased 308 per cent. or to 12,711,392 tons, of which 8,457,797 sailed under the Union Jack. On the other hand, American tonnage from foreign ports, in the same period, increased from 1,891,453 to 2,919,149, or only 54 per cent. "The continuing decline of the merchant marine of the United States," wrote President Arthur, "is greatly to be deplored. In view of the fact that we furnish so large a proportion of the freights of the commercial world, and that our shipments are steadily and rapidly increasing, it is a cause of surprise that not only is our navigation interest diminishing, but it is less than when our exports and imports were not half so large as now either in bulk or in value."

An Act of Congress passed May 15, 1882, created a Tariff Commission consisting of prominent manufactures and others, viz.: J. L. Hayes, H. W. Oliver, A. M. Garland, J. A. Ambler, Robert P. Porter, J. W. H. Underwood, A. R. Boteler and Duncan F. Kennon. After long investigation and deliberation, having examined many witnesses, these gentlemen brought in in December an able, luminous and comprehensive report of 2,500 printed pages, forming an invaluable exhibit of our then customs laws, their merits and defects. Part of it ran: "In the performance of the duty devolved upon them, all the members of the Commission have aimed, and, as they believe, with success, to divest them-

TARIFF COMMISSION AND BILL

selves of political bias, sectional prejudice or considerations of personal interest. It is their desire that their recommendations shall serve no particular party, class, section or school of political economy."

In this report the Commission recommended an average reduction in tariff rates of not less than 20 per cent. In certain rates a lowering of 50 per cent. was urged. The Senate amended a House internal revenue measure by adding a tariff bill calculated to effect some reduction, though less radical and less impartial than that wished by the Commission. "If the Senate Finance Committee had embodied in this bill the recommendations of the Tariff Commission, including the schedules, without amendment or change, the tariff would have been settled for many years. Unfortunately, this was not done, but the schedules prescribing the rates of duty and their classification were so radically changed by the Committee that the scheme of the Tariff Commission was practically defeated. Many persons wishing to advance their particular industries appeared before the Committee and succeeded in having their views adopted."*

A two-thirds vote was required to bring this Senate bill before the House. Wishing it referred to a conference committee, which would be to their advantage, the high-protection leaders in the House adroitly got the rules revised, enabling a bare majority to non-concur in the Senate amendment, but not to concur therein so as to pass the bill. The measure, therefore, went to the Conference Committee. There it took on features much more highly protectionist. The resulting act, the tariff law of 1883, in some instances advanced customs rates even over their former figures, making them higher than either Commission, Senate or House had proposed, closely approximating those of the old War tariff. The average diminution from the tariff as it previously stood was, perhaps, about four per cent.

*John Sherman, Recollections.

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

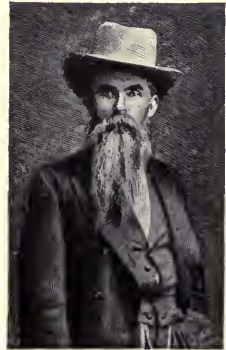
This Act paved the way for infinite trouble over the tariff. It was full of irrational and contradictory provisions, and, as a whole, pleased nobody. Each industry wished what it purchased treated as raw material, to be tariffed low or not at all, and what it sold considered as the finished article, to receive the highest rates. Struggle over these conflicting interests was apparent in the many incongruous features of the Act.

It was significant that Mr. Arthur's first message made no allusion to the Southern question. All felt, so well had Mr. Hayes's policy worked, that that section might now be safely left to itself. Meantime the "Readjuster" controversy in Virginia bade fair to be the entering wedge for a split in the solid South. The Readjusters were a Democratic faction taking name from their desire to "readjust" the State debt on a basis that meant partial repudiation. In 1879, by a fusion with the Republicans, the Readjusters controlled the State and elected their leader, William Mahone, to the United States Senate. Mahone had been a major-general in the Confederate Army, and his bravery greatly endeared him to the Southern heart. He it was who commanded the slender contingent of Confederates at Petersburg on July 30, 1864, when the mine on Burnside's front was exploded. He there fought like a tiger, and made his dispositions with the utmost skill and coolness. To him almost alone was due the credit that day of keeping Petersburg from Union hands and of replacing the Confederate lines by sunset exactly where they were at sunrise. Had the Confederacy endured, he should have been one of its presidents for his meritorious services in this battle. The negro vote helped Mahone. He had always favored fair treatment for the black man. In his county the blacks had voted freely and their votes had been counted as cast. Good provision for colored schools had also been made there.

The Virginian's entry into the Senate in 1881 was marked by a dramatic passage at arms. His personal appearance drew

MAHONE ENTERS THE SENATE

attention. He had been a striking figure in battle uniform, and he was hardly less so in citizen's attire. He wore a close-bodied suit of brown broadcloth, frilled cuffs extending beyond the sleeves. He had a small head and spindle legs. His hair and beard were long, his stature diminutive. One described him as "a spry midget, full of Irish fire, who enjoyed cutting a national figure." As elected, the Senate of the Forty-seventh Congress had a small Republican majority, but Garfield's Cabinet appointments, calling away the three Republican Senators—Blaine, Kirkwood and Windom—left the two parties in the body equally divided. When the fight for organization came on there were thirty-seven sure Republicans and thirty-seven sure Democrats, not counting David Davis or Mahone, both of whom were expected to act more or less independently of party. Davis, favoring the *status quo* and evidently expecting Mahone to vote with the Democrats in organizing, declared himself resolved "to support the organization of the Senate as it stood." It had till now been Democratic. Had Mahone sided with him, the committees as made up by the Democratic caucus would have been elected. But in spite of Democratic pleadings and denunciation, Mahone concluded to support the Republicans. This tied the Senate, even if Davis voted with the Democrats, and Vice-President Arthur could of course be counted on to turn the vote the Republican way. This he did in postponing indefinitely the motion to elect the Democratic committees and in electing the Republican list. When it came to choosing sergeant-at-arms and clerks, Davis, now favoring the new status, as before he had the old, voted with the Republicans.



WILLIAM MAHONE

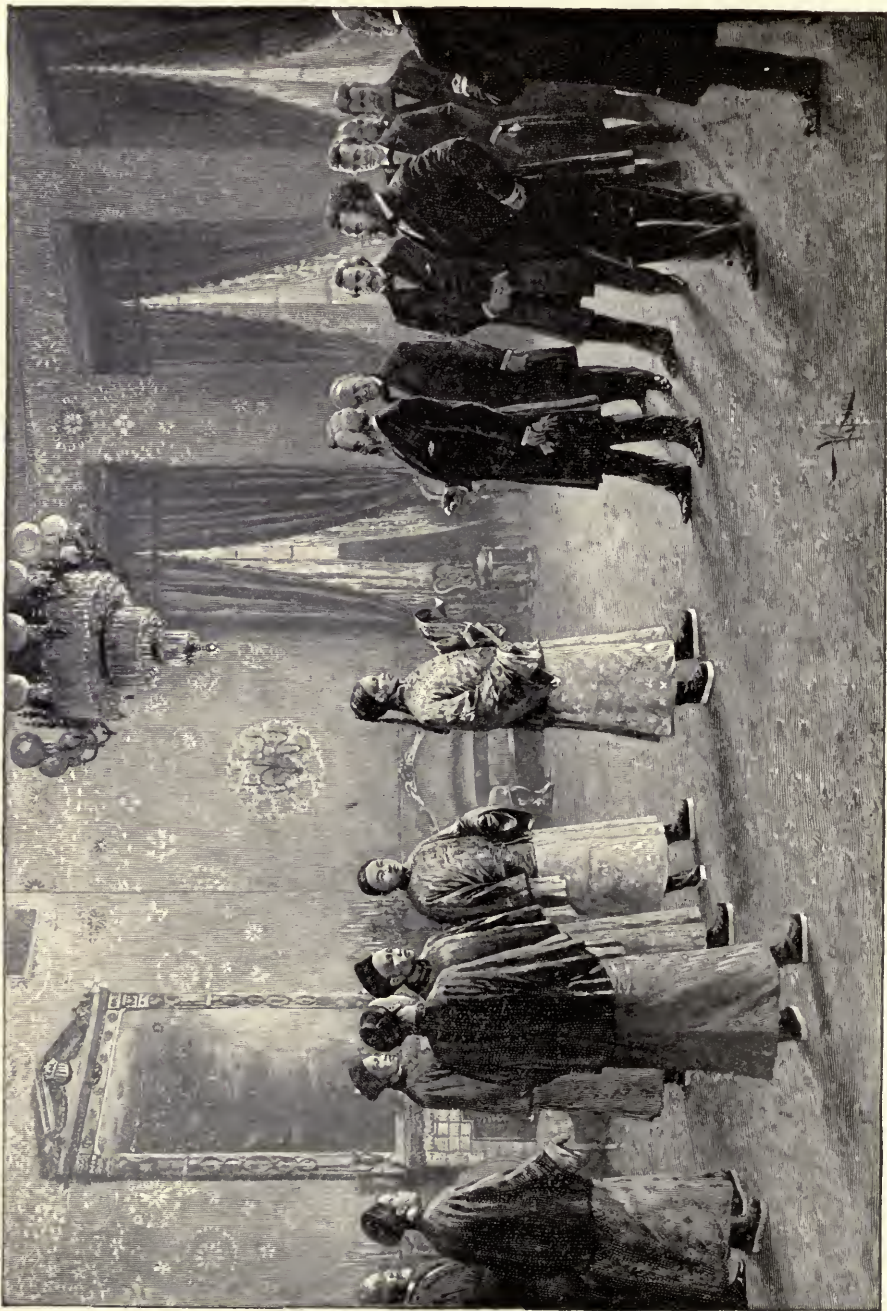
Mahone's course aroused great wrath, especially among the Southern Senators. "Who is that man?" cried Senator

Hill, of Georgia, amid laughter from the Republican side of the Chamber: "Who is that man so ambitious to do what no man in the history of this country has ever yet done—stand up in this high presence and proclaim from this proud eminence that he disgraces the commission he holds? Such a man is not worthy to be a Democrat. Is he worthy to be a Republican?" In rejoinder Mahone, while declaring himself a Democrat in principle, denied that he was indebted to the Democratic party for his place in the Senate. He concluded: "I want that gentleman to know henceforth and forever that here is a man who dares stand and defend his right against you and your caucus." Senator Hill's query was forthwith answered. Mahone was welcomed by the Republicans with open arms. A bouquet of flowers, said to be from President Garfield, was sent to his desk, and Federal patronage in Virginia was placed at his disposal.

A storm of indignation from the Pacific Coast fell upon President Arthur's head when, in 1882, he vetoed a bill for restricting Chinese immigration. To understand the reason of his act and of his unpopularity, a brief review is necessary.

What originally brought the Chinaman to our shores was the discovery of gold in California. At first he was not unwelcome. Said the *Alta California* of May 12, 1851: "Quite a large number of Celestials have arrived among us of late, enticed hither by the golden romance which has filled the world. Scarcely a ship arrives that does not bring an increase of this worthy integer of our population." The "worthy integer" was soon engaged in an exciting though not enviable part of the "golden romance," for the next year we read that gangs of miners were "running out" Chinese settlers. This race strife on the coast was incessant both during and after the war.

Meantime, Anson Burlingame, our Minister to China, who during an intercourse of some years had come to possess the confidence of the Chinese in an unusual degree, had been



Drawn by W. R. Leigb

"UNITE THE EAST AND THE WEST UNDER AN ENLIGHTENED AND PROGRESSIVE CIVILIZATION"
President Hayes and his Cabinet receiving Chou Lan Pin and the First Resident Chinese Embassy to the United States, September 28, 1878

RELATIONS WITH CHINA

entrusted by them with a mission which at first seemed as though it might lead to new relations. On his return he bore credentials constituting him China's ambassador to the United States and to Europe. He proceeded to negotiate with this country a treaty of amity, which was signed on July 4, 1868. But anti-Chinese agitation did not cease. In 1871 occurred a riot in the streets of Los Angeles, when fifteen Chinamen were hanged and six others shot, Chinamen having murdered one police officer and wounded two others. In 1878 an anti-Chinese bill passed Congress, but was vetoed by President Hayes as repugnant to the Burlingame treaty. Rage against the Celestials, to which all forces in the Pacific States had bent, being thus baffled at Washington, grew more clamorous than ever.

On September 28, 1878, a new Chinese embassy waited upon President Hayes. The ambassador, Chen Lan Pin, wore the regulation bowl-shaped hat, adorned with the scarlet button of the second order and with a depending peacock plume, caught by jeweled fastenings. His garments were of finest silk. He had on a blouse with blue satin collar, a skirt of darker stuff, sandal-shaped shoes and leggings of the richest kid. His letter of credence was drawn by an attendant from a cylinder of bamboo embellished with gold. In this document the Emperor expressed the hope that the embassy would "eventually unite the East and the West under an enlightened and progressive civilization." The indirect issue of this embassy was a fresh treaty, ratified in March, 1881, amending the Burlingame compact.

That compact, recognizing as inalienable the right of every man to change his abode, had permitted the free immigration of Chinamen into the United States. The new treaty of 1881 so modified this feature that immigration might be regulated, limited or suspended by us for no specified period should it threaten to affect the interests of the United States or to endanger their good order. A bill soon followed



TYPES OF THE OFFICIAL CLASS. THE CHINESE CONSULATE IN
IN SAN FRANCISCO

After a photograph by Taber

prohibiting Chinese immigration for a period of twenty years, on the ground that the presence of the Mongolians caused disorder in certain localities. This was the bill which President Arthur vetoed as contravening the treaty, he objecting, among much else, to the systems of passports and registration which the bill would impose upon resident Chinese. But the advocates of the exclusion policy were in earnest, wrought up by the growing hordes of Celestials pressing hither.

Only sixty-three thousand Chinese had been in the country in 1870; in 1880 there were one hundred and five thousand. Another bill was at once introduced, substituting ten for twenty years as the time of suspension, and it became a law in 1882. China sent a protest, which availed naught.

Interwoven with the Chinese agitation, as well as with

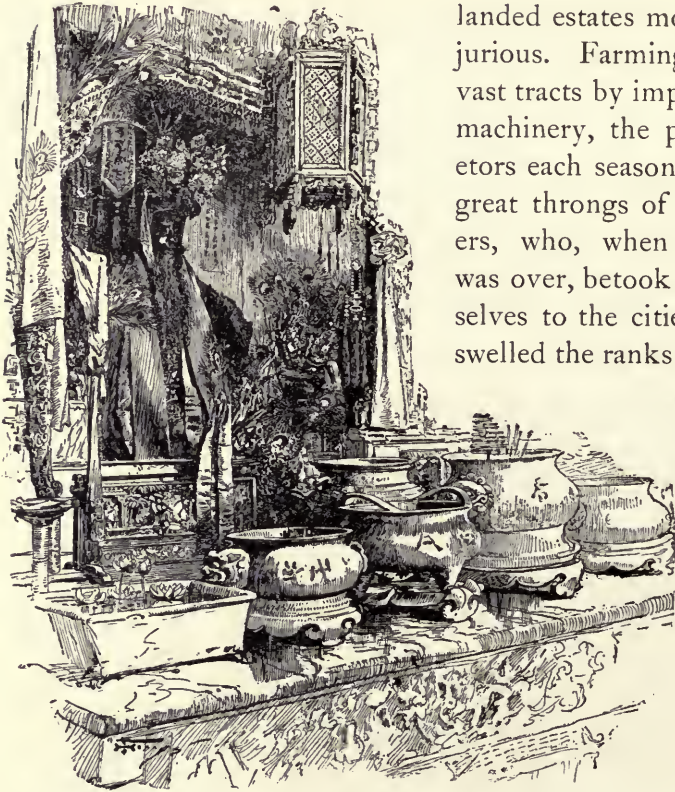
AFFAIRS IN CALIFORNIA

nearly all the national problems of that day and this, was the movement known as Kearneyism, which took form in California in 1877 and found expression in the State Constitution of 1879. His habits of mental unrest engendered by speculation and the gold fever, had marked California society since 1849. A tendency existed to appeal to extra-legal measures for peace and justice. The golden dream had faded. Although wages were higher in California than in most parts of the country, working people there showed much discontent. In no State had land grants been more lavish or the immense size of



A "MIXED FAMILY" IN THE HIGHBINDERS' QUARTER, "CHINATOWN"

From a photograph by Taber



GOD IN JOSS TEMPLE, "CHINATOWN," SAN FRANCISCO

After a photograph by Taber

landed estates more injurious. Farming their vast tracts by improved machinery, the proprietors each season hired great throngs of laborers, who, when work was over, betook themselves to the cities and swelled the ranks of the

unemployed. Worse yet, California was in the hands of a railroad monopoly which by threats or blandishments controlled nearly every State official. Politics were corrupt and political factions, with their selfish and distracting quarrels, were numerous. The politician was hated next to the "Nob" who owned him.

The immediate occasion of Kearneyism was the great railroad strike at the East in 1877. The California lines, having announced a reduction of wages, were threatened with a similar strike, but took alarm at the burning and fighting in Pittsburg and rescinded the notice. Nevertheless a mass-meeting was called to express sympathy with the Eastern strikers. It



THE MERCHANT CLASS—TYPES OF CHINESE ACCOUNTANTS

After a photograph by Taber

THE "NOBS" IN TERROR



AN ALLEY IN "CHINATOWN"
After a photograph by Taber

was held on July 23d. The new-rich grandees trembled. Authorities took precautions, but at the meeting no disorder occurred. During this and the two following evenings a number of Chinese wash-houses were destroyed and some persons killed. The violence was naturally ascribed to the working-men. A Committee of Public Safety was organized under William T. Coleman, President of the Vigilance Committee



*DINING ROOM OF A CHINESE RESTAURANT IN WASHINGTON STREET, SAN FRANCISCO
After photographs by Taber*

of 1856. The laboring men denied their alleged complicity with the lawlessness, and a number enlisted in Mr. Coleman's "pick-handle brigade," which patrolled the city for a few days. Among the pick-handle brigadiers was Denis Kearney, a man at once extreme in theories and language and singularly temperate in personal habits. Born in 1847, at Oakmount, Ireland, from eleven years of age to twenty-five he had followed the sea, but since 1872 had prospered as a drayman in San Francisco. He was short, well built, with a broad head, a light mustache, a quick but lowering blue eye, ready utterance and a pleasant voice. He was of nervous temperament, and had the bluster and domineering way of a sailor, withal possessing remarkable shrewdness, enterprise and initiative. For two years he had spent part of each Sunday at a lyceum for self-culture, where he had levelled denunciations at the laziness and



A SAND LOT MEETING IN SAN FRANCISCO

The Workingmen passing a Resolution by Acclamation

Composition of B. W. Clinedinst, with the assistance of photographs by Taber

KEARNEY AN AGITATOR

extravagance of the working-classes, at the opponents of Chinese immigration, and at anti-capitalists in general.

For some reason, whether from a change of heart, or on account of unlucky dabbling in stocks, or because rebuffed by Senator Sargent, Kearney determined to turn about and agitate against all that he had held dear. On September 12, 1877, a company of the unemployed in San Francisco assembled and organized "The Workingmen's Party of California." Its salient principles were the establishment of a State Bureau of Labor and Statistics and of a State Labor Commission, the legal regulation of the hours of labor, the abolition of poverty along with all land and moneyed monopoly, and the ejection of the Chinese. Kearney, conspicuous among the extremists, was chosen president. His advanced ideas were incorporated into the party's creed, as follows:

"We propose to wrest the government from the hands of the rich and place it in those of the people. We propose to rid the country of cheap Chinese labor. We propose to destroy land monopoly in our State. We propose to destroy the great money power of the rich by a system of taxation that will make great wealth impossible. We propose to provide decently for the poor and unfortunate, the weak, the helpless and especially the young, because the country is rich enough to do so, and religion, humanity and patriotism demand that we should do so. We propose to elect none but competent workingmen and their friends to any office. The rich have ruled us till they have ruined us. We will now take our own affairs into our own hands. The republic must and shall be preserved, and only workingmen will do it. Our shoddy aristocrats want an emperor and a standing army to shoot down the people. When we have 10,000 members



DENIS KEARNEY

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

we shall have the sympathy and support of 20,000 other workmen. The party will then wait upon all who employ Chinese and ask for their discharge, and it will mark as public enemies those who refuse to comply with their request. This party will exhaust all peaceable means of attaining its ends, but it will not be denied justice when it has power to enforce it. It will encourage no riot or outrage, but it will not volunteer to repress, or put down, or arrest or prosecute the hungry and impatient who manifest their hatred of the Chinamen by a crusade against John or those who employ him. Let those who raise the storm by their selfishness suppress it themselves. If they dare raise the devil, let them meet him face to face."

Soon began the memorable sand-lot meetings, made famous by the San Francisco *Chronicle*, which sent its best reporters to describe them. From his new eminence the agitator returned this favor by advising his hearers to boycott the *Morning Call* and subscribe for its rival, the *Chronicle*. His speeches were directed partly against the Chinese, but chiefly against the "thieving politicians" and "blood-sucking capitalists." At one gathering he suggested that every workman should get a gun, and that some judicious hanging of aristocrats was needed. The sand-lot audiences were largely composed of foreigners, Irishmen being the most numerous, but even the Germans caught the infection. The orator could cater to their prejudices with effect, as he did in an address before the German Club in March, 1878: "Pixley said to me that the narrow-faced Yankees in California would clean us out, but I just wish they would try it. I would drive them into the sea or die." On the other hand, in the Kearneyites' Thanksgiving day parade, appealing to the whole people, none but United States flags were carried and none but Union veterans carried them. The leader affected the integrity and stoicism of a Cato. As Cato concluded every oration of his with the impressive "*Carthago delenda est*," so Kearney intro-



Drawn by G. W. Peters

"THE CHINESE MUST GO!"

Denis Kearney Addressing the Workingmen on the night of October 20, on Nob Hill, San Francisco

KEARNEY'S MODERATION

duced each of his harangues with "The Chinese must go!" The contest against the Chinese, he said, would not be given up till there was blood enough in Chinatown to float their bodies to the bay. Still, on one occasion a poor Chinaman at the mercy of hoodlums owed his rescue to the Kearneyites alone.

Much as Kearney delighted in scaring the timid nabobs of San Francisco, he was careful to keep within the law. More than once, while himself breathing out threatenings and slaughter, he tactfully restrained his devotees from excesses. Shrewdly estimating the value of martyrdom, he once said: "If I don't get killed I will do more than any reformer in the world. But I hope I will be assassinated, for the success of the movement depends upon that." The horns of this dilemma crossed, but each pointed in a hopeful direction. The leader's yearning for persecution was gratified. On October 29th about two thousand workingmen collected at Nob Hill, where the railway magnates lived. Bonfires being lighted, Kearney launched his philippic. The "Nobs" heard the jeers at their expense, and looked out upon the lurid scene in alarm. They had Kearney and other leading spirits arrested on the charge of using incendiary language. The city government passed a sedition ordinance known as the Gibbs gag law, and the legislature enacted a ridiculously stringent riot act.

The two laws were still-born and harmless. The only effect of the arrests and of the new legislation was to give Kearney additional power. On his release from jail he was hailed as a martyr, crowned with flowers and drawn in triumph on his own dray. A Yorkshire shoemaker and evangelist named Wellock—"Parson Wellock" he was called—preached Kearneyism as a religion. He was tall, with a narrow head, high forehead and a full, short beard. At each Sunday sandlot assembly he used to read a text and expound its latter-day bearings. Speaking of the monopolists, he said: "These men who are perverting the ways of truth must be destroyed. In

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

the Bible the Lord is called a consuming fire. When he commands we must obey. What are we to do with these people that are starving our poor and degrading our wives, daughters, and sisters? And the Lord said unto Moses, 'Take all the heads off the people and hang them up before the Lord.' This is what we are commanded by the Supreme Being to do with all that dare to tread down honesty, virtue and truth."

Both parties began to court Kearney. Aspirants for office secretly visited him. Office-holders changed from hostility to servility. The railroad kings, if they failed to moderate his language, found ways to assuage his hatred. Hirelings of corporate interests joined the Kearneyites and assisted them to carry out their wishes. Even the better classes more and more attended his harangues, partly from curiosity, partly from sympathy, partly from disgust at the old parties. The enthusiastic compared him with Napoleon and Cæsar. The party of the sand lots, Kearney nominally its president, really its dictator, spread over and controlled the State. This result assured, "reform" needed only that a new State constitution should be adopted, properly safeguarding the people against monopolies and the Chinese. Agitation for a Constitutional Convention was at once begun and pushed till successful.

The very immensity of the new party's growth begot reaction. The monopolists intensely hated Kearney at the very moment when they most sought to use him. His chief strength lay in the city populace. The Grangers sympathized and in many measures co-operated with him, yet maintained a becoming independence. In the city, too, there was a rival labor organization, set on foot at that first mass-meeting held to express sympathy for the Pittsburg strikers. Though Kearney's braggadocio "took" wonderfully with the people, this body let slip no chance for denouncing the man's extreme notions and assumption. Numerous and active enemies were made by Kearney's inability to brook aught of opposition or rivalry. By a motion of his hand he swept out of existence



DENIS KEARNEY BEING DRAWN THROUGH THE STREETS OF SAN FRANCISCO AFTER HIS RELEASE FROM THE HOUSE OF CORRECTION

The procession passing the Lotta Fountain in Market Street

Painted by Howard Pyle from photographs by Taber and a description by Kearney himself

OPPOSITION TO KEARNEY



THE OLD CHRONICLE BUILDING IN SAN FRANCISCO
(It was here that Charles De Young was shot in 1880 by Isaac Kallach, Jr., son of the
Workingmen's Mayor)

After a photograph by Taber

the Central Committee of his party. He liked best his most fulsome eulogists, and selected lieutenants whom he could fling aside the instant they hampered or crossed him. Many so treated beset him afterward like fleas. The Order of Caucasians, a species of anti-Mongolian Ku-Klux, with headquarters at Sacramento, was opposed to Kearney. Many men of influence and apparent impartiality, notably Archbishop Alemany, criticised his incendiary speeches, alienating some of his supporters.

Democrats now felt that by "united action" the Constitutional Convention which the Kearneyites had succeeded in getting called might be saved from their control. Accordingly

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

a non-partisan ticket was started, which, notwithstanding some grumbling from the old "wheel-horses" of the two parties, received pretty hearty support. Despite all, by coalescing with the Grangers, the Kearneyites controlled the convention. The new California Constitution which resulted was an odd mixture of ignorance and good intentions. To hinder corruption in public office it reduced the power of the legislature almost to a shadow, and made the bribery of a legislator felony. To lighten taxation, particularly where it bore unduly upon the poor, the Constitution set a limit to State and local debts, taxed uncultivated land equally with cultivated land, made mortgage debts taxable where the mortgaged property lay, and authorized an income tax. However, for the benefit of the school fund, a poll tax was laid on every male inhabitant. Corporations were dealt with in a special article, which restricted them in many ways. Among other things it instituted a commission with extraordinary powers, enabling it to examine the books and accounts of transportation companies and to fix their rates for carriage. This commission, when placed in the hands of any party, uniformly violated pre-election pledges, and proceeded against the unanimous wish of Californians. Only the Commission of 1895 seemed to have taken some steps toward lowering freight rates.



ISAAC KALLOCH
Elected Mayor of San Francisco by
the Workingmen

After the adoption of the Constitution a more powerful reaction set in and Kearneyism soon became a thing of the past. The *Chronicle* abandoned Kearney and "exposed" him. He was called to the East in the interest of labor agitation, but had little popularity or success. He returned to San Francisco, but never again became a leader. The most pronounced result, or sequel, which the Kearney movement left behind was a fixed public opinion throughout California



PROCESSION WONG FONG—THE MOST REPRESENTATIVE PUBLIC CELEBRATION CUSTOMARY AMONG THE CHINESE IN SAN FRANCISCO

Painted by Thullstrup from photographs by Taber

FALL OF THE JAMES GANG

and all the Pacific States against any further immigration of the Chinese. The new California Constitution devoted to these people an entire article. In it they were cut off from employment by the State or by corporations doing business therein. "Asiatic coolieism" was prohibited as a form of human slavery. This sentiment toward the Celestials spread eastward, and, in spite of all opposition by interested capitalists and by disinterested philanthropists, determined the subsequent course of Chinese legislation in Congress itself.

During the years under survey Missouri as well as the Pacific States had to contend with aggravated lawlessness. When hardly a week passed without a train being "held up" somewhere in the State, Governor Crittenden was driven to the terrible expedient of using crime itself as a police power. In the spring of 1882, Jesse James, the noted desperado, was assassinated by former members of his gang, who then surrendered to the authorities and were lodged in jail—none too soon, as an angry populace, gathering in thousands, hotly beset the slayers. Slayers and slain had been Confederate guerrillas in the war. On the return of peace they became train-robbers as easily as privateers turn pirates. James, at any rate, had not been inspired by lust of gain, for in spite of robberies amounting to hundreds of thousands of dollars he died poor. He had been a church member, concerned for "his wayward brother" Frank's salvation. After his death his sect in Missouri repudiated him, while expressing strongest disapproval of the treachery used in his taking off. For nearly twenty years every effort to capture the fellow had proved futile. The nature of the country aided him, but not so much as the enthusiastic devotion of his neighbors.

This murderous chief, this ruthless man,
This head of a rebellious clan,

had made himself a hero. The *Sedalia Democrat* said: "It was his country. The graves of his kindred were there. He

refused to be banished from his birthright, and when he was hunted he turned savagely about and hunted his hunters. Would to God he were alive to-day to make a righteous butchery of a few more of them."

By thus fighting fire with fire, Governor Crittenden succeeded in dispersing three other desperado bands. Upon being arraigned the men-killers pleaded guilty and were sentenced to be hanged, but they were at once pardoned. The Governor's policy, however, was most unpopular. Infinite hate and scorn were visited upon the betrayers. James's wife and mother cursed them bitterly; Dick Little, chief traitor, being the object of their uttermost loathing. "If Timberlake or Craig (the county sheriff and his deputy) had killed my poor boy," cried the mother, "I would not say one word; but, O God! the treachery of Dick Little and those boys! Craig and Timberlake are noble men, and they have done too much for me. My poor boy who now lies there dead told me if they killed him not to say one word." Craig and Timberlake were pall-bearers at James's funeral. The Hannibal & St. Joseph Railroad extended courtesies to the bereaved widow and mother, who were on all hands treated as the heroines of the hour.

Close after President Garfield's funeral followed an event which for some days attracted the world's attention—the centennial celebration of Cornwallis's surrender at Yorktown, Va. The hamlet of Yorktown was seated on a sandy river-bank among the vestiges of the two sieges it had sustained, that of 1781 and that of 1861, the Confederate works thrown up in the last-named year not having completely erased the defences erected by Cornwallis. The Confederate fortifications were to be seen in 1881, as also some of McClellan's approaches. The site of Washington's headquarters, still known as "Washington's Lodge," was pointed out two and a half miles back from the river. The buildings were burned during the civil war, but the house had been rebuilt. The old Nelson House,

MOORE HOUSE AT YORKTOWN

gray, ivy-grown, massive, was standing ; also the West House, built by Governor Nelson for his daughter, Mrs. Major West, midway between the Nelson House and the Monument ; while a mile away was the Moore House, Cornwallis's quarters at the time of his surrender. Its exterior was tricked out with red, yellow and green paint, effects which, inside, æsthetic wall-paper and fine carpets strove to match.

The Moore House was, in a very true sense, the central spot of American History. It was historic sixty years before the Revolution, when it was Governor Spottswood's residence. In



THE NELSON HOUSE IN 1881
(Showing holes made in brick wall by cannon shot)

the "Temple," near by, was presented the relic of a still older strife, the tomb of Major William Gooch, who died in 1655. In the chimney of the Moore House was a cannon-ball hole, and in one of its corner rooms was still preserved the table whereon the articles of Cornwallis's surrender had been drawn. Its roof sheltered Lafayette and Rochambeau ; also Washington in the proudest moment of his life. It was in 1896 the residence of Mr. A. O. Mauck. Standing in the midst of Temple Farm, it commanded a beautiful view of Chesapeake

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

Bay, of Yorktown Monument and of quaint old Yorktown. Near by was a mill, built on the very foundations of the one where was fired the first shot in the Cornwallis siege. A shaft fifteen feet high, made of brick taken from the first court-house in York County, laid in German cement, has been erected by the Superintendent of the National Cemetery on the spot where Cornwallis's sword was delivered to General Lincoln. This shaft was dedicated on October 19, 1895, and placed in the care of the school children of our country to preserve.



THE WEST HOUSE AT YORKTOWN
(Showing the shot holes)

Once redeemed from the British and once from Confederate rule, Yorktown was now, for a few days, rescued from its own loneliness. There was some complaint that locality was not ignored and the anniversary celebrated where modern conveniences were at hand. Such were the dust and heat at and about the village on the first day of the *fête* that pilgrims admired Cornwallis's good sense in surrendering as quickly as decency allowed, that he might go elsewhere. The second day was twenty degrees colder, and dusters gave way to ulsters. Truly vast preparations had been originally planned, but so obvious were the discomforts which could not but attend a long sojourn at the place, that the programme was radically docked. The events that were left, however, amply repaid for their trouble all who saw them.

Arrangements had been making at Yorktown for a month,

YORKTOWN DURING THE FÊTE

during which time the sandbanks all about were in a stir, such as neither Cornwallis's nor Magruder's cannon-wheels had occasioned. When the day marking the anniversary of the Briton's surrender arrived, a score of great war-ships, with other craft of various sorts, lined the river up and down, while shanties and tents covered the landscape in all directions. Wagons, buggies and carriages by hundreds came and went, frequent

among them the two-wheeled family vehicle of the Virginia negro, attached by a rope harness to a scrawny "scalawag." Strains of martial music, the thunder of heavy guns, throngs of civilians and of soldiers, thieves and gamblers plying their art unmolested till a welcome detachment of Richmond police arrived—all conspired to waken the little place from the dead. To the credit of the Post-office Department, no hitch occurred when mails multiplied from three a week to two a day, and the daily delivery of letters mounted from fifty to five thousand.

The celebration began on October 18th, "Surrender Day." Troops had been pouring in all night and the influx in-



THE MEMORIAL MONUMENT
Corner-stone laid Oct. 19, 1881

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME



M. GLENNAN
*The Virginia Commissioner of the
Yorktown Centennial Cele-
bration*



R. C. WINTHROP

creased at dawn. Some had marched far and swiftly. Captain Sinclair's battery of the Third Artillery had covered the distance from Fort Hamilton, New York Harbor, to Yorktown, 470 miles, in twenty-one marching days. At ten o'clock the *Tallapoosa*, bearing the President and most of his Cabinet, came up the river, being saluted as she passed the batteries. At this notice "the yards of the ships of war were manned"—the account read quaintly after the lapse of but fourteen years. For ten minutes smoke-clouds covered the river and the boom of ponderous cannon quenched all other sounds. Behind the *Tallapoosa* were vessels bringing the Secretary of the Navy, the Secretary of War and General Sherman. Distinguished foreign guests came, too, descendants of de Grasse, de Rochambeau, de Lafayette, and von Steuben, the heroes

who had shared with Washington the glory of humbling England's pride a hundred years before. Each dignitary being saluted according to his rank, the deafening cannonade was kept up for a number of hours.

Wednesday, October 19th, was devoted to the ceremony of laying the corner-stone of the Yorktown Centennial Monument. Commemorative exercises formed the feature of Thursday. President Arthur delivered an address, the Marquis de Rochambeau responded in French, and Baron von Steuben in German, all three being loudly applauded. Hon. Robert C. Winthrop pronounced the oration of the day.

CLOSE OF THE YORKTOWN CELEBRATION

The presence of Steuben and Rochambeau, of Generals Sherman and Wade Hampton, of Hancock, the favorite and hero of the festival, and Fitzhugh Lee, hardly second to him in receipt of applause, naturally suggested the themes of concord and reunion. Among those who shook hands with President Arthur was the widow of President John Tyler. At the conclusion of these exercises all the troops passed in review before the President. It was the most brilliant military pageant seen since the war. Northern visitors noticed with pleasure that many of the Southern commands wore uniforms of blue. On Thursday evening fireworks were displayed. All the war vessels were illuminated. The steam corvette *Vandalia*, commanded by Captain (subsequently Rear-Admiral) Meade, so disposed her lights as to bring out the outlines of her hull and rigging with charming effect. The splendor was produced by the use of Chinese lanterns, which Captain Meade purchased for the occasion. The celebration ended on Friday with a naval review, embracing all the men-of-war in the harbor. A graceful and handsome deed, acknowledged by the British press, was the salute paid by the entire fleet to the Union



LAURENCEBURG, INDIANA, DURING THE FLOODS OF 1884

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THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME



SECOND STREET, CINCINNATI, LOOKING EAST

Jack hoisted at the foremast of each vessel.

Freshets in February, 1884, had induced an unprecedented rise in the Ohio River, submerging country and city along the banks. At Cincinnati houses were wrecked, lives lost, destitution and suffering the lot of thousands. To add to the horrors, the gas-works were under

water, and night whelmed the city in Cimmerian darkness. As the news spread, practical responses came from all quarters, in the shape of food and clothing, which steamers



THE GAS TANKS IN SECOND STREET, CINCINNATI

RIOT AND FLOOD IN CINCINNATI



*THE CINCINNATI RIOTS OF 1884
The Barricade in South Sycamore Street*

From a Photograph by Rembach & Greene

distributed up and down the swollen stream. Highest water was reached on February 14th, the highest ever recorded, the river at Cincinnati standing on that date at seventy-one feet and three-quarters of an inch.

Riot followed flood. In March two confessed murderers had come off with a conviction for mere manslaughter. As twenty other murderers were in prison, respectable citizens assembled to demand reform in murder trials. Noisy leaders of the mob element tried to capture the meeting, which was adjourned to prevent mischief. A young man rushing out shouted, "To the jail! Come on! Follow me and hang Berner." The door was burst open, but Berner had been smuggled to Columbus at the first alarm. Meantime the militia were secretly introduced through the same tunnel which afforded him exit. After a skirmish the rioters were driven out, leaving some of their number prisoners. Partly from chagrin, partly to secure the release of the captured leaders,

and partly to indulge their lawless humor, the hoodlums set the court-house on fire, robbing an armory and two gun-stores to provide themselves arms. Other shops were broken into and sacked. They fired volley after volley of musketry at the militia, and fiercely attacked barricades which these had erected against them. After repeated warnings retaliation was meted out with terrible effect. The disorders continued six days, when the law was so far vindicated that business could be resumed. The most authentic list put the killed in this riot at forty-five, the wounded at one hundred and thirty-eight.

CHAPTER XIV

MONROE'S DOCTRINE AND ARTHUR'S PRACTICE

UNCLE SAM IN AFRICA.—THE BRUSSELS CONFERENCE OF 1876.—CONGRESS OF 1877.—THE UNITED STATES REPRESENTED.—HENRY M. STANLEY.—HIS CAREER.—HIS FAME.—DARKEST AFRICA.—THE CONGO FREE STATE.—THE UNITED STATES HELPS IN ITS FORMATION.—SCRAMBLE FOR "A PIECE OF AFRICA."—ARTHUR'S POLICY CRITICISED.—BERLIN CONFERENCE OF 1884.—ITS OBJECTS.—ITS RESULTS.—DE LESSEPS AT PANAMA.—ORIGIN OF THE CLAYTON-BULWER TREATY.—ITS PROVISIONS.—ITS RESURRECTION IN 1880.—PRESIDENT HAYES'S ATTITUDE.—BLAINE'S CONTROVERSY WITH LORD GRANVILLE.—FRELINGHUYSEN'S CONTENTIONS.—GREAT BRITAIN'S POSITION.—BLAINE CRITICISED AT HOME.—DE LESSEPS'S FAILURE AT PANAMA.—EARLY PLANS FOR PIERCING THE ISTHMUS.—THE NICARAGUA CANAL SCHEME.—JOYS AND TROUBLES IN NICARAGUA.—CONGRESSMEN FAVOR UNITED STATES AID FOR THE ENTERPRISE.—DESCRIPTION OF THE PROPOSED CANAL.—DIFFICULTIES AND COST.—FEASIBILITY AND PROFITABLENESS.—OPPOSITION.—GROWING INTIMACY BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND SPANISH AMERICA.—THE COMMISSION OF 1884.—PANAMA CONGRESS OF 1825.—JOHN QUINCY ADAMS AND CLAY.—LATER EFFORTS AT A PAN-AMERICAN UNION.—TREPIDATION AT WALKER'S FILIBUSTERING EXPEDITIONS.—UNION MOVEMENTS IN 1864, 1877, 1880, 1881 AND 1888.—DAVID DAVIS PROPOSES A CENTRAL AND SOUTH AMERICAN RAILWAY.—FRELINGHUYSEN'S SUGGESTIONS.—THE CONGRESS OF 1889—90.—SCOPE OF ITS POSSIBLE DELIBERATIONS.—THE DELEGATES' "JUNKET" ACROSS THE CONTINENT.—DIFFICULTIES AND MISUNDERSTANDINGS.—THE RECIPROCITY IDEA.—OUTCOME MEAGRE.

IN 1884 occurred an event presaging a change in the time-honored foreign policy of the United States. Our diplomatic representatives took leading part in the Berlin Conference of that year, a conference which dealt with important questions touching the Dark Continent.

In September, 1876, Leopold II., King of the Belgians, had convened at his palace a conference of African travelers, to discuss the best means of opening equatorial Africa. Half a



HENRY M. STANLEY

year later a Congress was convoked at the same place, where appeared delegates from Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, the Netherlands, Spain, Switzerland and the United States, A committee of three, headed by the King, and including General Henry S. Sanford, of Florida, representing the English-speaking races, recommended the formation of an International African Association, to found "hospitable and scientific" stations in Africa under the association's own flag. A chain of

such stations was formed from Zanzibar to Lake Tanganyika.

The royal enterprise was advertised to the world mainly by the labors of Henry M. Stanley. Born in 1841, near Denbigh, Wales, where he was known as John Rowlands, from three years of age to thirteen the lad lived and was schooled inside St. Asaph Poor-house. He later ascribed all his success to the education here received. When sixteen he shipped for New Orleans, where he found a foster-father in a trader named Stanley, whose name he assumed and henceforth bore. At the outbreak of the civil war his energy took a military turn, and the man who was later revered by the Congo blacks as "Father and Mother of the Country," enlisted on the pro-slavery side. He was taken prisoner, escaped at night by swimming a river amid a storm of bullets, and made for Wales, but not to stay. Returning, he enlisted once more, this time in the Federal navy, acting presently as ensign on the flagship *Ticonderoga*. Peace restored, the path of a newspaper correspondent in wild and distant lands attracted the bold fellow; and we find him by turns in Spain, Turkey and Syria.

Stanley's fame was not sealed, however, till James Gordon Bennett, of the New York *Herald*, despatched him to the

STANLEY TO FIND LIVINGSTONE

Dark Continent to "find Livingstone." More explicit directions would have been impossible at the time, as well as needless and insufferable for Stanley. The new explorer found the old one, who refused to return to civilization before completing his explorations. Livingstone died in Africa, his work still incomplete, but it was taken up and astonishingly supplemented by his strong successor. The Queen sent Stanley a gold snuff-box set with diamonds. France decorated him with the cross of the Legion of Honor. Bismarck entertained him. Leopold II. treated him as if he had been a prince of the blood. The poor-house boy became the most famous man on earth.

After Stanley had discovered the Upper Congo in 1877, "The *Comité d'Etudes* of the Upper Congo," a branch, or

Captain Nelson

Lieut. W. G. Stairs, R. E.



Surgeon T. M. Parke, A.M.D.

Henry M. Stanley

A. J. Mounteney-Jephson

MR. STANLEY AND HIS OFFICERS

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

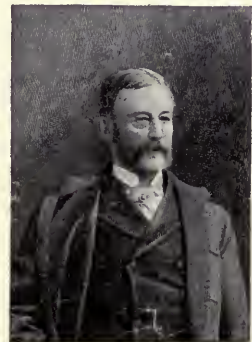
perhaps a partner, of the International African Association, devoted its labors to that region. In 1884 General Sanford wrote: "This work has developed into extraordinary proportions and has had for practical result the opening up to civilizing influence and to the world's traffic this vast, populous, and fertile region, securing certain destruction to the slave trade wherever its flag floats." The flag—blue, with a golden star in the centre—was as yet unrecognized. The United States, so prominent in the inception of the enterprise, was the first to recognize it. In his annual message for 1883, President Arthur called attention to the work of the association, "of which a citizen of the United States was the chief executive officer." "Large tracts of territory," he said, "have been ceded to the association by native chiefs, roads have been opened, steamboats placed on the river, and the *nuclei* of States established at twenty-two stations under the flag, which offers freedom to commerce and prohibits the slave trade. . . The United States cannot be indifferent to this work nor to the interest of their citizens involved in it. It may become advisable for us to co-operate with other commercial powers in promoting the rights of trade and residence in the Congo valley, free from the interference or political control of any one nation."

The succeeding April the Secretary of State found himself authorized to proclaim "that in accordance with the traditional policy of the United States, which enjoins their careful attention to the commercial interests of American citizens, avoiding at the same time all interference in the controversies engaged in between other powers or the conclusion of alliances with foreign nations, the Government of the United States declared its sympathy with and approbation of the humane and noble object of the International Association of the Congo, acting in the interest of the Free State established in that region, and commanded all officers of the United States, either on land or sea, to recognize the flag of the International Association as that of a friendly government."

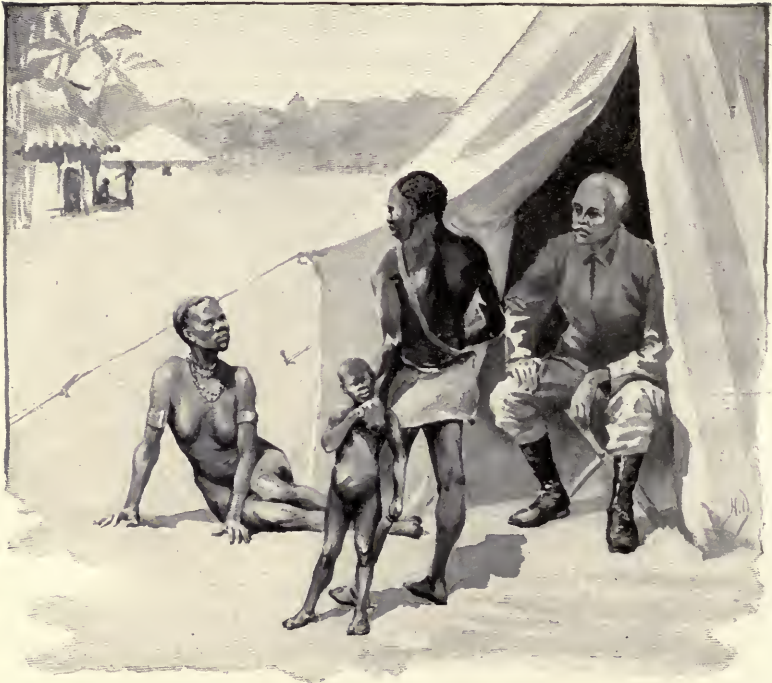
AMERICA AND THE BERLIN CONFERENCE

This step was much criticised abroad. The scramble for "a piece of Africa" had begun, and the association, which, unrecognized, might be a cat's paw, once recognized became a rival. France and Portugal, each of whom had her claim (one very ancient, the other just laid, but both much cackled about) to lands occupied by the association, were especially nettled. A French paper petulantly dubbed Uncle Sam the new State's "godfather." Had the claims mentioned been fully conceded the new State would have been left without sea-coast. The adjustment gave to the new-flag nation a coast frontage of from thirty to forty miles north from the Congo estuary, as well as a vast empire of back country. The guarded recognition by the United States at this juncture was, as Stanley said, "the birth unto new life of the association, seriously menaced as its existence was by opposing interests and ambitions." More vital ends than these touching the African continent waited to be attained, appealing to "the commercial interests of American citizens," and to their "sympathy" and "approbation." Besides, Americans had founded Liberia, American missionaries were not few in Africa, a wealthy American journalist had furnished the means for rescuing Dr. Livingstone and a famous American explorer performed the task. All these facts aroused public interest here and led to our participation in the Berlin Conference.

This step was as fiercely criticised at home as our recognition of the blue flag had been abroad. The timid shrieked appeal to the Monroe Doctrine. Our commercial interests in Africa, it was said, were small, even *in posse*. Considered as *disinterested*, the action was denounced as meddling. We should regret it, critics said, when the Nicaragua controversy reached an acute phase. The



JOHN A. KASSON
The Representative of the United States at the Berlin Conference



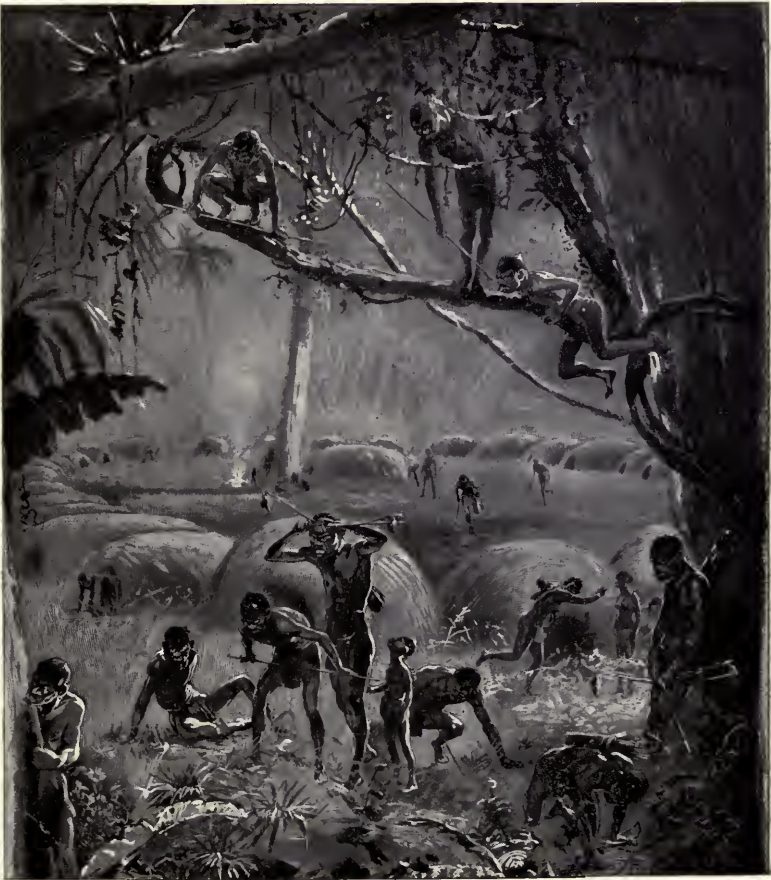
A Pigmy Family in front of Stanley's Tent

correspondent of the *London News* considered the conspicuous part taken by our delegates in the conference an intimation that this country was henceforth to be more active in foreign affairs.

The Conference assembled in November, 1884. It was formally opened by Prince Bismarck, who stated its main objects to be: 1. To secure free navigation and trade on the River Congo. 2. To secure free navigation of the River Niger. 3. To determine the formalities to be in future observed for the valid annexation of territory on the African continent. The neutralization of the Congo and Niger, an American proposition put forward by our delegate, Mr. Kasson, was attained in part, but not perfectly, owing to the opposition of France. The treaty powers promised, in case of war by or against a possessor of Congo land, to lend their good

PURPOSES OF THE BERLIN CONFERENCE

offices to induce both belligerents to keep hands off from the free trade belt, which included much French and Portuguese as well as other territory. In the event of disagreement touching the free trade belt, the powers undertook to resort to mediation before appealing to arms, and reserved the option of proceeding by arbitration. The motion to restrict the sale of liquor in the Congo basin, though introduced by Italy, was also of American origin. It was bitterly assailed by Germany and Holland, but was partly realized afterward when measures were adopted to prevent the introduction of liquor into tracts



A Pigmy Village Discovered by Stanley in the Great African Forest

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

yet uninfected, or where the Mohammedan religion forbade its use. The United States, with England, joined the enlightened King of the Belgians in securing provisions for the preservation and amelioration of native races, the suppression of slavery and the slave-trade, and the encouragement of all religious, scientific and charitable enterprises, with perfect religious liberty for white and black. Arrangements were made to include the neutralized strip in the Postal Union.

Mr. N. P. Tisdell, appointed by the United States Government to report upon its advantages for American trade, was unfavorably impressed with the country and the character of the natives. Yet subsequent events justified Stanley's asser-



One of Stanley's Stockaded Camps

tion that the course of the United States toward the new sovereignty was "well worthy of the great republic." The aborigines no longer dreaded the merciless Arab slave-raider, for his power was broken. Cannibals who in 1877 assailed

ORIGIN OF THE CLAYTON-BULWER TREATY

Stanley with flights of poisoned arrows soon enlisted in the little standing army of the Free State. The sale of liquor, arms and gunpowder was restricted. Commerce more than doubled the proportions it had when the Conference rose. A railroad around Livingstone Falls was begun and part of it speedily in operation. It is to be said that rumors, for the time impossible either to verify or to refute, reached the press, of outrages upon natives at the hands of Belgian officials, grosser than those which Burke imputed to Warren Hastings.

While the Congo episode was broadening American ideas of the Monroe doctrine, events in Central America led to the emphatic reassertion of that doctrine. M. de Lesseps's ill-starred attempt to ditch the Isthmus of Panama was begun in 1881. The prospect of its success raised anew questions of neutrality and control over land or water routes joining the oceans. During President Taylor's administration the United States had requested Great Britain to withdraw her pretensions to the Mosquito Coast, that Nicaragua and ourselves might join to construct a canal from there to the Pacific. Great Britain declined, but signified her consent to a treaty admitting her to a share in the protection of the proposed canal. The Clayton-Bulwer Treaty resulted, having in view, so far as the United States was concerned, the encouragement of a canal enterprise under the so-called "Hise" grant made us by Nicaragua. The treaty declared that neither government should "ever obtain or maintain for itself any exclusive control over the said ship-canal," or "occupy, or fortify, or colonize, or assume or exercise any dominion over Nicaragua, Costa Rica, the Mosquito Coast or any part of Central America," the last provision, however, not to apply to the British settlement at Belize. The governments further agreed to "facilitate the construction of the said canal by every means in their power," to protect it and to guarantee its neutrality. The eighth article of the treaty extended the agreement to

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

any other practicable communications, whether by canal or railway, across the isthmus.

The projected canal was never begun, and interest in the subject subsided until after the American Civil War. It was revived by the attempt of France to join us, perhaps with other nations, in guaranteeing the neutrality of the new isthmus route which de Lesseps was designing. On March 8, 1880, in a special message, President Hayes said: "The United States cannot consent to the surrender of control (over an inter-oceanic canal) to any European power or to any combination of European powers." Hayes evidently assumed that the British guarantee mentioned in the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty had relation solely to the schemes in mind at that date. He continued: "An inter-oceanic canal across the American isthmus will be a great ocean thoroughfare between our Atlantic and our Pacific shores and virtually a part of the coast line of the United States. No other great power would under similar circumstances fail to assert a rightful control over a work so closely and vitally affecting its interest and welfare." Before the close of the Hayes administration a treaty permitting such control was negotiated with Colombia, but that republic, owing to French influence or finding the treaty distasteful, declined to ratify it.

Secretary Blaine, under Garfield, maintained the same position which his predecessor had assumed. The United States, having guaranteed the neutrality of any route which might be opened across the isthmus, would brook no participation of European nations in this office. The London press cried out at the danger of entrusting the neutrality of one of the greatest commercial routes in the world to a single very strong power and a single very weak one. The American statesmen in time to come could say: "The governments of the two republics are alone parties to the treaty. What they have made they can tear up. The neutrality of the canal is for the time suspended." Mr. Blaine proposed certain modifications

VIEWS OF BLAINE AND FRELINGHUYSEN

of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty, made, as it was, under extraordinary and exceptional conditions, and operating, as it would in case of war, to place the canal in the hands of England's navy. He said: "As England insists, by the might of her power, that her enemies in war shall strike her Indian possessions only by doubling the Cape of Good Hope, so the United States will equally insist that the canal shall be reserved for ourselves, while our enemies, if we shall ever be so unfortunate as to have any, shall be remanded to the voyage around Cape Horn."

In declining Blaine's proposition to modify the treaty Lord Granville pointed out the great interest of his country and of the whole civilized world in an unobstructed passage from the Atlantic to the Pacific. He painted "the melancholy spectacle" of "competition among the nations in the construction of fortifications to obtain the command over the canal and its approaches," a consequence apprehended (in other words threatened) by Her Majesty's government, should the United States persist in demanding supreme authority over the canal.

Under Mr. Frelinghuysen, President Arthur's Secretary of State, the controversy assumed a tenor more legal and less journalistic. The Clayton-Bulwer Treaty Frelinghuysen thought certainly voidable at our option. It had applied only to inter-oceanic ways definitely contemplated or in prospect in 1850, especially to a canal under the grant of 1849 from Nicaragua, a grant which the United States, "poor in money and floating capital," was unable by herself to make effective. In consideration of the speedy construction of the canal and of Great Britain's withdrawal from adjoining soil, our government had "consented to waive the exclusive and valuable rights which had been given to them, consented to agree with Great Britain that they would not occupy, fortify, colonize or assume dominion over any part of Central America, and consented to admit Her Majesty's government at some future day

to a share in the protection which they have exercised over the Isthmus of Panama." But, through Great Britain's fault alone, the proposed canal had never been constructed, while the tolerated mahogany-cutting settlement at Belize had been, in contravention of the treaty, erected into a veritable colony.

Under an international guarantee of neutrality, Mr. Frelinghuysen argued, a canal across the isthmus "would affect this republic in its trade and commerce; expose our western coast to attack; destroy our isolation; oblige us to improve our defences and increase our navy; and possibly compel us, contrary to our traditions, to take an active interest in the affairs of European nations." On the other hand, the political interest of this country as sole guarantor would not necessarily conflict with the material interests of other nations, to whose free use the canal would still be open. International agreements of the kind proposed by Lord Granville our Secretary declared in peace useless, in times of dissension unenforceable.

The discussion was, for the time, closed at the end of 1882, when the British Secretary announced England's conclusions as follows: "The meaning and effect of article VIII" (as widening the scope of the treaty and establishing a general principle) "are not open to any doubt; the British Government has committed no act in relation to British Honduras or otherwise which can invalidate that treaty and justify the United States in denouncing it; and no necessity exists for removing any of the provisions of that treaty."

Many pronounced our opening of this question unwise, a foolish manifestation of a "jingo" policy. Mr. Blaine's spirited manner in the discussion was particularly reprehended. The criticism was unjust. The imbroglio was not of Mr. Blaine's creation, but came to him with the State portfolio from Secretary Evarts, upon whom it had been thrust by the action of Colombia, incited by France. Mr. Blaine's despatches upon the subject, perhaps less able than those of

THE FRENCH FAIL AT PANAMA

Evarts or those of Frelinghuysen, and almost dangerously bold in tone, yet took the only ground which a patriotic American Secretary of State could have assumed. Had Mr. Blaine been as reckless as many thought him, he would have moved to denounce the treaty forthwith and risk the consequences; but the time had not come for that.

Though international control in the isthmus made no headway, capital for Panama was lavishly provided, not by rich Frenchmen, but by the middle classes, who would have grudged their savings had not the enterprise been for the glory of France. The French press grew more and more sanguine. Little by little, reluctantly acknowledging the task greater than expected, M. de Lesseps kept calling for new support, and at some rate or other kept getting it. He continued to color the Panama horizon a roseate hue, but it was sunset and not sunrise. At the end of 1888 night fell upon the hopes of his dupes, while day broke upon their senses. Panama was fatally malarial; the cost of excavation was greater than supposed; the total amount of it not far from twice as large. The great cut through Culebra



FERDINAND DE LESSEPS

Pass was said to have unsettled the very mountain and to have caused it to tilt toward the canal. A dam more than a mile long to restrain the Chagres in flood time was started, but abandoned. Gross mismanagement marked every turn. Interest was paid out of capital stock. Locomotives ordered from Belgium were of the wrong gauge and could be seen rusting by the railway tracks. Worst was the unparalleled corruption resorted to by the desperate directors to keep the facts from publicity, endeavors which utterly failed. The populace of Paris were furious at the cumulative revelations. Over a

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

hundred members of the national Legislature were smirched, five ex-ministers being among those arrested. The chief culprits, including M. de Lesseps himself, were given heavy sentences; the rest were acquitted. In Panama they knew little of all this, but still lamented the departure of "canal times" as they contemplated the gash which not quite cut their isthmus.

So early as the middle of the sixteenth century a Portuguese navigator projected four possible routes for an inter-oceanic canal on the western hemisphere, at Darien, Panama, Nicaragua, and Tehuantepec. In 1779 Lord Nelson seized the mouth of the San Juan as preliminary to the control of the waterway. In 1823 the President of Nicaragua invited the attention of the United States to the possibilities of this route, and renewed negotiations led in 1849 to the formation of a company in this interest, in which Commodore Vanderbilt was a stockholder. The doings of filibuster Walker put an end to that plan. Several surveys made after the war indicated that, should a lock canal be contemplated, the Nicaragua route was better than any other. Preferring a tide-water enterprise like the Suez Canal however, the enthusiast de Lesseps pursued the Panama chimera. The failure of any tide-water scheme being probable, the Nicaragua proposal reappeared as a rival to the Panama project.

Treaty arrangements initiated in 1884 between the United States and the Nicaraguan Republic looking toward an inter-oceanic canal, failed of consummation, as President Cleveland, taking office in 1885 and dissenting from the opinion of his predecessor, feared that such a scheme would lead to more embarrassments than benefits. In 1887 Nicaragua and Costa Rica granted to a private association of United States citizens the right, for themselves or their assigns, to build a trans-Nicaraguan canal. In 1889 "The Maritime Canal Company of Nicaragua" succeeded to these rights agreeing to expend \$2,000,000 the first year and to complete the canal

“CANAL TIMES” IN NICARAGUA



Machine Shop and Railroad Camp Number 1, showing one of the Dredges at Work on the Nicaragua Canal

by 1900, though it, in fact, went little further than to make preliminary surveys and estimates.

In 1891 a construction company, of which Hon. Warner Miller, of New York, was president, undertook the building operations. In the same year an attempt was made, without success, to get the United States to guarantee \$100,000,000 of the company's bonds. "Canal times" in Nicaragua made the little republic tingle with speculative fever. The government revelled in extravagance and waste, but was in the midst of its debaucheries cut off by a revolution, or rather by a complicated series of domestic and foreign troubles, that for the time smothered peaceful enterprise. In 1896 a commission of experts appointed by our Government made a report discouraging to the hopes of the promoters, spite of which the bill for lending the Government credit to the enterprise mustered numerous and influential supporters in both Houses of our Congress.

At the Caribbean port a breakwater was to be built and the harbor deepened. The length of the proposed route was about 170 miles. For 121.1 miles ships were to pass through the lake and through rivers, for 21.5 through dammed basins, for 27 through channels excavated at the eastern and

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western divides. From Greytown westward to the foot hills a sea-level canal 9.25 miles long was to be maintained. Thence three locks about 650 feet long and 65 feet wide would advance the vessel a mile or two and raise it 106 feet. Three to five miles beyond, the eastern divide loomed up, requiring amputation, the average depth to be 141 feet, the length 2.9 miles. Here the San Francisco and Machado were to carry the vessel 12 miles, entering the San Juan above a huge dam. This river leads to Lake Nicaragua, 64.5 miles farther on, through which the ship's path would extend for a distance of 56.5 miles. The levels here were to be raised four feet. The western divide must be channelled for 11.2 miles; beyond for 5.5 miles a basin would be formed by penning the water in natural valleys. The descent thence to tide-water was meant to be accomplished by three locks, the last a tidal lock a mile and a half from the ocean. Finally,



THE CLEARING FOR THE NICARAGUA CANAL

Looking West from Camp Daly across Laguna Benard

DESCRIPTION OF PROPOSED CANAL



A Giant Silk-cotton Tree in the line of the Canal Clearing

a harbor must be made on the Pacific. The minimum depth of the canal was to be 30 feet; the width sufficient, except at the divides, for two ships to pass each other.

No one doubted that the cost of construction must be large, perhaps exceeding careful

estimates. Twenty-seven miles, or 10,000,000 cubic yards, of excavation were required, also 21.5 miles of basins, constructed by means of enormous dams. A shoal fourteen miles long on the east of Nicaragua Lake would have to be dredged and kept clear. Geologists said that basaltic lavas predominated underneath this as well as under the Panama route. Dams were required to cross the San Juan and the Tola, each nearly 2,000 feet long by 70 high, and one 3.25 miles long and 60 feet high to cross the San Carlos.

That, after all, a canal upon this route could be created and operated seemed beyond question. That it would be politically valuable and its operation profitable from a business point of view also appeared quite clear. In an address to the public the Canal Company said: "The nation that controls this canal under terms of amity with Nicaragua will here find rest and refreshment for its fleets and a *point d'appui* from which either ocean may readily be reached in case of need."

According to the Statesman's Year Book, the Panama Railroad had, in 1885, £17,000,000 worth of traffic. The Canal Company estimated the cargoes which, had it been in

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Engineer Camp, of the Nicaragua Railway on the West Side

existence, would have sought their canal, at 2,671,886 tons in 1879, at 4,507,044 in 1887, and at 7,616,904 in 1895. Reviewing the above figures, Mr. G. E. Church, who found the actual traffic of the Suez Canal to be but 52 per cent. of the possible, calculated the probable, as distinguished from the possible, number of ships which would have used the Nicaragua Canal, and thought that in 1880 it would have borne 1,625,000 tons of freight, valued at £32,136,000. Crediting the Nicaragua Canal with every vessel that might by its means have made a saving of distance, 2,818 ships would, in 1880, have passed through it, carrying 2,938,386 tons of cargo. According to an article in the *Saturday Review* of March 16, 1895, the probable yearly traffic had been estimated as high as 8,122,093 tons, but the writer himself deemed 3,500,000 tons a more likely figure.

Notwithstanding its political importance and its great financial promise, the undertaking progressed but slowly. Against it was on all occasions manifested in Congress and in the press the opposition of the transcontinental railways. The necessity of increasing the navy should the canal be built and placed under our guaranty of neutrality was also powerfully

UNION OF THE AMERICAS

urged. Possible, or, as was alleged, certain complications with foreign powers formed a giant objection with many. A few, perhaps, gave a pro-British interpretation to the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty.

Discussion upon the great canal scheme was by no means the sole indication that our relations with our southern neighbors tended to grow closer. In 1884 Congress provided for, and the President appointed, a commission of three to "ascertain the best modes of securing more intimate international and commercial relations between the United States and the several countries of Central and South America." After conferring with leading merchants and manufacturers in this country, and making an extensive tour of Latin America, the Commissioners in 1884-85 recommended an international American conference to promote commercial intercourse and to prepare some plan of arbitration for controversies between the states of the American continents.

The idea of such a congress was not new. Bolivar conceived it before 1820. The threatening Holy Alliance, or "Holy League," as John Quincy Adams called it, caused the young Spanish-American republics in 1826 to huddle together in a congress at Panama. President John Quincy Adams and Clay, his Secretary of State, wished our Government to be represented there; but delays by the slave-power, morbidly sensitive in dealing with countries which had emancipated their slaves so early as 1813, made the Administration's efforts abortive. It is worthy of notice that reciprocity, as it is now called, was one of the subjects which President Adams suggested for discussion at this Panama convocation. That congress came to nothing. Vain, also, were Mexico's sedulous efforts in 1831, 1838, 1839 and 1840 to create a congress of Spanish America. When in 1847 Mexico's fears of North American aggression were realized, Bolivia, Chile, Ecuador, New Granada and Peru met in Lima, allowing other American republics to join them, and going so far as to invite the United States. In 1856, again,

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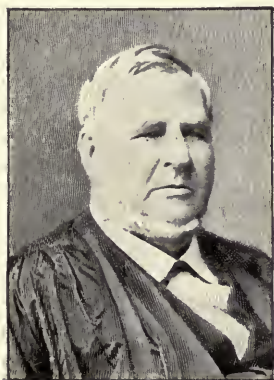
Walker's filibustering frightened Peru, Chile and Equador into signing a treaty of confederation and endeavoring to get other adherents, while anxious conferences were held among Spanish-American ministers in Washington. In 1862 Costa Rica, communicating with Colombia, doubtless voiced the prevalent South American impression "that the cessation of the Vandalic filibustering expedition of 1855 and of the following ones till 1860 was due to intervention, although tardily carried into effect, on the part of Europe." This was a curious commentary on the Monroe Doctrine. The despatch added: "If our republics could have the guaranty that they have nothing to fear from the United States of North America, it is indubitable that no other nation could be more useful and favorable to us. Under the shelter of her powerful eagles, under the influence of her wise institutions and under the spur of her astonishing progress our newly born nationalities would receive the impulse which they now need, and would be permitted to march with firm step, without experiencing the troubles and difficulties with which they have had to struggle. . . A new compact might be draughted by which the United States of North America should bind themselves solemnly to respect and cause others to respect the independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of the sister republics of this continent; not to annex to their territory, either by purchase or by any other means, any part of the territory of the said republics; not to allow filibustering expeditions to be fitted up against the said nations, or to permit the rights of the latter to be in any way abridged or ignored. Resting upon a treaty of this kind, our republics would admit . . . the idea of an intimate alliance with the North American people."

In 1864 Peru bade the Spanish nations to another conference, the United States not being invited because, as Peru alleged, "their policy was adverse to all kinds of alliances, and because the natural preponderance which a first-class power, as they are, has to exercise in the deliberations might embarrass

A RAILROAD TO CAPE HORN

the action of the congress." In 1880 a congress proposed for the next year to secure the adoption of arbitration on this hemisphere, was prevented by the breaking out of war between Chile and Peru and Bolivia, Mexico, also, about the same time, having trouble with Guatemala. A similar proposition on the part of the United States in 1881, for November, 1882, came to naught, owing to the continuance of the same hostilities. In 1877 and in 1888 occurred congresses of Spanish-American jurists to amend the international law of the South American Continent.

In 1880 there began in the United States a series of steps which in course of time led to the Pan-American Conference of 1889 and 1890. In 1880 Senator David Davis projected the preliminaries for an immense international line of railroads running at the foot of the great mountain chain through Mexico, Central America and South America, with branches to the main Pacific seaports. Bills of the same tenor were subsequently introduced by Senators Morgan, Sherman and others. There were also propositions for special commissioners to visit Central and South America. At the first session of the Forty-eighth Congress a joint resolution was introduced requesting the President to invite the co-operation of American governments in securing the establishment of an American customs-union.



DAVID DAVIS

Instead of immediate steps toward an international conference to promote commerce and peace, which were contemplated by Congress, Secretary Frelinghuysen recommended a commission to visit Central and South America, suggested a series of reciprocity treaties as the natural mode of developing our commerce with Latin America, and intimated that "it would be advantageous and probably practicable to agree

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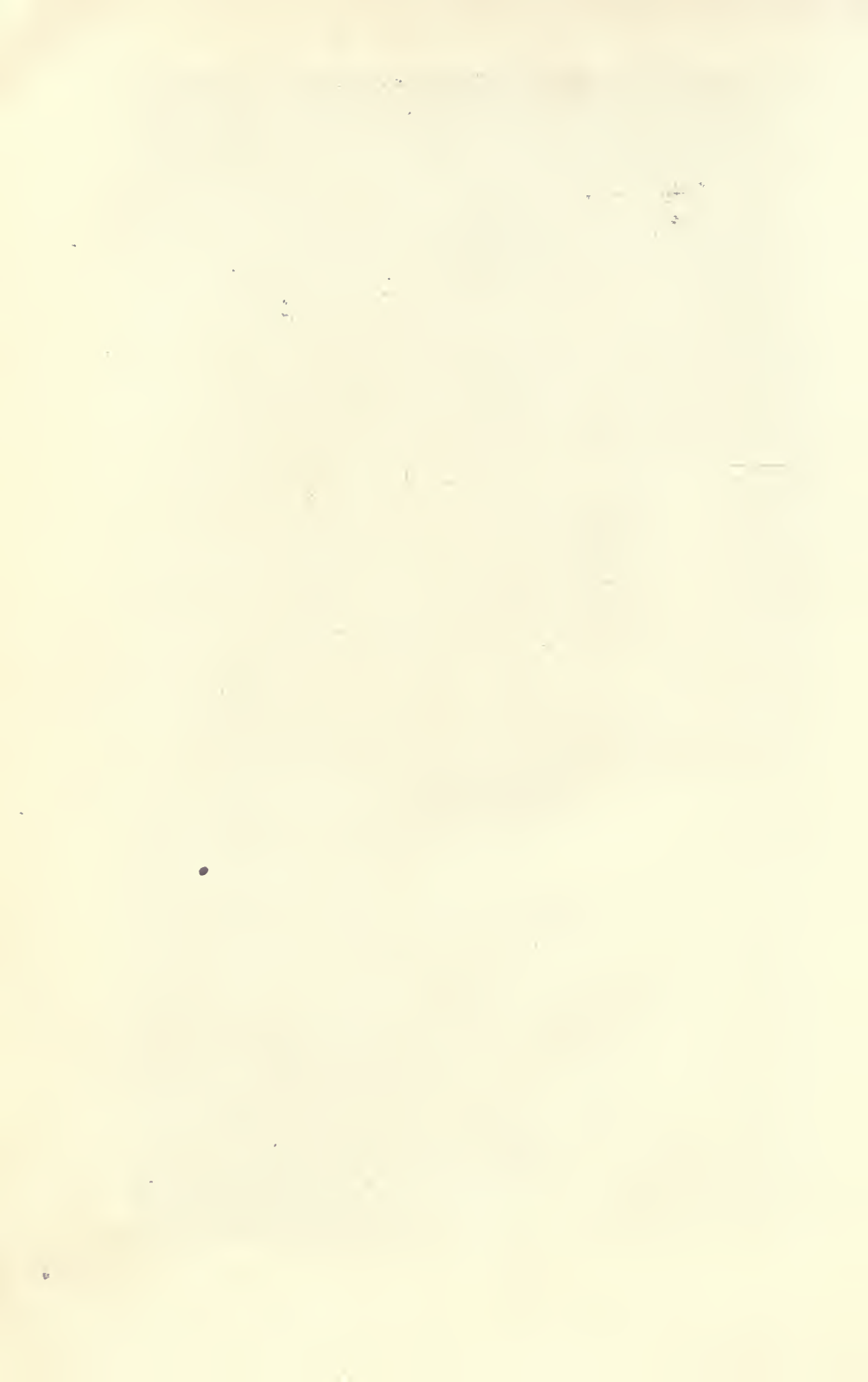
upon a common silver coin equal in value, say, to our gold dollar, or to some other appropriate standard, which, under proper regulations as to coinage, etc., should be current in all the countries of this continent." Renewed efforts in these various directions resulted in adopting the recommendation of the Commission, and a conference was invited. The act authorizing it permitted in it the discussion of measures (1) for the prosperity of the several states, (2) for an American customs-union, (3) for regular and frequent communication, (4) for a uniform system of customs regulations, (5) for a uniform system of weights and measures, patents, copyrights, trade-marks and extradition, (6) for the adoption of a common silver coin, and (7) for arbitration. The programme also allowed some canvass of miscellaneous subjects.

Before the organization of the Conference, the delegates, starting on October 3, 1889, were carried by rail on a trip nearly 6,000 miles long, visiting forty-one cities, from Boston to St. Louis and back, and inspecting the principal iron and steel manufactories of Pennsylvania. Elaborate receptions were accorded them everywhere. In two great factory towns they were greeted by brass bands made up from among the operatives. At one place a natural-gas well was fired for their edification, and its hues made to change by the ingenious injection of chemicals. This well-meant entertainment, besides being—such the Spanish-American temperament—a hardship to the delegates, seemed to some of them a piece of ostentatious braggadocio, precisely the assumption of superiority by the United States which they had come prepared to find. Early in the progress, Senor Quintana, of the Argentine delegation, disengaged himself from the other gentlemen and returned to Washington.

A variety of circumstances helped ruffle the serenity of the proceedings. The difference between our Spanish-American guests and ourselves, in language, in blood, and in ideas of etiquette, caused misunderstandings. An interpreter was



THE SPANISH-AMERICAN DELEGATES TO THE PAN-AMERICAN CONFERENCE
From a Photograph by Ryder, at Cleveland, Ohio



MISUNDERSTANDINGS IN THE CONFERENCE



The House in Washington where the Pan-American Conference Held its Meetings

required, as only one of the United States delegates, Mr. Flint, spoke Spanish, and only one other, Mr. Trescot, read it, while several Latin-American members did not know English. The contrast between the Anglo-Saxon and the Spanish procedure usual in such assemblages was vast, occasioning unpleasant feelings which could be reconciled only by yielding to the South American preference. Reciprocity was among the aims of the Congress. Argentina suggested reciprocity in 1875 and again at this Conference. But a United States reciprocity treaty with Mexico had fallen through in 1883, which led delegates to doubt whether the United States earnestly desired reciprocity. This distrust was unfortunately increased by the McKinley Tariff Bill, then in its earlier stages, before its excellent reciprocity provisions had been attached.

Lack of harmony was not wholly due to jealousy or fear of the United States. Chile wished the Conference confined to commercial and economic instead of political questions. Because of an unratified reciprocity treaty with her, San Domingo declined to send delegates. Hawaii, invited late, could not accept

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in time to take part in the deliberations. Among the states represented the smaller were, as a rule, more effusive than the larger in responding to the invitation. The guest-states, too, had their mutual jealousies. Guatemala was distrustful of Mexico. Bolivia and Peru tended to favor Argentina, as against victorious Chile. The five Central American States were at odds over the terms of a suggested alliance among themselves, while Nicaragua and Costa Rica had the proposed canal for an additional bone of contention.

Though not a delegate, Secretary Blaine was elected president of the Conference. He had desired the earlier conference, proposed for 1882, to confine its attention to the subject of arbitration, and he was particularly emphatic now in urging the same. Chile did not favor the idea; Mexico and Argentina only in a restricted sphere. A formal treaty was signed by most of the delegates, but it came to nothing. The most permanent concrete result of the Conference was the Bureau of American Republics, maintained at Washington, to disseminate information regarding the Latin-race countries on this side of the Atlantic.

CHAPTER XV

“FARTHEST NORTH”

THE JEANNETTE EXPEDITION.—ITS OFFICERS.—ITS PLAN.—THE START.—SUSPENSE AND SEARCH.—RUMORS.—TIDINGS AT LAST.—COURSE AND FATE OF THE EXPEDITION.—MELVILLE FINDS NINDEMAN AND NOROS.—DELONG'S END.—HIS JOURNAL.—NEW POLAR RESEARCH.—THE GREELY EXPEDITION.—THE PROTEUS'S PASSAGE OUT.—THE NEPTUNE'S EFFORT AT RELIEF.—THE GARLINGTON CRUISE IN 1883.—WRECK OF THE PROTEUS.—GREELY MEANTIME.—EXPEDITION OF 1884.—SCHLEY'S ENTERPRISE.—“NEWS FROM GREELY.”—HIS DISCOVERIES.—“FARTHEST NORTH.”—EXPERIENCES OF HIS BAND IN THE ARCTIC REGIONS.—THEIR COURSE SOUTHWARD.—COULD ANY OF THEM BE ALIVE?—THE THETIS TO THE RESCUE.—SEVEN STARVING SURVIVORS.—LIFE AT STARVATION CAMP.—EFFORTS FOR THE ENGLISH MEAT.—RICE'S DEATH AND FREDERICK'S HEROISM.—THE DEATH ROLL.—RESCUE OF THE SEVEN.—THEIR CONDITION.—HOMEWARD BOUND.—ARRIVAL.—NO OFFICIAL PRAISE.—THE SURVIVORS SUBSEQUENTLY.—PEARY ON GREENLAND'S ICY MOUNTAINS.—HE CROSSES GREENLAND IN 1892.—GEOGRAPHICAL DISCOVERIES.—PEARY'S 1894-5 TOUR.—VALUE OF THESE EXPLORATIONS.

*Do the classic virtues grace an age of commonplace?
The cynics of our time will tell you No.
To the ancients they will turn heroic deeds to learn,
But, take a soldier's word, it is not so.*

THAT the cynics are wrong was impressively shown by Stanley's deed in darkest Africa, touched in the last Chapter of this History. Two other exploits more thrilling still illustrated President Arthur's years in office. The first was the *Jeannette* expedition to the North, equipped by James Gordon Bennett, Stanley's patron, but sailing under orders from the Navy Department. This expedition went forth in the summer of 1879, but its glory and its fate were not known till more than two years later. The vessel, of some four hundred tons burden, was strongly re-enforced to prevent her

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being crushed in the ice. The crew as ultimately constituted comprised thirty-three men, including two Chinamen and two Indians. The officers were Captain George W. DeLong, U. S. N., commanding; Lieutenant Charles W. Chipp, U. S. N., Second Officer; Master John W. Danenhower, U. S. N., Executive Officer; Passed Assistant Engineer George W. Melville, U. S. N., an officer reluctantly spared by the department, and Passed Assistant Surgeon James M. Ambler, U. S. N. William Dunbar, an experienced Yankee whaler, was ice pilot, Jerome J. Collins meteorologist and *Herald* correspondent, and Raymond L. Newcomb naturalist. The last three, as a matter of form, enlisted as seamen.

It was DeLong's design to follow the warm ocean current through Behring Strait, possibly to the Pole, at least to Wrangel Land, which was set down on the maps as an enormous continent reaching to the Pole and possibly connecting with Greenland. The thought was that the expedition could crawl along this coast far to the north, and, when finally stopped by sea, could with sledges make a triumphant dash for the Pole.

Watched and cheered by crowds on shore and attended by a squadron of pleasure craft, the *Jeannette*, on July 8, 1879, slowly and proudly steamed toward the Golden Gate of California, beyond which the sparkling waves of the Pacific seemed to be beckoning. "Every ship we passed," wrote DeLong, "dipped her colors to us, while shouts, steam-whistles, and yachts' cannon-shots kept the air filled with noise. Upon passing Fort Point a salute of twenty-one guns was fired in our honor, while the garrison of the fort cheered us enthusiastically." No wonder that officers and men were in jubilant spirits.

At Ounalaska on August 2d a quantity of furs was taken aboard. At Lutke Harbor, on August 27th, last messages were sent home as the *Jeannette* parted from the *Fannie A. Hyde*, her convoy and coal-tender. On September 3d an adventurous whaler saw her afar, nosing her way toward Herald Island.

RUMORS ABOUT THE JEANNETTE

Next year the revenue cutter *Corwin*, Captain Hooper commanding, approached Herald Island and Wrangel Land, but saw no traces of the explorers. In 1881 anxiety grew keener. Lieutenant Berry, of the *Rogers*, following the *Jeannette's* route, scrutinized the coast of Wrangel Land. Captain Hooper also made a landing there. Neither obtained tidings of the lost ship. The *Alliance*, from Norfolk, sailing by the Spitzbergen route, was not more successful. Two new polar expeditions, one of which, that under Lieutenant A. W. Greely, will presently be described, were, incidentally to their main purpose, cautioned to look out for the missing men. Foreign exploring ships assumed a like charge. Although the marble ocean kept her secret well, rumors were at everybody's service. A steamer's smoke, forsooth, had been seen off the Lena Delta; white shipwrecked sailors were struggling up the Mackenzie River in North America; European corpses had been found at the mouth of the Yenisei. It was conjectured that DeLong had indeed reached the Pole. The canard was also started that Siberians had boarded the *Jeannette* and found everybody well, very much surprised at being the objects of such solicitude.

Amid these wild pitches of fancy, the truth, more startling than any of them, was conveyed to the world on December 20, 1881, by the following telegram from the American *Chargé d'Affaires* at St. Petersburg to the American Secretary of State:

"The *Jeannette* was crushed in the ice June 11th, latitude 77 degrees, longitude 157 degrees. Crew embarked in three boats and were separated by the wind and fog. Number three, with eleven men, Engineer Melville com-



AN ESKIMO BOY

manding, reached the mouth of the Lena September 19. Subsequently Number one, with Captain DeLong, Dr. Ambler and twelve men, reached the Lena in a pitiable condition and prompt assistance was sent. Number two has not been heard from."

"Number two has not been heard from" to this day. The masterful seamanship which saved even a part of the crew from death elicited admiration the world over. The *London Standard* said: "Though the *Jeannette* has suffered destruction, the Americans have added glory to that they have already won in the frozen regions." Captain DeLong's first alternative, of

following the Japan current possibly to the Pole, was balked by the ice-pack which he entered shortly after he was last sighted, and on September 6th, the next day, he found himself glued in. The second alternative, of drifting to Wrangel Land and following that continent to the Pole, was seen to be impossible when, to the men's dismay as they drew near, it shrivelled to an insignificant island. From the time she



AN ESKIMO HUNTER WITH HARPOON
(Mek-to-Sba: Great Bear Hunter)

THE JEANNETTE'S MEN SCATTERED

entered the pack the *Jeannette* was unfettered for only a few hours. Nearly two years later, June 11, 1881, she had to be abandoned, and she sank early on the morning of the 12th. With a heavy sick list and otherwise encumbered, the company in three squads toiled over the ice, struggling to get southward.

At the end of a fortnight they found themselves farther north than when they started, indeed, farther north than living man had ever before gone in that sea. The position was $77^{\circ} 36' N.$, $155^{\circ} E.$ To the weary mariners either land or sea was more welcome than the ice, and about the middle of July land loomed into view. It was an island. Two days later they took possession of it for the United States and christened it Bennett Island. Here it was possible for them, on August 6th, to take to the three boats, the first cutter with Captain DeLong and his little crew of men, the second cutter with Lieutenant Chipp and his men, and the whaleboat with Engineer Melville and his men. On August 19th the three wretched companies, over ice and water, barefooted and barelegged, reached the New Siberian Islands, to which they clung till September 10th, when they were within ninety miles of Cape Barkin, and happy in the thought. About seven o'clock that night there was an arctic gale, and the boats were blown apart like tufts of thistledown. As the whaleboat, the fastest of the three, went racing down the wind, members of her crew, looking back, dimly saw the second cutter rise to the crest of a billow, sink, rise again, then, enveloped in an immense sea, sink to be seen no more. DeLong's crew at the same time lost sight of the whaleboat, and thought that she shared the same fate. Melville, in like manner, when he himself landed at one of the eastern mouths of the Lena Delta, could hardly hope that any of the DeLong party had escaped the sea. A few days later his own squad reached a Russian settlement. On receiving news that there were DeLong survivors, Melville hastened to Belun, where he

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found two seamen of the DeLong crew, Nindeman and Noros, on the verge of starvation. They had been sent ahead for relief, and, as it chanced, were the only ones of the party who survived. "Hallo, Noros!" was Melville's cheery greeting, as he pushed his way into their sorry hovel, "how do you do?" "My God! Mr. Melville," exclaimed Noros, "are you alive?" Rising from a rude couch, Nindeman said: "We thought you were all dead, and that we were the only two left alive; we were sure the whaleboat's men were dead, and the second cutter's, too."

Pressing northward, with only native guides, in spite of badly frozen feet and legs, and in imminent risk of starvation on the way, the intrepid Melville sought the trail of DeLong's unfortunate party, but it was not till the next March that he was able to get traces of them. All hope of finding them alive had then vanished. On the 23d of March, amply provided with the means for his search, the Chief Engineer finally discovered the bodies of Captain DeLong and his gallant comrades-in-death. They were lying on an island in the Lena Delta, which had cruelly enmeshed them the autumn before. Perhaps the saddest feature of their tragedy was the fact that they perished within ten miles of succor. It was decided not to move the remains to America, but to bury them at the Delta on a high promontory out of reach of the floods. "There," said Melville, "in sight of the spot where they fell, the scene of their suffering and heroic endeavor, where the everlasting snows would be their winding-sheet and the fierce polar blasts which pierced their poor unclad bodies in life would wail their wild dirge through all time—there we buried them, and surely heroes never found fitter resting-place."

The journal kept by DeLong, known as the "Ice Journal," was happily recovered by Melville. The Captain had maintained it to the very day of his death. Nothing can exceed the heart-breaking pathos of his last entries, which merely

Service, had long advocated polar colonization in the interest of geographical science. Several nations, the United States among them, were moved to attempt polar discovery.

In 1881 we established two stations, one of them on Lady Franklin Bay, to be manned by Lieutenant A. W. Greely, Fifth United States Cavalry, with a party of twenty-two officers and soldiers, and two Eskimos. The *Proteus* bore Greely and his men from St. John's, Newfoundland, the early part of July, 1881. Beyond the northernmost Greenland settlement, through the treacherous archipelago, between the "land ice" and the "middle pack" of Melville Bay, amid



LIEUTENANT A. W. GREELY
From a photograph by Rice

the iceberg squadrons of Smith Sound and Kane Sea, the stanch little sealer kept her course. Eight miles from her destination she was for the first time blocked. A solid semicircle of ice confronted her, reaching clear across from Greenland to Grinnell Land. Large floes broke off and passed her, only to re-form and cut off her retreat, while the northern pack, advancing, threatened to crush her. Upon new caprice, however, the upper ice retired toward the polar ocean, and on the 11th the little army disembarked, one thousand miles north of the Arctic Circle. A fortnight later the *Proteus* whistled farewell and began her return trip, which, like the out-passage, was "without parallel or precedent" for freedom from the difficulties and dangers unanimously reported as existing in that region.

It was proposed in 1882 to visit the Greely colony with supplies and reinforcements, and in 1883 to effect its return. Setting out a year and a day after the *Proteus*, the *Neptune* achieved a hard but steady advance to Kane Sea, but this she found choked with ice. For forty days she vainly assaulted

THE PROTEUS AND THE YANTIC TO THE RESCUE

her godfather's polar phalanx. When, with the close of August, whitening cliffs and withering vegetation portended winter, Beebe, the commander, hastening to place a small cache on either side of Smith Sound, returned, as ordered, with all the rest of his abounding supplies, which were stored in Newfoundland, to be taken north again by the *Proteus* in 1883.

The 1883 undertaking was doubly momentous from the past year's failure. The *Proteus*, Lieutenant Ernest A. Garlington commanding, was attended by the *Yantic*, under Commander Frank Wildes, United States Navy. This enterprise was begun in mismanagement and misunderstanding and ended in misfortune. Lethargy of delay was followed by fever of precipitation. Orders were irregularly issued and countermanded; supplies went aboard in an unclassified mass; the foreign crew were inefficient and careless, the "co-operation" of army and navy divided responsibility and hampered both arms. The *Proteus* Court of Inquiry severely censured General Hazen, chief signal officer of the army, for remissness in these weighty particulars.

The arctic armada was again encountered where Beebe found it. Garlington, too completely engrossed with the injunction to reach Lady Franklin Bay at all hazards, though stopping at Cape Sabine a few hours, hurried north without replacing the damaged supplies there or leaving any of his own. Twice in her struggle the *Proteus* was within four hundred yards of open water; twice she failed to reach it. The second time the inexorable jaws of the ice-pack crushed in her sides, giving only time to tumble a part of the cargo overboard. The crew lent no aid, but, after securing their own luggage, began looting the property of the expedition. As they retreated in boats, a few hundred rations were left for Greely near Cape Sabine, at a place known as "Wreck Camp Cache." The Court of Inquiry thought that Garlington "after the sinking of the *Proteus* erred in not waiting longer at Pandora Harbor, with the object of obtaining from the *Yantic* supplies" for a

depot at Lifeboat Cove, whither Greely had been ordered to retreat. The Court, however, deemed this but an error of judgment, "committed in the exercise of a difficult and unusual discretion," for which "he should not be held to further accountability." After unwittingly passing the *Yantic* twice, and journeying in open boats for eight hundred miles in a sea stormy and full of bergs, the *Proteus* men were rescued by the *Yantic*.

Incredulity, dismay, and indignation now quickly succeeded each other in the public mind. The first expedition for the rescue of Greely had been a failure, the second was a distressing breach of faith. Fearful, indeed, were its consequences. The devoted Greely and his band, in nowise responsible for it, were at that time painfully working southward from their well-stored outpost, relying upon meeting succor or finding a refuge prepared for them. The bleak desolation of Cape Sabine, with but forty days' rations, awaited them. Enough food to last them over five years had been carried to, or beyond, Littleton Island by the relief parties; but only one-fiftieth of it had been placed where Greely could get it.

New efforts in 1883 were deemed too hazardous to be undertaken. The Secretary of War and the Secretary of the Navy now took up the business of relieving the Lady Franklin Bay Expedition. A purely naval expedition was decided upon, consisting of two Dundee whalers and two reserve ships. Secretary Chandler deserved great credit for his tireless energy and care in making the preparations. Precautions were multiplied, no delay and no oversight occurred. Congress made generous appropriation, though not without ridiculous debate and higgling. A \$25,000 bounty was proclaimed for rescue or tidings of the Greely party. Mr. Chandler had purchased the *Thetis* and the *Bear* for the perilous cruise. The British Government presented us with the capable arctic veteran, the *Alert*, in addition to which a

SCHLEY OFF FOR THE FAR NORTH

fourth vessel, the *Loch Garry*, was chartered as a collier. The brave Engineer Melville, undaunted by his dreadful experiences with DeLong, insisted upon going to hunt for Greely.

Commander Winfield S. Schley, heading the expedition, was as efficient as his chief. Though most of his subordinates were inexperienced in arctic work, and though he had to fight for every inch of progress, he carried the stars and stripes to



Alert

Thetis

Loch Garry

Bear

THE RELIEF FLEET AT GODHAVN

After a photograph by Rice

Cape York ahead of several whalers who sought to outdo him. Much game and many walruses were seen on the east side of Smith Sound, but no signs of the exploring party. It was inferred that they must have remained at their post in the north, but Schley decided to stop near Cape Sabine and make a cache before pushing thither.

Smith Sound, about twenty-three miles wide, was traversed in a roaring tempest. Parties were landed to examine old caches, when almost simultaneously two of them reported

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME



FORT CONGER

After a photograph by Rice

“news from Greely.” Records and despatches from him found here revealed wonderful achievements. Apart from his regular observations, the interior of Grinnell Land had been explored. To their surprise, fertile valleys were brought to light there, supporting herds of musk oxen, in striking contrast with the great ice cap and the glacial lake. Traces of the Eskimo were found, where they had wintered in their long migration from the Parry Archipelago to the coast of Greenland. The climatic conditions of Grinnell Land were determined, and data were secured from which were ascertained the co-tidal lines of the polar ocean, the force of gravity and the deviations of the compass at Fort Conger. Other most interesting and valuable information was obtained. The north-western coast of Greenland had been plotted, and a point reached farther north than any ever before trodden by man. For the first time in three hundred years England’s “Farthest” had been left behind—the new “Farthest” being $83^{\circ} 24'$, viz.,

EXPERIENCES NEAR THE POLE

only $6^{\circ} 36'$, or about four hundred and thirty statute miles from the Pole. The view thence, from a height of 2,600 feet, revealed an unbroken stretch of ice, proving the polar ocean to reach within three hundred and fifty miles of the Pole. To the northeast, twenty-eight miles farther, they saw Cape Washington. Foxes, lemmings, ptarmigan and plants were seen even at that high altitude. Observations were continued through the long arctic night. Though usually not so magnificent as at Upernivik, several fine displays of the mysterious Northern Lights were beheld. Greely remarked upon one in particular. From the southwestern horizon to the zenith extended an arc woven of spiral ribbons of many-colored light. It seemed to rotate or to keep springing upward, replenished from some unseen and exhaustless fountain of splendors, while at the summit little puffs of light detached themselves to float away and perish.

A journal, *The Arctic Moon*, had been launched, suspected to be the organ of some one who stood for Congress before the Grinnell Land electorate on a platform of unlimited emigration. Litters of dogs had been raised and musk-calves domesticated. The little library was well patronized, games were invented, and much time devoted to sleep. Christmas had been duly celebrated. Presents from friends, sacredly kept packed till then, were opened, exciting a rather unsoldierly sensation in the throat. One obscure private, friendless but for his comrades, inured to hardships and neglect, was well-nigh overcome to find himself remembered with a gift. Another for a moment wore a puzzled look as he opened a flat package and found it to contain a fan!

In August, 1883, the party had abandoned their post at Lady Franklin Bay, in the far North, retreating by boat down the east coast of Grinnell Land. At one stage an immense stranded floeberg reared a wall fifty feet high in front of them. Steaming along its foot they finally observed a fissure, or cañon, not more than a dozen feet wide. The

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

little launch, with whaleboats in tow, boldly entered the crevice and safely reached open water more than a hundred yards farther on. Later they camped on a floe, but, tempestuous weather setting in, were alarmed to see it broken in pieces by the adjacent floes, which ground together with indescribable groanings and measureless force. On the north a fine floe of palæocrystic ice was pressing on their own, separated, however, by a buffer or cushion of rubble ice fifty feet wide, and for the present made solid by the pressure. The sledge and provisions were rushed across this chasm, articles of least value being left till the last, and hardly had the rear-most man passed over before the floes parted, and their bridge was swallowed in the sea.

The most recent despatch found by the rescuers, on first perusal, sent a joyful thrill through those who read.

“My party is now permanently encamped on the west side of a small neck of land which connects the Wreck-Cache Cove, or bay, and the one to its west. Distant about equally from Cape Sabine and Cocked Hat Island. All well.

A. W. GREELY,
*1st Lt. 5th Cav., A. S. O. and Ass't
Commanding Expedition.*”

Horror succeeded. The date at the bottom was October 21, 1883, seven months before, and at that date only forty days' rations remained. Was it possible that any were still alive?

The *Thetis* blew three long whistles for a general “recall,” preparing to steam on toward Greely's “permanent encampment,” where, at that very moment a tent, half fallen down, sheltered seven starving men, too weak to raise it again. These were all who then remained of Greely's expedition. For the last three months they had seen their companions smitten one by one. The rule, almost to the last, had been cheerfulness and hope; to the very last had it been mutual self-sacrifice. In spite of “the hoarse grinding of the ice-

FIGHT FOR LIFE AT STARVATION CAMP

pack not far off," which one mentioned in his journal but did not speak of lest he "discourage the others," part of them had made a futile attempt to cross to Littleton Island. Observations had been rigorously maintained, and they were determined to continue them "till the last man died." Greely and others gave lectures on the United States, on a pleasant winter in the West Indies, on army experiences. Dry statistics concerning food exports from the United States were conned with strange persistency. Yet each meal was cheerfully voted "the best yet," and Thanksgiving Day pleasantly passed in telling what each proposed to have for his *next* Thanksgiving dinner.

When provisions ran low a resolute party set out to recover one hundred and fifty pounds of English meat cached at Cape Isabella, twenty-five miles from camp, in the direction of Point Eskimo, but beyond. In spite of protest, Elison, one of the squad, insisted on eating snow. Soon his hands, face, and feet were fearfully frozen. With great difficulty he was brought back to camp, losing his hands, feet and nose by natural amputation. He was henceforth allowed double the portion of his comrades, a spoon being strapped to his arm that he might eat without help.

A second effort, brave and sad, by Sergeant Rice and Private Frederick alone, to recover the English meat, proved equally vain and even more disastrous. Risking their lives at almost every step of the way they at last reached the place, only to find, after hours of searching among the floes, that their triumph was a barren one. The English meat had drifted from the shore. There was nothing to do but to go creeping back to camp, if they could get there; but Rice, having wet and frozen his feet, was spent, and could not walk a step. He begged Frederick to go and leave him to die, but Frederick would not. Instead, drawing the sledge close under the edge of a floe-berg, he placed Rice upon it, wrapped his frozen feet with the temiak or fur-lined jacket taken from

his own back for this purpose, and then sat and held his unfortunate comrade till the latter's pain was relieved by death. Frederick was minded to die there, too. What use in returning to Starvation Camp with his story of disappointment! But fearing that those in camp would plan a rescue and end their lives in unnecessary misery, he resolved to go back. The dauntless fellow got as far as Point Eskimo, God only knows how. Here they had left their sleeping-bag, expecting to return to it the same day they parted from it, as they would have done had the meat been found and had Rice not failed. After refreshing himself with bread and tea, the exhausted Frederick crawled into the bag and slept. On awaking, much stronger, but now smitten with remorse that he had made no effort to bury poor Rice, the indomitable man pushed back all that awful way and gave the frozen corpse of his loving comrade such burial as he could. He then made the best of his slow and painful journey to Greely's camp. Gnawing hunger tempted him to eat Rice's ration, for which none could or would have blamed him, but he refused. He would use what was his own, but would not rob the living or the dead. He reached camp hardly alive, hauling the sledge with Rice's dole of crumbs upon it, to tell how costly and how bootless his mission had been.

After the death, in January, of Cross, from scurvy, their number was not lessened again till April 5th, when one of the Eskimos succumbed. Sergeant Lynn breathed his last on April 6th. The very day, April 9th, when Sergeant Rice perished in his heroic search for the English meat, Lieutenant Lockwood, one of the two Americans who reached farthest north, also passed away. The last words he wrote were: "Jewell is much weaker to-day"—and Sergeant Jewell was the next to yield. April 29th the other Eskimo was drowned in a brave effort to catch a seal. On Easter Sunday a snowbird on the roof chirped loudly. "All noise stopped as by magic and no word was said till the little bird passed." The death

THE DEATH ROLL LENGTHENS



LIEUTENANT LOCKWOOD AND HIS EXPLORING PARTY

From a photograph by Rice

catalogue was lengthened on May 19th, when Private Ellis died, soon followed by three others, Sergeant Ralston, Private Whisler, and Sergeant Israel. From June 1st to June 18th seven perished, but of these only the first, Lieutenant Kissingbury, could be interred. Private Salor died on June 3d. On June 6th Private Henry was shot for stealing provisions, and lay where he fell. Two more, Dr. Pavy and Private Bender, died on this day. The rest were carried to the foot of the floeberg, save Schneider, who died on June 18th. The party had not sufficient strength to move him. The loss, June 12th, of Gardiner, who passed away murmuring "Mother—Wife," deeply affected all. The death angel so common a visitor, the men grew jocular in his presence. When a raven escaped them one protested that he could not "eat crow," anyway. To the very day of the rescue Brainard persisted in his habit of collecting specimens.

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

At midnight on June 23d the seven survivors heard a whistling above the sound of the gale. Forty-two hours they had been without a morsel, and long weeks without anything like proper rations. Only two—Long and Brainard—were able to walk. These went forth to ascertain the cause of the noise. Brainard reported nothing in sight, but Long lingered outside. The wretched men in the tent discussed the strange shriek with pathetic garrulity,

finally deciding that it must have been the wind blowing across the edge of a tin can. At this juncture Connell showed the familiar touch of death in his slightly swollen appearance, cold and paralyzed extremities, and aimless mumbling. "Death," says Greely, "kindly took away all pain," and Connell, like those stricken before him, was tranquil.

Greely crawled toward the light with a Testament, while Brainard pressed the little remaining brandy to the dying man's lips. He only murmured, "Let me die in peace."

On reaching her objective the *Thetis* despatched Lieu-



AN ESKIMO BELLE

LONG AND BRAINARD MEET THE RESCUERS

tenant Colwell in the cutter to find out the worst. At Wreck Cache no life appeared. As they rounded the next point the silhouette of a human figure was seen against the dull sky. Instantly the boat's flag was brandished. Painfully the figure stooped, picked up a flag, evidently the Greely distress flag, and waved an answer. Then, half-walking, half falling down the slope, Long approached his saviors. "He was a ghastly sight," said Schley. "His cheeks were hollow, his eyes wild, his hair and beard long and matted. His army blouse, covering several thicknesses of shirts and jackets, was ragged and dirty. He wore a little fur cap, and rough moccasins of untanned leather tied around the legs. His utterance was thick and mumbling, and in his agitation his jaws worked in convulsive twitches." He was conveyed to the ward-room of the *Bear*, where he described the party's plight, pausing and often repeating himself. "We've had a hard winter—a hard winter—and the wonder is how in God's name we pulled through." The rest, he said, were on shore in "sore distress—sore distress."

After placing Long in the cutter, Colwell's party had hurried forward. "They saw spread out before them a desolate expanse of rocky ground. Back of the level space was a range of hills rising up eight hundred feet, with a precipitous face, broken in two by a gorge, through which the wind was blowing furiously. On a little elevation directly in front was the tent. Lowe and Norman were ahead, and were greeting a soldierly man [Brainard] who had come out from the tent. As Colwell approached, Norman said to the man:

"There is the lieutenant," and he added to Colwell:

"This is Sergeant Brainard."

Brainard drew himself up and was about to salute, when Colwell took his hand. At that moment a feeble voice within the tent was heard:

"Who's there?"

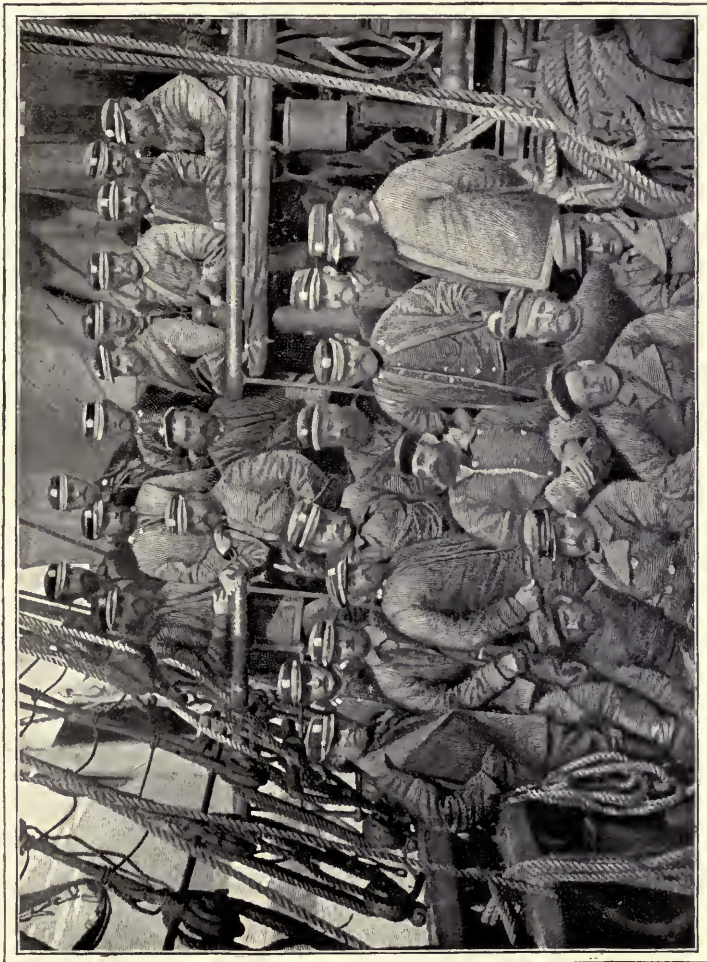
"It's Norman—Norman who was in the *Proteus*."

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

Cries of "Oh, it's Norman!" were followed by a feeble cheer.

Greely said of this moment: "We had resigned ourselves to despair, when suddenly strange voices were heard calling me; and in a frenzy of feeling as vehement as our enfeebled condition would permit, we realized that our country had not failed us, that the long agony was over, and the remnant of the Lady Franklin Bay Expedition was saved."

Colwell cut a slit in the tent and looked in. He was enjoined by an inmate to be careful not to step upon Connell, who lay under the very hand of death, his jaw drooping, his eyes glazed. Directly opposite, on hands and knees, was a dark man with a matted beard, in a dirty and tattered dressing-gown, a little red skull-cap on his head, who, as Colwell appeared, looked up from his Testament and vacantly adjusted his eye-glasses to his brilliant, staring eyes. Twice Colwell asked, "Who are you?" but got no answer. One of the men said: "That's the Major—Major Greely." Colwell took him by the hand, saying, "Greely, is this you?" "Yes," said Greely. "Yes—seven of us left—here we are—dying—like men. Did what I came to do—beat the best record." Here he fell back exhausted. His indomitable spirit had thus far conquered despair for himself and his companions. He had not ceased to exhort them to "Die like men, not like dogs," ever telling them the story of those British soldiers who stood at parade on deck till their ship went under, while the women and children put off in boats. Forty-eight hours later not a man of the seven would have been alive. Connell afterward said: "Death had me by the heels, boys, when you pulled me back by the neck." They were in the dotage of starvation. Some refused to believe that relief was at hand, and had to be humored in their skepticism. The craving of hunger, lately blunted, re-awoke, when their entreaties for food were the more touching in that they could not be granted.



Emory Greeley Louse Schley
Long Brainerd Biederback Frederick Connell

THE GREELY SURVIVORS AND THE RESCUING PARTY
From a photograph by Rice, taken on board the Bear at Godhavn, Greenland

THE RETURN WITH THE LIVING AND THE DEAD

Greely protested against moving the dead. He felt about them as Chief Engineer Melville had felt about DeLong and his comrades, and would have left them where the "polar blasts which pierced their poor unclad bodies in life would wail their wild dirge through all time." But the feelings of the dead men's friends must be consulted, and such bodies as could be recovered were brought to America. Elison died on the voyage. As if he had himself never felt pain, he said, on meeting Engineer Melville: "So you were with the *Jeanette*, and poor DeLong is dead. Poor fellows, *how they must have suffered!*"

At St. John's, Newfoundland, the rescuers and rescued were besieged, though the latter were carefully sequestered from the crowds. The squadron was escorted out of the harbor by a fleet of crowded tugs and launches, which passed around the ships, cheering and whistling "*bon voyage.*" At that time Greely himself was too weak to walk far, but on the 1st of August, when they sighted Portsmouth, he had gained fifty pounds.

That afternoon, in the glory of summer sunshine, the shores of Portsmouth harbor were lined with sympathetic people, the water covered with sails, flags and streamers, the lower port occupied by the five vessels of the North Atlantic Squadron and other ships of the navy. As the *Alliance*, leading the *Tbetis*, the *Bear* and the *Alert*, steamed up-harbor, the Marine Band played "Home Again," while the crews from the rigging shouted welcome to the survivors and their saviors.

Secretary Chandler's barge bore Mrs. Greely to the *Tbetis*, which she was the first to board. Then the officers of the squadron were welcomed on board the flagship, *Tennessee*, by the Secretary and Admiral Luce. Later these officers with General Hazen greeted Greely on board the *Tbetis*. For the next three days visitors swarmed over the ship. On the 4th a grand civic procession of distinguished men, bands, marines

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and militia, passed in review through the streets of the hospitable city.

Men's feelings were mingled and contradictory. They were proud of Schley's achievement and joyful at the return of the living; but no less sincere and affecting was their grief at the thought of the vanished majority, whose remains sadly freighted the relief squadron. At Fort Columbus, as the vessels reached New York, twenty-one guns saluted them. On Governor's Island troops were drawn up to receive the dead. Among the distinguished officers present were Generals Sheridan, Hancock and Hazen, and Commodore Fillebrown. As the bodies, save that of Sergeant Jewell, which had gone to his New Hampshire home, were borne through the lane of troops to the chapel and there delivered to friends, arms were presented, while minute guns were discharged to mark the solemnity of the occasion.

To the Greely expedition as a whole no official recognition was ever given, save the oral thanks of President Arthur expressed to commanding officer Greely on his return to Washington. A resolution tendering the thanks of Congress was once introduced in Congress, but the member having it in charge died, and it did not pass. Some of the men going on the expedition were never reimbursed for the clothing lost by them.

Greely's promotion to be Chief Signal Officer was not, as was generally supposed, a reward for his arctic exploits. He had served eighteen years as Chief Assistant in the Signal Office, was the senior officer of the office, on whom the duties devolved by law, had been in charge of them for several months before General Hazen's death, and continued there until his appointment a month later. Greely was, however, not without recognition from other sources. His native State, Massachusetts, and Newburyport, his native city, both gave him testimonials. Besides honorary membership in many distinguished organizations, he received the Grand Gold Medal

LIEUTENANT PEARY'S ADVENTURES

of the Royal Geographical Society of London, and the Medal of the Geographical Society of Paris.

Of the survivors among Greely's men Sergeant David L. Brainard was, on account of his arctic services, promoted to be Second Lieutenant. In 1895 he was First Lieutenant in the Second United States Cavalry. Biederbick had, at the time mentioned, a small pension. He was an inspector of customs in New York, where he showed the same fidelity which characterized him in the Far North. Long, Frederick, and Connell were employed by the Meteorological Division of the Signal Office, under control of the Agricultural Department. Frederick had been refused a pension. Connell's pay had been reduced, but he stood very high in the service.

The Dark Continent of Greenland furnished an exhaustless and fascinating field for the speculative to roam over in fancy and the adventurous in fact. Lieut. R. E. Peary, a civil engineer connected with the Navy, belonged distinctly to the class given to actual adventures, and his several sledge journeys across Greenland's icy mountains were among the most brilliant geographical feats in all history. In 1886 he reached a point near Disco, about fifty miles from the coast. In 1892 he sallied northward again, this time in company with his wife. Suffering from a broken leg, he was tenderly and tirelessly watched by her. On one occasion, while he was convalescent, they were together in the stern of a boat, and became surrounded by a herd



LIEUTENANT ROBERT E.
PEARY AND MRS. PEARY

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of angry walruses trying to get their tusks over the gunwale and capsize the boat. For an hour the heroic woman coolly reloaded the firearms while the crew rapidly discharged them, thus successfully keeping the monsters at bay.

Upon this trip Mr. Peary, accompanied by Dr. F. A. Cook, Messrs. Langdon Gibson, Eivind Astrup, John T. Verhoeff, and Matthew Henson, colored, disembarked at Whale Sound, across from the tragic Cape Sabine and a trifle south thereof. It was in some respects an advantage that the party was small, the smallest that had ever embarked on so extensive an arctic enterprise. Despite his infirmity Peary explored Inglefield Gulf, crossed the icy rump, 5,000 feet high, divorcing Whale Sound from Kane Sea, went as far north as 82° , thence viewing the ice-free land discovered by Lockwood, supposed to be separate from Greenland, though adjacent to it. Blocked by the fiord to the north the intrepid explorer turned eastward. He reached Independence Bay on the 4th of July, 1892. Returning he took almost a bee-line for 450 miles to his starting point, where he arrived on August 6, after an absence of ninety-three days.

This expedition proved that the eastern and western shores of Greenland rapidly converge north of parallel 78° . Greenland is therefore an island. On this tour Peary marked the northward extension of the great Greenland ice-cap, thus certifying another point in geography; while Mrs. Peary, in observing the manners of an absolutely isolated Eskimo tribe of three hundred and fifty people, made a valuable contribution to anthropology. These important results were not achieved without cost in human life. One of the little party, Verhoeff, being separated from the others, lost his life in the cracks of a glacier. After a thorough search had failed, a year's food was cached for his use, should he be alive, and with heavy hearts the party left the place.

Having raised funds in 1893 by a lecture tour, Mr. Peary found himself in the spring of 1894 once more scaling the



FIRST SIGHT OF PEARY'S PARTY
The Approach to McCormick Bay, July 23, 1892

WINTERING IN GREENLAND

Greenland ice at a distance from the coast, at last attaining an elevation of 5,500 feet. For the first thirteen days he advanced ten miles a day. His dogs died off, his men were nearly all frosted and sent back. He cached his surplus stores, and with the remainder of his party pressed forward for the next fortnight six miles a day. He finally had to turn about and hasten to Bowdoin Bay, accomplishing little more that season.

It was, nevertheless, his ambition to map the northern coast of Greenland. Against prudent counsels he declined to return south on the steamer *Falcon*, which visited him in August, 1894. Though with insufficient stores, he determined to winter in Greenland with two companions, who volunteered to stay with him. Preparing beforehand a supply station, he, in April, 1895, ventured inland once more. His Eskimos left him, he could not find his supplies, his men suffered from frost-bite, and game failed; yet with an audacity splendid because it chanced not to be fatal, the devoted band pushed forward to Independence Bay. Happily obtaining ten musk-oxen, they began the return journey, starvation marching close behind them. Everything but food was dropped, and on June 25th, after twenty-five forced marches, they dragged themselves to Bowdoin Bay and to succor. For two weeks they had had but one meal a day, and they had been foodless for twenty-four hours before reaching their journey's end.

Of these explorations General Greely said: "The two crossings of Greenland by Peary must be classed among the most brilliant geographic feats of late years, his journeys far surpassing in extent that of his ice-cap predecessor, Nansen, who crossed Greenland more than 1,000 miles to the south." Peary and those who furthered his undertakings perhaps expected too much. He was bitterly disappointed at the small results of his last journey and believed that arctic exploration was set back many years by his failure.

CHAPTER XVI

THE PLUMED KNIGHT AND HIS JOUST

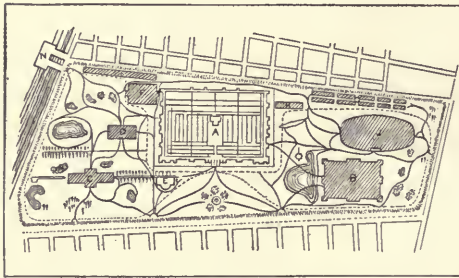
THE NEW ORLEANS COTTON CENTENNIAL.—BUILDINGS, EXHIBITS AND INFLUENCE.—POLITICAL SITUATION IN 1884.—PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES.—RISE OF JAMES G. BLAINE.—CHARGES AGAINST HIM.—HIS PROSPECTS IN 1876.—INVESTIGATION OF HIS RECORD.—THE MULLIGAN LETTERS.—DRAMATIC SELF-VINDICATION BEFORE THE HOUSE.—BLAINE AND KNOTT.—BLAINE IN GARFIELD'S CABINET.—PERU AND CHILE.—BLAINE IN ADVANCE OF HIS PARTY.—REPUBLICAN CONVENTION OF 1884.—LYNCH MADE TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN.—EFFORT TO UNITE UPON ARTHUR.—SCENES IN THE CONVENTION UPON BLAINE'S NOMINATION.—THE MUGWUMPS BOLT.—GROVER CLEVELAND.—HIS YOUTH, EDUCATION, AND EARLY OFFICIAL LIFE.—GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK.—NOMINATED BY THE DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION.—THE MUGWUMPS DECLARE FOR CLEVELAND.—CHARGES AGAINST BLAINE.—HOW FAR TRUE.—“RUM, ROMANISM AND REBELLION.”—HENDRICKS PACIFIES TAMMANY.—CLEVELAND VICTORIOUS.

THANKS to the “New Departure” of 1871, the South soon ceased to be a political storm centre. Early in 1881 Rev. Dr. Haygood, president of Emory College, in Georgia, preached a sermon, published by the unanimous request of the congregation, in which he expressed rejoicing at the abolition of slavery as a blessing. In 1881 a successful industrial exposition had been held in Atlanta, and in 1883 another in Louisville, both revealing much progress in business at the South. Of wider interest than either was the World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition of 1884. This date was chosen because a bale of cotton, the first, so far as known, was shipped to England from Charleston in 1784. Congress incorporated the exposition and authorized a loan to it of \$1,000,000. Private parties subscribed half a million more. New Orleans, selected as the most suitable location, gave \$100,000 to erect Horticultural Hall. Louisiana appropri-

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

ated for the enterprise \$100,000, and some contributions were made by other States.

Upper City Park, two hundred and forty-five acres in extent, on the river, above the city, was artistically laid out and adorned. The most characteristic feature connected with the Exposition was to be found in the avenues winding through vistas of live oaks festooned with Spanish moss, or through groves of banana, lemon, orange, mesquite and maguey, varied with beds of brilliant tropical flowers and with fountains. By night electric lights, then a novelty to many visitors, added to the fascination of the place. The Exposition opened on December 16th. The Governor of Louisiana was present, as were also Postmaster-General Hatton and Secretary Teller, representing the Cabinet. Dignitaries from distant States in the Union honored the occasion by attending. At the same moment a distinguished company, including a committee from



PLAN OF THE NEW ORLEANS EXPOSITION

*A, Main Building; * B, United States and State Exhibits; C, Horticultural Hall; D, Mexican Building; E, art gallery; F, factory and mills; G, live stock stables; H, restaurants; I, fountain, 80 feet high; J, live stock arena.*

*A table showing the comparative sizes of great exposition buildings :

| | | Sq. ft. |
|--|--------|-----------|
| <i>Crystal Palace, London</i> | (1851) | 980,884 |
| <i>London Exposition</i> | (1862) | 1,400,000 |
| <i>Paris</i> | (1855) | 545,034 |
| <i>"</i> | (1867) | 450,023 |
| <i>Vienna</i> | (1873) | 430,500 |
| <i>Philadelphia</i> | (1876) | 872,320 |
| <i>Atlanta</i> | (1881) | 107,520 |
| <i>Louisville</i> | (1883) | 677,400 |
| <i>New Orleans Exposition (Main Building alone, and not including galleries)</i> | (1884) | 1,650,030 |
| <i>Manufacturers and Liberal Arts Building at Chicago World's Fair (including Galleries)</i> | (1893) | 1,327,699 |

each House of Congress, was assembled in the East Room of the Presidential Mansion at Washington. The preliminary exercises in full were telegraphed to President Arthur, who telegraphed back a fitting response. At the pressure of a button in the White House the mazes of machinery began to move, and the Exposition was declared formally in operation.

The Main Building was the largest structure which had then been



THE NEW ORLEANS EXPOSITION—SOUTH PORTAL OF THE MAIN BUILDING
(Counting in the galleries this building covered a space of nearly two and a half million square feet.)

THE EXPOSITION AT NEW ORLEANS



THE NEW ORLEANS EXPOSITION—MEXICAN PAVILION AND MAIN BUILDING

erected for exhibition purposes, having an area of 1,656,030 square feet. The Government Building, containing the exhibits of the national and State governments, was 885 feet long by 565 wide, while Horticultural Hall, of iron and glass, and designed to be permanent, was 600 feet by 100. The Art Building was large and admirably adapted for its purpose, being lighted from the roof. The Mexican Government, at great expense, put up a large building as quarters for a detachment of infantry and cavalry, and for offices. There was a Woman's Department, under the supervision of Mrs. Julia Ward Howe; also an exhibit of negroes' handiwork. The displays from tropical or semi-tropical countries were naturally the most profuse. Mexico erected a tasteful octagonal edifice expressly for its wealth of minerals. Its exhibits

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

together covered 160,000 square feet, surpassing in extent and variety those from any other foreign country. Central America was represented more completely than at any previous exposition, and the products of its curious civilization interested all visitors.

Giving the South a sense of its importance and strength, and making friendly a host of guests from the North, the Exposition had influence upon the national election soon to occur. Of this none could forecast the issue with any certainty, but the canvass was sure to be interesting. The Republicans were much divided. President Arthur, whom few wanted, announced himself a candidate for re-election. Preceding State elections ominously favored the Democrats. In 1882 both Pennsylvania and Massachusetts elected Democratic governors. The same year, owing to "Half-breed" defection from Folger, the Republican candidate, New York, which in 1880 Garfield had carried against Hancock by a plurality of over 21,000, chose Grover Cleveland its Governor by a plurality of more than 190,000 and a majority of 150,000. This election began Mr. Cleveland's fame, quite as much from the accident of the Republican feud referred to as from aught which he then had done or bade fair to do.



JOHN A. LOGAN

Illinois put forward as a presidential candidate General Logan, so popular with the old soldiers. A "compact body of Ohio Republicans" adhered to Senator Sherman. Senator Edmunds, thought of as a champion of Civil Service Reform, was strong in Massachusetts and Vermont. General J. R. Hawley had succeeded Marshall Jewell as Connecticut's favorite son. But the spontaneous, widespread, persistent, often delirious enthusiasm for James G. Blaine, of

THE EARLY LIFE OF JAMES G. BLAINE

Maine, made it clear that unless his opponents early united upon some other candidate "the Plumed Knight" would sweep the field.

Mr. Blaine, long and prominently in the public eye, had been born in Washington County, Pa., January 31, 1830, a great-grandson of Commissary-General Blaine, who during the terrible winter at Valley Forge made from his private substance advances to keep Washington's soldiers from starvation. The lad was educated with great care by his father and his maternal grandfather, Neal Gillespie, a Roman Catholic gentleman of wealth, character and ability. In his fourteenth year young Blaine entered Washington College, Pennsylvania, where he graduated with honors. After being some time instructor in the Western Military Institute, Kentucky, and three years in Philadelphia, teaching and writing editorials, he in 1854 assumed the management of the *Kennebec Journal*, Augusta, Me. He rapidly familiarized himself with Maine politics and became a power in the Whig and Republican councils of the State. His skill as a debater gave him fame. He entered the national House of Representatives in 1862, with Garfield, and served until 1876, being Speaker from 1869 to 1875. From 1876 to 1881 he was United States Senator. In Congress he distinguished himself by his familiarity with parliamentary tactics and his unequalled readiness in debate. He left the Senate to enter Garfield's Cabinet as Secretary of State.

On February 28, 1876, Mr. Blaine was informed of a rumor, traceable to J. S. C. Harrison, a director of the Union Pacific Railroad, to the effect that said Harrison, shortly after



JAMES G. BLAINE
at the Age of Seventeen

From a daguerreotype, published for the first time in this work, owned by Miss Kate M. Hopkins, and made in 1847, while Mr. Blaine was attending Washington College, Pa.

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he became a director, found seventy-five worthless Little Rock & Fort Smith Railroad bonds among the assets of the Union Pacific, said by the treasurer, Rollins, to have been received from James G. Blaine as security for \$64,000 loaned him and never repaid. On April 24th Mr. Blaine read before the House a letter from Rollins, one from Morton, Bliss & Co., through whom the draft for \$64,000 was said to have been cashed, and one from Thomas A. Scott, who had been president of the Union Pacific at the time, acquitting him of the deed charged, and denying that he had had any other business transactions with them.

At the same time the ex-Speaker denied the further rumor that he was the owner of Little Rock & Fort Smith Railroad bonds received without consideration, explaining his relations with that road, all which he declared "open as the day" and perfectly proper. For the time Mr. Blaine stood exculpated. He desired, then, to avoid a congressional investigation, as it could not possibly end by the time of the Republican convention (of 1876), a body not likely to nominate a man "under investigation," however innocent. Nevertheless an investigation, by the Judiciary Committee, was ordered and on May 15th begun. The statements and testimony already offered by Mr. Blaine were repeated under oath, Scott swearing that the bonds in question were his, received from Josiah Caldwell, and that he, Scott, had shifted them upon the company.

A fortnight remained before the 1876 Convention, and State delegations kept cropping up for Blaine. A rumor arose implicating him in corrupt connection with the Northern Pacific. Three witnesses came from Boston: Elisha Atkins, a director of the Union Pacific; Warren Fisher, a former business relative of Blaine, who had found the relations unsatisfactory and terminated them long before; and James Mulligan, once a clerk of Jacob Stanwood, Blaine's brother-in-law, and afterwards of Fisher. Mulligan testified

THE MULLIGAN LETTERS

that he had understood Atkins to say that seventy-five bonds went from Blaine to Scott, who "worked them off upon the Union Pacific." Atkins testified that he never said it to Mulligan, but that Mulligan said it to him; also that Mulligan had an old grudge against Blaine.

Upon their arrival, Blaine sent to have Fisher and Mulligan come to his house. Only Fisher came, who admitted letting Mulligan have a number of letters from the ex-Speaker to himself. Blaine went to Mulligan and demanded the letters. Mulligan declared that "he would not give them up to God Almighty or his father." Blaine, however, managed to get possession of them. Mulligan stated that he surrendered the letters under Blaine's promise to return them; that Blaine entreated him not to put them in evidence, as it would ruin him and his family, offering to get Mulligan a consulship if he would desist and threatening suicide if he persisted in exposure; and that Blaine at last flatly refused to return the letters, calling upon Fisher and Atkins to witness his act. Next morning Mr. Blaine submitted to the investigators the written opinion of Hon. J. S. Black, a Democrat, and Hon. Matt. H. Carpenter, a Republican, to the effect that the letters had "no relevancy whatever to the matter under inquiry," and that "it would be most unjust and tyrannical as well as illegal to demand their production."

The Judiciary Committee was now in utmost perplexity. The witnesses were discharged and the matter laid over. Some proposed to bring it before the House, but this plan was given up as dangerous, one member remarking that they at least knew what not to do, and that was, "not to have Blaine cavorting round on the floor of the House." If they could only have prevented this!

The interim was Blaine's opportunity. A foretaste of what followed is given by some doggerel in which a newspaper of the time represented Confederate Brigadiers (a majority of

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the sub-committee investigating Blaine had been in the Southern army) as reciting in Democratic caucus :

He is always in the way—
 Blaine of Maine ;
And in session every day
 Raises Cain ;
When his prodding makes us roar,
Then he lacerates the sore,
Till we holler more and more—
 Blaine of Maine.

How he boxes us around—
 Blaine of Maine ;
Now and then we're on the ground,
 Half insane ;
Frequently to grass we go ;
This is temporary though,
For we rally from the blow,
And prepare to eat our crow,
But he stands us in a row,
And he smites us high and low,
Till we shiver in our woe,
And he keeps us whirling so,
That we have the vertigo—
 Blaine of Maine.

After the morning hour on Monday, June 5th, Mr. Blaine rose to a question of privilege. He began his remarks by observing that the investigation, though authorized in general terms, was aimed solely and only at himself. "The famous witness, Mulligan," he said, had selected out of years of correspondence letters which he thought would be peculiarly damaging to him, Blaine, but they had nothing to do with that investigation. He, Blaine, obtained them under circumstances known to everybody, and defied the House to compel him to produce them. Had Mr. Blaine stopped here his enemies could have made him bite the dust. Apparently he had allowed himself to be driven into a fatal *cul-de-sac*. Not so. Having vindicated his right to the letters, he proceeded, in his most dramatic manner: "Thank God Almighty, I am not



Blaine

S. S. Cox of New York

“ I INVITE THE CONFIDENCE OF FORTY-FOUR MILLIONS OF MY COUNTRYMEN WHILE
I READ THOSE LETTERS FROM THIS DESK ”

The “ Mulligan Letters ” Scene in the House of Representatives, June 5, 1876

“CAVORTING ROUND”

afraid to show them. There they are (holding up a package of letters). There is the very original package. And with some sense of humiliation, with a mortification that I do not pretend to conceal, with a sense of outrage which I think any man in my position would feel, I invite the confidence of forty-four millions of my countrymen while I read those letters from this desk.” For the moment triumph turned to dismay, dismay to triumph. The audience was electrified. The letters seemed to show Mr. Blaine, in one case, at least, high-minded and generous in assuming the losses of “innocent persons who invested on his request.”

After summing up, Mr. Blaine continued :

“ Now, gentlemen, those letters I have read were picked out of correspondence extending over fifteen years. The man did his worst, the very worst he could, out of the most intimate business correspondence of my life. I ask, gentlemen, if any of you—and I ask it with some feeling—can stand a severer scrutiny of or more rigid investigation into your private correspondence? That was the worst he could do.” A pause ensued. Then, resuming, he said: “ There is one piece of testimony wanting. There is but one thing to close the complete circle of evidence. There is but one witness whom I could not have, to whom the judiciary Committee, taking into account the great and intimate connection he had with the transaction, was asked to send a cable despatch—and I ask the gentleman from Kentucky if that despatch was sent to him? ”

“ Who? ” asked Mr. Frye, in an undertone.

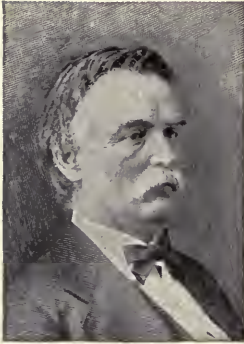
“ Josiah Caldwell. ”

Mr. Knott responded, “ I will reply to the gentleman that Judge Hunton and myself have both endeavored to get Mr. Caldwell’s address and have not yet got it. ”

“ Has the gentleman from Kentucky *received a despatch from Mr. Caldwell?* ”

“ I will explain that directly, ” replied Mr. Knott.

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J. PROCTOR KNOTT

"I want a categorical answer."

"I have received a despatch purporting to be from Mr. Caldwell."

"You did!"

"How did you know I got it?"

"*When* did you get it? I want the gentleman from Kentucky to answer when he got it."

"Answer my question first."

"I never heard of it until yesterday."

"How did you hear it?"

Ignoring the question, Mr. Blaine strode down the aisle holding up a despatch, and turning to Mr. Knott said, with stinging deliberation :

"You got a despatch last Thursday morning at eight o'clock from Josiah Caldwell completely and absolutely exonerating me from this charge—and *you have suppressed it!*"

The sensation up to that moment had been great, but to what now occurred it was as the fuse to the explosion. General Garfield "never saw such a scene in the House." Mr. Blaine had run the blockade, and for the moment the blockaders seemed likely to be "swamped in the wash" as he passed.

Mr. Blaine failed, after all, to be nominated in 1876, but as Garfield's Secretary of State, for a brief period, he led a lively career. In 1881, after a bitter war between the two countries, Peru lay at the mercy of Chile, who inexorably demanded, among the conditions of peace, the cession of a territory rich in deposits of guano. This was deprecated, both as forcibly disrupting an American state and as an example upon this continent of war for the sake of conquest. Mr. Hurlbut, our minister to Peru, took sides with that country. Too hastily recognizing as the proper Peruvian Government one of the two factions claiming this status, he proceeded to lay down the terms on which it might conclude peace with the

BLAINE AND BELMONT

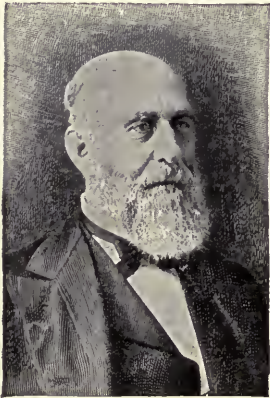
conqueror. Provision must be made for the adjudication of American claims to the guano fields, especially the Landreau claim, and also the Cochet claim, to which a certain "Peruvian Company" had fallen heir. "Hurlbut's Peru" gladly entertained these claims, going so far as to negotiate with him for the cession of a naval station to be held by the United States till the litigation was settled. Naught could exceed Chile's indignation at this procedure. She at once arrested Hurlbut's Peruvian Government and carried it to Santiago. Mr. Blaine reproved Hurlbut's immoderation and sent a special envoy to adjust matters, but he preserved toward Chile a threatening attitude until relieved by Mr. Frelinghuysen. The new Secretary practically abandoned all intervention.

Adventurers who had been at work for the Peruvian Company made broadcast allegations of corruption and improper influences resorted to by them in pushing their scheme. The House of Representatives ordered an investigation, and in due time Mr. Blaine came before its committee. He complained that at an earlier session of the committee Mr. Belmont, a member, had garbled and misconstrued language which he had used in a despatch. Mr. Belmont persisted in declaring his interpretation correct. "I am not in a police court to be badgered," said the ex-Secretary. The verbal duel became a running fire of retorts, culminating when Mr. Blaine repeated the accusation of misconstruing his despatches and characterized Mr. Belmont's words as untruthful. Growing livid, Belmont retorted: "I believe you are a bully and a coward." The committee adjourned in consternation, and for a week the country rang with the echoes of the combat.

Blaine consistently held to the principle, placing him at variance with most of his official friends, that the Southrons themselves must remedy the evils of their elections. Later than the events with which this Chapter deals, he opposed the principle of an ultra-protective tariff as wrought into the McKinley bill. The immediate credit of the reciprocity feature

in that law belonged to him. His foreign policy looked to a federation of the Western Hemisphere. He elaborated the Bureau of American Republics. His letter of invitation to the American Peace Congress, issued November 29, 1881, was revoked by his successor; but efforts to this end, renewed under Harrison, resulted in a Pan-American Conference, presided over by Blaine himself, from which Chile alone went away disaffected. Mr. Blaine's life and travels from 1881 to 1884 cannot be remarked upon here. Though the year 1884 found him in private station, he was not forgotten.

The Convention of 1884 met in Chicago on June 3d. The delegates committed to Blaine were nearly all present by the 2d and in jubilant mood. The despatches of that day



GEORGE F. EDMUNDS

strongly indicated that Blaine would win; but the *New York Times*, Blaine's doughtiest foe among the Republican papers, would not admit this. It urged Edmunds for nomination, or, in case he proved unavailable, Robert T. Lincoln, a man owing no political debts. The *Times* pointed out that men born after Gettysburg and Vicksburg could vote this year, and that, therefore, even a sound candidate, to win, needed something besides fame won in debating war issues.

It was eleven o'clock on the 3d before any number of delegates entered the vast hall. Crowds—smaller, indeed, than in 1880—filled the galleries. The New York delegation formed at the Grand Pacific Hotel, and marched two by two to the wigwam. The gazing populace fell back to let them pass, while cheering lustily for the Empire State. First came George William Curtis, chairman, arm in arm with Titus Sheard; next Theodore Roosevelt paired with President Andrew D. White, of Cornell. Beneath the blue ensign,

EARLY PROCEEDINGS OF CHICAGO CONVENTION

bearing in great gold letters the legend "New York," Curtis took his seat. On the same row, but as far from Curtis as he could get, sat ex-Senator Platt, "devoting his time chiefly to the stroking of his short, silky beard." The band played "Prithee, pretty maiden, will you marry me," as General Mahone, at the head of his Virginia delegation, came in, wearing his broad-brimmed white hat and his curiously fashioned trousers and coat, an immense yellow rose adorning the lapel of the last-named garment. Order was called at a quarter past twelve.

Most of the Arthur delegates, before the proceedings began, considered their candidate beaten; yet the Convention's first act heartened them a little. Stephen B. Elkins, managing for Blaine, had worked up a Blaine-Logan combination, influenced by which the National Committee was induced to recommend to the Convention Blaine's friend, Powell Clayton, of Arkansas, for temporary chairman. This Henry Cabot Lodge opposed by nominating the Honorable J. R. Lynch, a colored Senator from Mississippi, George William Curtis and Theodore Roosevelt seconding the nomination in telling speeches. On roll-call, Lynch was found to have defeated Clayton by a number of votes. The Blaineites received another slight snub. A resolution like that which Conkling invented in 1880 was introduced at their instance, that every delegate taking part in the convention was "bound in honor to support the nominee." Against this George William Curtis protested, saying, "A Republican and a free man I came to this convention, and by the grace of God a Republican and a free man will I go." The resolution was withdrawn.



STEPHEN B. ELKINS

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

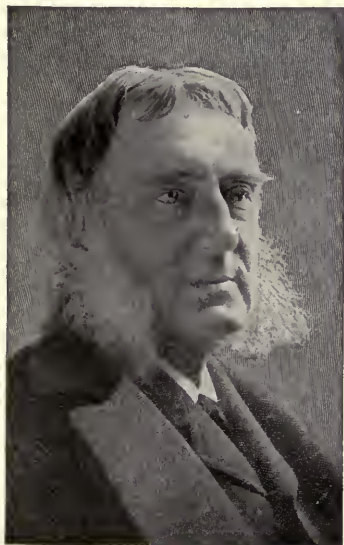
Notwithstanding all this, Blaine's star was clearly in the ascendant. To defeat his nomination all his opponents needed to unite upon Arthur. Arthur had considerable strength owing to his patronage as President, but it proved a broken reed. The Arthur men pleaded with Curtis, Cabot Lodge and Roosevelt, who did their best against Blaine, to turn from Edmunds to Arthur. "Clinging to Edmunds you will surely nominate Blaine," they said. But between Blaine and Arthur the Edmunds men saw little to choose, believing, wisely, so it now seems, that if nominated Arthur would be defeated. They tried to bring out Robert T. Lincoln, a dark horse groomed by the *New York Times*. All in vain. At each ballot Blaine gained while Arthur lost. Edmunds, Logan and John Sherman also lost. Hawley gained two votes on the fourth ballot. Lincoln jumped from four to eight on the third, but sank to two on the fourth. There was "noted a curious tendency in the knees of some of the Edmunds men, particularly those from Massachusetts, to knock together audibly whenever the name of Blaine was mentioned in their hearing," and they, little by little, deserted their favorite. Under the management of Powell Clayton, Arkansas started a bolt of Southern delegates away from Arthur. Assured that himself could not win, Logan turned over to Blaine his Illinois delegation. Upon the fourth ballot "the Plumed Knight" was nominated. The name of John A. Logan, "the Black Eagle," occupied the second place upon the ticket.

The announcement of Blaine's nomination unleashed the latent insanity of ten thousand people within the hall. Hats were thrown high in air, umbrellas whirled around, the State shields torn down and borne proudly upon filial breasts. The crowd outside caught the contagion, and soon a shrill chorus of tug whistles could be heard from the Chicago River. The climax was reached when some one brought and laid upon the chairman's desk a floral helmet, with snowy plume of finest

THEY BOLT THE TICKET.

imported horsehair. The noise redoubled, men took off their coats and waved them, women laughed, or cried, or fainted, impartially. Thus was sounded the key-note of the Republican campaign. A spectator might have noticed one or two silent patches in the great hall in the midst of the overwhelming enthusiasm. These patches, flouted at the time, grew more significant when immediately after the convention many conspicuous party men, especially in the East, and several considerable party organs, led by the *New York Times*, declared that they would not support the ticket.

Spite of all that could be said in his favor, Blaine's nomination evoked the bitterest rancor. The Stalwarts had never forgiven him their discomfiture at his hands in 1880, but they were not now his most serious opponents. Those whom he had deepest reason to fear had been disaffected by his jingo foreign policy, or because they believed him corrupt, or partly for one of these reasons and partly for the other. "I was at the birth of the Republican party," remarked Curtis, "and I fear I am to witness its death." On June 5th the *Times* said



GEORGE WILLIAM CURTIS

editorially, "The thoughtful opponents of Blaine have seen with alarm that he is supported by all the political adventurers, star-route sympathizers, and admirers of loose methods in government." On June 7th, the morning after the nomination, it added: "The *Times* will not support Mr. Blaine for the presidency. It will advise no man to vote for him." After boldly predicting his defeat, it further declared: "That defeat will be the salvation of the Republican Party. It will arouse its torpid conscience,

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it will stir it to self-purification, it will depose the false leaders who have fastened themselves upon it, it will send the rogues to the background, and will make the party once more worthy of honor and of power in the republic it has so nobly served." The *New York Evening Post*, the *Boston Advertiser*, the *Boston Herald*, and the *Springfield Republican* also joined the bolt.

"Mr. Blaine was the incarnation of all the good and all the evil of the Republican organization. He, as much as any surviving statesman of the period immediately succeeding the War of Secession, aided in framing the legislation which resulted in the perpetual extinguishment of slavery, and made its return in the crude form of human bondage thenceforth impossible. On the other hand, those organizations which were developed outside of governmental institutions, but which possessed vast influence and strength, such as the railway corporations and the large landed property organizations, the telegraph and other instrumentalities of commerce, more or less dependent upon congressional favor or congressional non-action for their financial success, had in him a steadfast ally. His administration of the office of Secretary of State under President Garfield was also of a character to give conservative men considerable apprehension. During the period from 1865 to 1884 the greatest extravagance with reference to gifts of land and concessions to corporate greed prevailed and was indulged in by the national legislature. It is true that in that period no well-formed public opinion antagonized this abuse of power, inasmuch as the danger resulting from these aggregations of capital and *quasi* public trusts in the hands of persons not responsible to the people was not at that time felt, or had, at all events, not so clearly manifested itself as during a later period. Mr. Blaine was, during the whole of this period, an active legislator and political leader, and was, therefore, most vulnerable to criticism by a better-informed public

THE MUGWUMP RESOLUTIONS

opinion in consequence of his participation in this mischievous drift of public legislation.”*

As early as December, 1883, certain Republicans of Boston had started a movement “in behalf of the adoption of measures and the nomination of men fitted to command the hearty approval and support of the independent, thoughtful, and discriminating voters of the United States.” As a result a conference of Independent Republicans was called in New York on February 23d, which “*Resolved*, That it is indispensable to the success of the Republican Party that the character, record and associations of its candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States should be such as to warrant entire confidence in their readiness to defend the advance already made toward divorcing the public service from party politics, and to continue these advances until the separation has been made final and complete.”

General Francis C. Barlow, of New York, was made chairman of a committee “to provide for the interchange and practical expression of opinion in harmony with the foregoing resolution, and to continue such action in relation thereto as they may deem expedient.” On May 12th the committee sent a circular to the Republican National Convention. Being ignored in the Convention, a conference of Independent Republicans, held in New York on June 16th, and presided over by George William Curtis, adopted the following resolutions :

“*Whereas*, We are met in conference as Republicans and Independents to take action in opposition to the nominations of James G. Blaine for President, and John A. Logan for Vice-President of the United States ; and

“*Whereas*, These candidates were named in absolute disregard of the reform sentiment of the nation, and representing political methods and principles to which we are unalterably opposed :

“*Resolved*, That it is our conviction that the country will be

*Simon Sterne.



JAMES G. BLAINE

better served by opposing these nominations than by supporting them.”

“*Resolved*, That we look with solicitude to the coming nominations by the Democratic Party; they have the proper men; we hope they will put them before the people for election.”

This overture had a profound effect upon the Democratic managers. By pitting against Blaine a man hostile to machine politics and committed to

administrative reform, they had a clear chance to win. Such a man was Grover Cleveland. He had been born in Caldwell, N. J., March 18, 1837, his father a Presbyterian clergyman. When the future President was four years old his father removed to Fayetteville, N. Y. Here the lad found employment in the “general store” at \$50 a year, sweeping and cleaning out, opening and closing the store, and waiting on customers.

A former boy companion of Cleveland's, an old farmer, told of having once soundly thrashed the future President. He said “it was one of those old-fashioned rough-and-tumble fights, in which each fellow pulls hair, scratches, kicks and cuffs to his heart's content. I was a much more powerful lad than Grover. Soon I had him down. I kept yelling out to him, ‘You will stick pins in my seat, will you! You will, will you!’ And, each time, I hit him another bat in the eye or neck. Well, Shell Pratt and Jewett Dunbar finally pulled me off, made us shake hands, and declared the

GROVER CLEVELAND'S EARLY CAREER

fight over with victory for me." The vanquished remembered this history and long subsequently invited the victor to take dinner with him at the chief mansion in the United States.

One who was Cleveland's boy room-mate at Fayetteville said: "We lay upon a tick stuffed with straw, which had the uncomfortable peculiarity of accumulating in knobs here and there. I recall how, often, in the night, Grover would stir uneasily in his hard bed, maybe even getting up and with his hand reaching down in the tick to remove the troublesome lump on which he had been resting. In that room, without carpet, without wall-paper, without pictures, drear and desolate, we two lived together one whole year. In the winter we sometimes fairly froze. There was no stove in the room, heat coming up from a pipe leading from the store below. Rats ran in the walls and often peered at us from out holes in the plaster."

Young Cleveland's education, so far as it went, was completed at Clinton, N. Y. In his seventeenth year he became a clerk and an assistant teacher in the New York Institution for the Blind. In 1855 he started west to secure more lucrative employment, but was induced to stop at Buffalo. He was soon at work in a law office there, as clerk and copyist, at \$4 per week. Two years later he was admitted to the bar, retaining for some time his clerkship, first at \$600 a year, then at \$1,000. In 1863 he was chosen Assistant District Attorney of Erie County, in 1870 Sheriff of the county. In 1881, by a union of Republicans, Democrats, Independents and "Reformers," he was elected Mayor of Buffalo. His conviction, to which he in good degree adhered, was that a city's affairs should be administered with the least practicable regard for mere politics, "as a good business man manages his private concerns." Pursuing this policy he soon became known as the "Veto Mayor," saving the city much money by his fearless use of the negative. In 1882, as we have seen, by the support of the same elements which elected him Mayor and by

the chance of a bitter Republican quarrel in his State, Mr. Cleveland was triumphant in his canvass for the governorship. As Governor he practiced a strict Jeffersonian simplicity, keeping no carriage and living within his official salary. To each public question on which he had to act he gave personal attention and study, thus performing an amount of work which would have killed a weaker man.

Unlike his rival for the Presidency, Mr. Cleveland had held no office requiring him to take ground upon any momentous public question or concern before the people. As Governor of New York he had proved an excellent official, and except his inexperience in federal affairs nothing could be said of him to indicate that he would not do well as Chief Magistrate of the United States. Mr. Cleveland represented more thoroughly than did his adversary the growing feeling in favor of retiring the questions which arose from the war, and of so dealing with political matters as to conserve the interests of the whole community instead of the interests of mere classes.

The Democratic Convention met in Chicago on July 8th. The call had "cordially invited" "all Democratic Conservative citizens of the United States, irrespective of past associations and differences," who could unite "in the effort for pure, economical and constitutional government," to join in sending delegates. Democratic public opinion had fixed upon Cleveland as the party's standard-bearer, and its mandate to nominate him was strengthened by the Republican revolt against Blaine. Tammany vehemently opposed Cleveland, Thomas F. Grady making before the Convention a long tirade against him, which, however, quickened the cause it was meant to kill. General Bragg, of Wisconsin, speaking for the young men of his State, said: "They love Cleveland and respect him not only for himself, for his character, for his integrity and judgment and iron will, but they love him most for the enemies he has made." Though requiring a two-thirds vote, Cleveland's nomination necessitated but a second ballot, this

ATTITUDE OF THE OLD DEMOCRACY



GROVER CLEVELAND

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giving him 683 votes in a total of 820. His closest competitor, Thomas A. Hendricks, received the nomination for Vice-President.

The old, staid Democracy did not hail Cleveland's nomination with enthusiasm. There was a feeling among them that he was more a Mugwump than a Democrat, and that his nomination had been secured by efforts of Democrats little in touch with the masses.

Hendricks was named not

because he was the choice of the men who manipulated the Convention, but for the reason that, having put in the first place the man they wanted, they wished the aid of Hendricks and such as he in carrying the election. Four years later Allen G. Thurman was nominated for the same reason.

On July 22d, the Independents, or "Mugwumps," as they now began to be called, issued an address recommending Republican and Independent voters to support Cleveland. The response was wide and enthusiastic. The Independents took an active part in the canvass, distributing innumerable documents and furnishing many of the best speakers. In this service Carl Schurz was foremost. George William Curtis, too, who had not followed Greeley in 1872, threw the weight of his influence for the Democratic nominee. It is to be noted, however, that by no means all Republicans of independent tendencies took this course. A great number, men of eminence and spotless integrity, deemed Blaine the object

of unjust attacks, and warmly espoused his cause. Such were Senator Hoar, William Walter Phelps and the poet Whittier.* Many other Reform Republicans regarded the Democracy with such distrust that they supported Blaine when nominated, though opposing his nomination. Theodore Roosevelt and Henry Cabot Lodge represented this class. Senator Edmunds, while doing naught to hinder Blaine's election, could not be led to speak or write a word in his behalf. Even the anti-Blaine Republicans took pains to advertise that they supported Cleveland not as a Democrat, but as "a platform in himself" and "better than his party." They wished not so much to put the Democratic party in power as to put Cleveland personally in power. They supported Cleveland not because he was a Democrat, but because he was Cleveland, rejecting Blaine not as a Republican, but simply as Blaine.

Mr. Blaine's nomination made the campaign personal. To balance the hard things said of him, the early pages of Cleveland's life were searched for blots. A few were perhaps found, yet the general fruitlessness of the quest was impressively in the candidate's favor. With aught of corruption in public life no one thought of charging him, his record in this particular being absolutely stainless. Blaine was less happy here. If he was far from being the unprincipled trickster so often pictured, he had been less scrupulous in office than his best admirers could have wished.

Mr. Blaine took an intensely practical view of politics. With the "sublimated theories of so-called reformers" he never sympathized. Of these "unco guid," as he called them, he wrote Garfield, in 1880: "They are to be treated with respect, but they are the worst possible political advisers—upstarts, conceited, foolish, vain, without knowledge of measures, ignorant of men, shouting a shibboleth which represents

*On November 28, 1884, Whittier wrote: "I am awfully vexed by the result of the election. Our candidate made such a splendid canvass and would have been triumphantly chosen over Democrats and Independents, but for the miserable John-Johns."

BLAINE'S MAGNETISM

nothing of practical reform that you are not a thousand times pledged to! They are noisy, but not numerous; pharisaical, but not practical; ambitious, but not wise; pretentious, but not powerful!" Over Blaine men went insane in pairs, for his "magnetism" either strongly attracted or strongly repelled whatever came within his field. Hatred of him was rancorous, and it usually told, since his long public career, like an extended sea-coast, was at a disadvantage on the defensive. Love for the man was equally uncompromising, most so at the West, while the defection from him was most pronounced in the East. People not the reverse of sensible likened him to Clay, some of them to Washington. In West Virginia a man risked his life by holding to the rear platform of Blaine's private car as it left the station, begging for some memento of the hero to hang in his house and show his children. Mr. Blaine himself thus described another illustrative incident: "I had the felicity of N——'s company, who dwelt at length on the greatness and grandeur of my character. He intimated that compared with me Abraham, Isaac and Jacob were 'small potatoes'—all of which in a car and in a loud voice, with many people listening, may be called pleasant entertainment."

Well had it been for James G. Blaine had he always remembered the sage words of Salmon P. Chase, uttered when he was Secretary of the Treasury, as a reason for refusing to accept \$4,200, which represented an increase in value on stocks that he had ordered but not paid for: "To be able to render the most efficient service to our country it is essential for me to *be* right as well as to *seem* right, and to *seem* right as well as to *be* right." It was recited that in 1869, when a bill to renew a land grant for the Little Rock & Fort Smith Railroad was to be saddled with a fatal amendment, Speaker Blaine, at the request of Arkansas members, had Logan make, while he sustained, a point of order removing the incubus; that he subsequently called the promoters' attention to his agency in the matter, endeavoring to be let

into the enterprise "on the ground floor," in which he failed, though appointed selling agent of the bonds with a large commission. Blaine's friends replied that the ruling was proper, being made to frustrate a vicious lobby job and save a desirable piece of legislation which had passed the Senate unanimously. Judge Black, a Democrat, deemed the refutation of the charge wholly satisfactory. Unfortunately, Mr. Blaine's assertion that the Little Rock road derived all its benefits from Arkansas and not from Congress was inaccurate, since the bill so narrowly saved was one renewing the land grant to the State for the railroad. Blaine's assailants considered this statement clearly a falsehood. Hard to justify was Mr. Blaine's denial of "any transaction of any kind with Thomas A. Scott" concerning Little Rock bonds or railway business. That, through Scott and Caldwell, he did put off upon the Union Pacific some Little Rock bonds at a high price seems certain from a letter which he received from Fisher, with his reply.

Blaine unquestionably offered to get Caldwell an allotment in a new distribution of national bank circulation, writing: "It will be to some extent a matter of favoritism who gets the banks in the several localities, and it will be in my power to cast 'an anchor to the windward' in your behalf if you desire it." Indelicate, if you please, one does not see how this offer necessarily involved corruption. It would seem that Blaine permitted himself to be paid twice over for a loan of \$25,000, once by sale of the collateral, realizing \$30,000, and once, by judgment of the court, from the reorganized Little Rock Company. The utmost was made of a letter and a telegram from Blaine to Fisher, both dated April 16, 1876, coaching Fisher as to the form of vindication for himself. "I want you to send me such a letter as the enclosed draft," he wrote, and, at the bottom, "Burn this letter." At the time of the famous Caldwell cablegram, too, it was discovered that an anonymous despatch had been sent Caldwell similar



"THE PARTY OF RUM, ROMANISM AND REBELLION"

The Reception given by Ministers to Mr. Blaine at the Fifth Avenue Hotel, October 20, 1884, at which the "Burchard Incident" took place
Drawn by T. de Thulstrup, from photographs and descriptions by eyewitnesses

J. M. King
S. D. Burchard J. G. Blaine

“RUM, ROMANISM AND REBELLION”

in tenor to the one returned. Suspicion was thus aroused that all vindictory statements used on behalf of Blaine had been prepared by him.

A Tammany orator said that no Irishman or Catholic would vote for Cleveland. Mr. Blaine was hostile to the political solidarity of any race or religion, and in this respect his influence—attracting Romanists to his party and repelling anti-Catholic zealots—was wholly good. His religion, he said, was Christianity tinctured with the Presbyterianism of the Blaines and the Catholicism of the Gillespies. “I would not for a thousand presidencies,” he declared, “speak a disrespectful word of my mother’s religion.” Had he lived and continued dominant in Republican councils neither “A. P. A.-ism” nor any Romish counterpart thereof could have arisen.

Whether or not any influence for Blaine emanated from the Catholic clergy, many Irishmen and Catholics sedulously wrought to elect him. This drove some Protestant voters to Cleveland. Nevertheless the vast majority of the Protestant clergy throughout the North strongly favored Blaine. As the campaign drew to its close a goodly party of them waited on their candidate at the Fifth Avenue Hotel to assure him of their unwavering devotion. One Dr. Burchard made the address-in-chief. Apparently holding the Democracy responsible for all the evils of intemperance, religious bigotry and the war, he ascribed to it the three damning “R’s,” “Rum, Romanism and Rebellion.” A story not wholly dissimilar was told of Blaine’s father, to the effect that when running for protonotary he seemed likely to suffer from a charge that he was a Catholic because his wife was. Mr. Blaine went to the family priest for a certificate of non-membership, which was duly furnished, as follows: “This is to certify that Ephraim L. Blaine is not now and never was a member of the Catholic Church. Furthermore, in my opinion, he is not fit to be a member of any church.” The certificate was effectual, and Mr. Blaine triumphantly elected. Not so happy the *dénouement*



THOMAS A. HENDRICKS

in our Blaine's case. Burchard's ridiculous alliteration "stuck" in an ugly way in people's minds, and, much as was done to show its insignificance, no doubt lost Blaine many votes. Some thought these enough, if saved, to have made him President.

The Tammany men, after all, mostly voted for Cleveland. Many Democrats foresaw that without Tammany's support New York would be lost, and thereby the election. Governor Hendricks, candidate for the Vice-Presidency, strongly felt this, and though a thousand miles away, decided to visit the Empire State as a peace-maker. He sought John Kelly, then the absolute chief of Tammany Hall, finding him greatly alienated from the party. Kelly insisted that Grover Cleveland was not a Democrat, that he had no claim upon true Democrats for their support, and that if he should be elected he would betray his party. Their conference lasted far into the night. Mr. Hendricks employed all his eloquence and art to persuade Mr. Kelly to favor the ticket. Finally the chief said: "Governor Hendricks, for your sake we will do it. You may go home with my assurance that Tammany Hall will do its duty."

The early returns gave Cleveland the solid South, besides Connecticut, New Jersey and Indiana. The rest of the North was Republican, save New York, which was in painful doubt and remained so for days. The Empire State was the umpire State. The excitement pending conclusive returns exceeded even that of 1876. Good-humored bluff and chaffing gave way to dangerous irritation as the suspense dragged on. Thursday, November 6th, saw an outbreak in Indianapolis, when the loyal hosts of Democracy sought to carry their banner into the post-office. This

EXCITEMENT OVER THE RETURNS

premature effort to capture that citadel failed, and the banner was torn to bits, which Republican defenders wore as badges. In Kansas, St. John, the Prohibitionist candidate for President, was burned in effigy. The "Rebel Brigadiers" were the most hilarious, making the Southern sky lurid with fireworks, and the air vocal with salutes, none under a hundred guns. Montgomery on November 6th doubled the number of guns in each salute, and on the 7th four hundred were required to voice her joy. In Boston the streets near newspaper offices were packed solid. Every new bulletin evoked cheers and hoots. A picture, now of Blaine, now of Cleveland, would be raised in air only to be at once seized and shredded. A crowd threw stones and rotten eggs at the *Journal* Building, breaking a large plate-glass window. In New York conflicting statements given out by the great dailies inflamed the populace. The *Tribune* and the *Mail and Express* early ceased to issue bulletins, but the *Herald* and the *World* kept on, showing majorities for Cleveland. The *Sun* office, where Associated Press despatches favorable to Blaine alternated with the *Sun's* own despatches giving the State to Cleveland, drew the vastest throngs. Six hundred men marched down Broadway shouting "No, no, Blaine won't go!" It being suspected that Jay Gould and the Associated Press were withholding or perverting returns, a crowd demonstrated in front of the Western Union Building with the yell, "Hang Jay Gould!" but policemen soon dispersed them. Some two hundred men before the *Tribune* office burned copies of that paper. So threatening did the excitement become in Chicago that on November 7th Mayor Harrison requested the papers to cease issuing bulletins. In Boston bulletins were discontinued. In Philadelphia political clubs were directed not to parade, persons blowing horns or masquerading on the streets being liable to arrest.

The Democratic managers professed apprehension lest the "fraud of '76" should be repeated in a new guise, and

were determined to prevent this. The Electoral Commission, however, now proved to be, to the Democracy, a blessing in disguise. Its rule, "not to go behind the returns," had been made the New York law for procedure like that in hand, and as, upon a count under the most rigid scrutiny, the New York returns footed up a Cleveland plurality of a trifle over a thousand votes, post-election manipulation was impossible. Including those of New York, Cleveland received 219 electoral votes to Blaine's 182. The popular vote reached beyond 10,000,000, of which 4,911,000 were for Cleveland, giving him a plurality over Blaine of 62,000.

CHAPTER XVII

A DEMOCRAT AT THE HELM

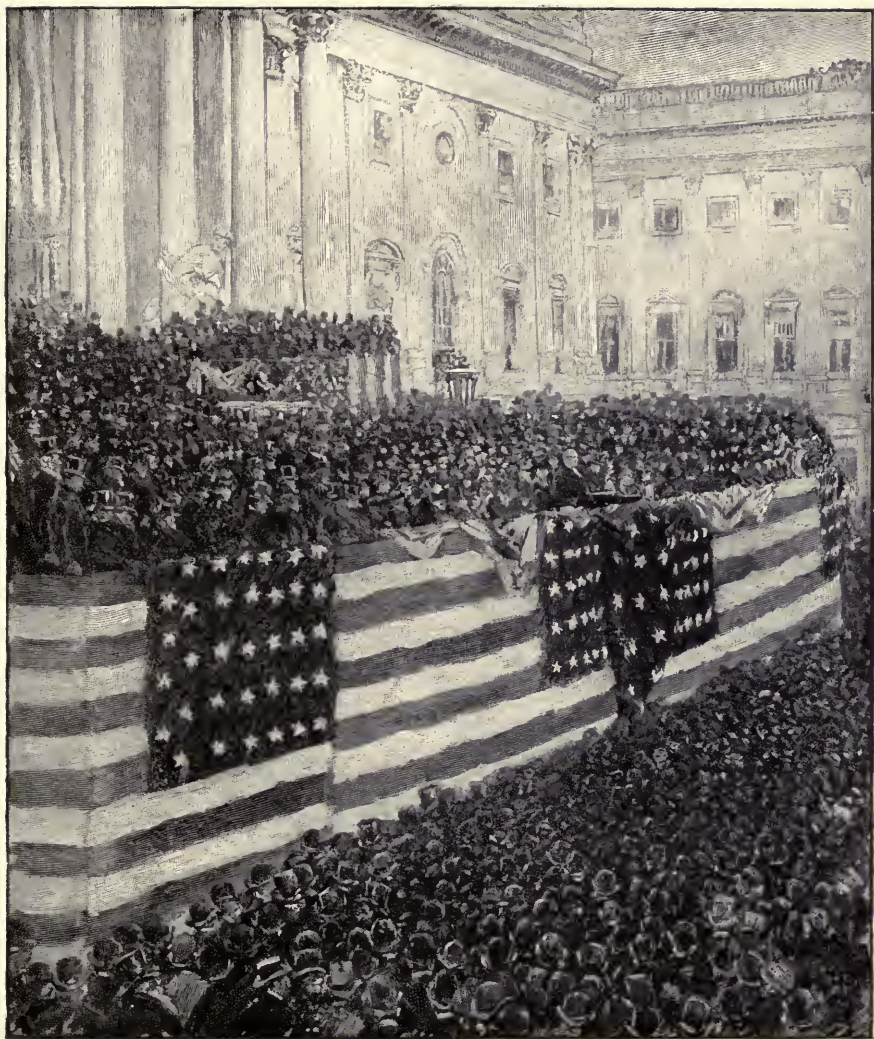
FOREBODINGS AFTER CLEVELAND'S ELECTION.—THE DEMOCRACY JUBILANT.—GENERAL EXCELLENCE OF THE ADMINISTRATION.—THE PRESIDENT'S MANNERS.—HIS MARRIAGE.—A WHITE HOUSE WEDDING.—GOOD LAWS PASSED BY THE FORTY-NINTH CONGRESS.—THE INTER-STATE COMMERCE ACT.—PROVISIONS AND DEFECTS.—THE NEW NAVY.—A NAVAL ADVISORY BOARD.—ITS RECOMMENDATIONS.—NAVAL PROGRESS UNDER CLEVELAND.—THE ATLANTA COMPARED WITH THE CONSTITUTION.—FRIGATES AND BATTLE-SHIPS.—OUR WAR VESSELS AT THE KIEL FETE.—UTTERANCES OF LA PATRIE.—THE COLUMBIA'S SWIFT RACE HOME.—HER WELCOME.—THE CHARLESTON EARTHQUAKE.—HELLGATE REEFS BLOWN UP.—JACOB SHARP'S OPERATIONS IN NEW YORK CITY.—THE DUSKIN SUSPENSION CASE.—REPEAL OF THE TENURE OF OFFICE ACT.—CLEVELAND AND THE CIVIL SERVICE.—SUCCESS AND FAILURE AS A REFORMER.—UNPOPULARITY.—THE PAN-ELECTRIC SCANDAL.—PENSION VEToes.—BAD PENSION LEGISLATION.—VETO OF THE DEPENDENT PENSION BILL.—THE REBEL FLAG ORDER.—ATTITUDE OF THE GRAND ARMY OF THE REPUBLIC.—HOW THE REPUBLICANS BECAME A HIGH-TARIFF PARTY.—THE TARIFF QUESTION IN 1884.—BROUGHT UP BY THE PLETHORIC STATE OF THE TREASURY.—MESSAGE OF DECEMBER, 1885.—OF 1887.—“A CONDITION, NOT A THEORY.”—THE MILLS BILL PASSES THE HOUSE BUT DIES IN THE SENATE.—THE FISHERIES DISPUTE.—OF LONG STANDING.—STRAINED RELATIONS WITH CANADA IN 1886.—RETALIATION PROPOSED.—JOINT COMMISSION OF 1887.—FAILURE OF PROPOSED TREATY.—MODUS VIVENDI.—SUBSIDENCE OF THE TROUBLE.—THE NORTHWESTERN FISHERIES IMBROGLIO.—TREATY OF 1892.—ARBITRATION.—POINTS DETERMINED.—PROVISION FOR A JOINT POLICE OF BEHRING SEA.

THE election of Grover Cleveland, the first Democrat to press the presidential chair after Buchanan left it in 1861, brought grief to millions of honest hearts. On assurance that Cleveland had really won, an old lady exclaimed: “Well, the poor won't have any work this winter, that's certain!” A college president discoursed lugubriously to his students upon the Democratic victory, as portending he knew not what of ill. Many good souls thought the

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

Government in effect at an end. Those of less pessimistic temper prophesied simply a financial panic. "The South is again in the saddle," still others said; "slavery will be restored." Most Republicans supposed that the new President would, at the very least, fill every office with a Democrat. The Democracy, with exceptions, was correspondingly jubilant. Over a hundred thousand people visited the capital to view the Inauguration Day ceremonies, and a quarter as many actually marched in the procession. Of this both colored troops and ex-Confederates formed part. The inaugural address was received with great enthusiasm, even Republican Senators and Representatives publicly expressing approval of its tone. The Cabinet was on every hand pronounced an able one, and nearly all the great diplomatic offices abroad were filled with first-rate men.

Those who predicted that the President would be inefficient proved false prophets. The Treasury he administered with economy. The development of our Navy was continued, systematized and accelerated. No clean sweep of office-holders occurred, and where a colored man was displaced a colored man succeeded him, provided a good one could be found. Extensive land grants, shown to be fraudulent, were declared forfeited. Cattle kings were forced to remove their herds from Indian reservations. Federal troops kept "boomers" from public lands. A conspiracy by members of the railway postal service to strike was nipped in the bud and the conspirators discharged. When, on March 31, 1885, the Prestan rebels in Panama seized an American ship, marines were promptly landed on both sides of the isthmus to maintain the rights and dignity of this Republic. Such vigor in administration soon convinced all that the ship of state was safe with a Democrat at the helm. In the self-command, independence and executive ability which he displayed, the President exceeded the expectations of his friends, and disappointed his enemies. He performed his exacting duties



THE INAUGURATION OF PRESIDENT CLEVELAND

The President delivering his Inaugural Address from the grand central portico of the Capitol, March 4, 1885

Painted by Childe Hassam from photographs

A WEDDING IN THE WHITE HOUSE

with dignity and intelligence, was straightforward in his actions, and did not seek popularity by drifting with the current. Whatever else might be said against him, none could call him a demagogue. If in the exercise of his appointing and removing power he made some mistakes, the wonder was, all things considered, that he made so few. Though a Democrat, he was yet President of all the people. In manners he continued at Washington to be what he had been at Buffalo and at Albany—simple without any affectation of simplicity. Like Blaine, he wrote with his own hand his official papers. Even his wedding invitations were autographs.

A few weeks after his inauguration as President, was announced Mr. Cleveland's engagement to Miss Frances Folsom, the daughter of his friend and partner, Oscar Folsom, who had died in 1875. They were married on June 2, 1886, at the Executive Mansion. The old edifice had already been the scene of eight nuptial ceremonies, but all these had been very private. Now, however, the occasion could not but have public significance, since for the first time the President of the United States was a principal party. Ferns, azaleas and hydrangeas in the windows, choice cut flowers banked on the four mantels, smilax pendent from the chandeliers, foliage plants in the fireplace and a cluster of tall palms near the east wall decorated the East Room, whose four garlanded columns bore each a floral shield in the national colors. The Blue Room, where the marriage ceremony took place, was transfigured to a bower: on the south side a tropical grove, groups of flowering plants at the main entrance and near the centre, and the fireplace glowing with a floral counterfeit of flames. Upon the east mantel the happy day was calendared in pansies. The opposite mantel bore a rose bank, shading off from light at the edges to a dark centre, in which was imbedded the monogram "C. F." in moss and white roses. A little before seven a small company were received in this apartment by the President's sisters, Mrs. Hoyt and Miss Cleveland. The Cabinet,

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

save Attorney-General Garland, were of the number, the rest, aside from the officiating clergyman and his wife, being intimate friends either of the bride or of the bridegroom. Miss Folsom entered the room on the President's arm, the company falling back in a semicircle, while the Marine Band, in resplendent uniforms, rendered Mendelssohn's Wedding March. The music was followed by a sovereign salute of twenty-one guns and the ringing of church bells in the city. Meanwhile the marriage ceremony was concluded, and Mr. and Mrs. Cleveland left Washington for the summer cottage they had taken.

Antagonistic as Cleveland and the Republicans were, some good laws passed the Forty-ninth Congress, among them the Inter-State Commerce Act, placing the great railroads of the country under the general government's supervision. This was meant to remedy the unfair discrimination in railway facilities and charges theretofore prevalent between different persons and different places. The "dead-head" system had grown alarmingly. Favored shippers obtained rates enabling them to crush their rivals by this advantage alone; and long-haul tariffs were far too low in comparison with those for short hauls. Shippers of freight from Rochester to San Francisco had found it profitable to pay transportation charges first to New York City, their goods then going straight back through Rochester again. The act of February 4, 1887, forbade special rates to special shippers. It provided that all charges for the transportation of passengers or property from State to State or from this to a foreign country should be "reasonable and just." Special rates, rebates, drawbacks and unjust discriminations, also all undue and unreasonable preferences, were prohibited. Freight tariffs were ordered to be conspicuously and carefully published, and could not be advanced without ten days' public notice. The act raised an able Commission of five members to administer and enforce its provisions. Any person or corporation could complain to this Commission

INTER-STATE RAILWAY LAW

against any inter-State railway, whereupon the Commission must investigate the charges. The Commission was given large power over the railways by direct prescription, command, or decree; and besides, in case a railway disobeyed it, had a right to proceed against such railway by injunction or attachment in a United States Court. It required of the railways annual reports, uniform in book-keeping, each setting forth in detail the financial condition of the company. The act inhibited charging or receiving for the carriage of passengers or a given class of freight—conditions being the same—any greater compensation for a shorter than for a longer haul over the same line in the same direction. The Commission might, however, in its discretion, suspend the operation of the short-haul clause in any case where its enforcement bade fair to work hardship, as by favoring Canadian against United States railways, or by throwing the entire traffic into the hands of carriers by water, thus forcing the railway deprived of long-haul profits into insolvency. The immense expense per mile attending local railway traffic on the transcontinental lines could not be matched in long-haul charges without depriving them entirely of their through freight business. Most of the provisions named worked well. Questionable, perhaps, was the interdiction of "pooling," which was almost universally evaded.

Another point of public policy about which the President and Congress substantially agreed was the building up of the navy. In 1881 the grand old frigate *Constitution*, her ensign at last hauled down, was put out of commission, dismantled, and placed beside the *Ticonderoga*, slowly to fall in pieces. This step had been contemplated a generation before, but the poet Holmes then procured for the venerable warrior a stay of execution by the plea beginning, "Aye, tear her tattered ensign down!" These rotting hulks typified our neglected and degenerate navy, with its thirty-seven cruisers, all but four of wood, its fourteen single-turreted monitors, built during the war, its guns all or nearly all muzzle-loading, and many of



WILLIAM E. CHANDLER

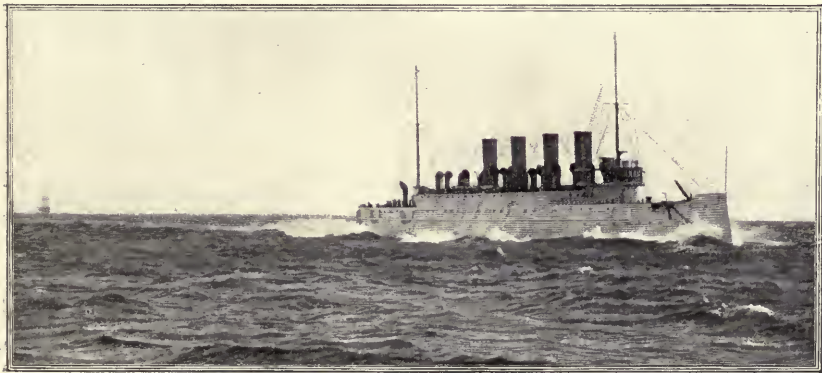
them smooth-bores. Hon. William E. Chandler, Secretary of the Navy under President Arthur, deserves the honor of being the first pungently to urge the building of a new navy worthy the American nation. Mr. Arthur cordially endorsed the recommendation. Among the most meritorious deeds of Garfield's Administration was an order signed by Secretary Hunt, in 1881, appointing a Naval Advisory Board of able and experienced officers. In its later report it recommended a programme for the next eight years, which, while involving the vast outlay of \$30,000,000, would place in commission the twenty-one iron-clads "absolutely needed," seventy unarmored cruisers, five rams, five torpedo gun-boats and twenty torpedo-boats. To make a beginning Congress authorized the construction of three unarmored cruisers, the *Atlanta*, the *Boston* and the *Chicago*, and of the despatch-boat *Dolphin*.

The policy thus entered upon was to be permanent. The Cleveland years marked important forward steps in it, and thereafter progress was continuous, rapid and splendid. To December 4, 1894, forty-seven vessels were either in commission or building, their cost varying from \$3,000,000 each for the battle-ships *Oregon*, *Massachusetts*, *Indiana* and *Iowa*, to \$25,000 for the smallest torpedo-boat. The sea-going and fighting qualities of the new ships, and the comforts and even luxuries which they provided for their officers and crews, evoked admiration both at home and abroad. Their plate was an alloy of nickel and steel, superior to any yet produced in Europe. The old *Constitution* could, with her best guns, at 1,000 yards, pierce twenty-two inches of oak, about the thickness of her own hull at water-line. The $\frac{5}{8}$ -inch steel covering at the *Atlanta's* water-line had nearly the same resisting power as the *Constitution's* twenty-two inches of oak. The *Atlanta's* 6-inch

SHIPS OF THE NEW NAVY

guns would, at 1,000 yards, bore through a surface having twenty times the resisting power of her own or the *Constitution's* hull at water-line. At the same range her 8-inch guns could pierce fourteen inches of iron. Both were, technically, "frigates," a sort of naval cavalry, to accompany and assist battle-ships as scouts, or to convoy friendly commerce and destroy that of the enemy. This predatory rôle was indeed a cowardly one, like privateering, or like land warfare upon civilians and their property; but so long as naval tactics admitted such barbarism ships able to perpetrate it could not but be prized. The *Atlanta* could riddle her like when hull down on the horizon, while battle-ships, like the immense *Iowa*, which displaced 11,300 tons, to make any serious impression on one another must approach to within at least 4,000 yards.

At the international naval fête in 1895, when the Kiel Canal was opened, our *New York* and *Columbia* were objects of utmost curiosity. The *Columbia* was a protected cruiser 412 feet long at the load water-line, 22 feet 6 inches in mean draft, 58 feet 2 inches in breadth, with 7,375 tons displacement. Her armament consisted of one 8-inch breech-loading rifle, two 6-inch and eight 4-inch rapid-fire guns, twelve 6-pounder and four 1-pounder rapid-fire guns, and four Gatlings. Built for a commerce destroyer, though closely resem-



The United States Steamship Columbia on her Government Speed Trial
From a photograph by Rau

bling a merchantman, she could, like a wolf in sheep's clothing, draw fatally near her victim without exposing her true character. After the naval *fête* referred to, *La Patrie*, of Paris, said: "What has struck France and all Europe with surprise mixed with fright, is the speed of one of the vessels of the American fleet. The *Columbia* will be able to accept or refuse combat according to her wishes. She will thunder forth shot and shell or run away at will. She can with impunity cover the surface of the ocean with ruins and wrecks, or laugh at the avengers sent to pursue her. The European nation which should have the foresight to create a large number of these terrible cruisers would be unassailable, invulnerable and invincible." Of her powers to overhaul most merchantmen or to run away from battle-ships, the *Columbia* soon gave signal proof, making the trip home from Southampton under natural draught and in spite of some heavy weather—though, it is said, using extra coal and exhausting her men—in 6 days, 23 hours and 49 minutes, an average speed of 18.53 knots an hour, the best long-distance run ever made by a war-ship. For a shorter time she was good for over 22 knots. The *St. Louis*, an ocean greyhound then newly built, and the swift *Augusta Victoria*, both starting just behind the *Columbia*, failed to catch her. Great was the jubilation when, on August 2, 1895, her snowy hull, stained with spots of rust, and her four buff smoke-stacks crystallized over with salt from the waves, approached her anchorage on this side. All the standing-room on the Battery and the North River front was full of people, whose cheers joined the diversified applause. "Such a chorus of screeches, grunts, toots and shrieks is seldom heard in New York waters."

Notwithstanding this pleasant harmony of parties upon a few weighty matters, the opposition to Cleveland was resolute and bitter. Each doubtful act of his was exhibited in the worst possible light, and innumerable falsehoods forged to aggravate his discredit. If there appeared a direful portent

THE CHARLESTON EARTHQUAKE

in the sky or a deadly fever or tornado on the earth, there were not wanting persons ready to arraign the Administration therefor.

The first week of September, 1886, a destructive earthquake shook important portions of the United States. In lower New York City chandeliers were swayed and clocks stopped by the motion. Vibrations were felt from Cape Cod as far west as Chicago and Milwaukee and south to Jacksonville, Fla. The earth-dance was slight in Baltimore, alarming in Washington. The worst that occurred at other points was but a hint of the fearful fate which overtook Charleston, S. C. The horror broke upon the inhabitants in the dead of night, and so awful was the rocking and rumbling of the ground that women and children went insane. Drove of blacks rushed, frantic and half-clad, to the field and parks. A pious old negro in the midst of one dense throng, engaged in prayer. "Good Lawd," his petition ran, "*Come* and help us! Oh, come *now!* An' come *yo'self*, Lawd; '*tain't no time for boys!*'" The first shock occurred Tuesday night. On Friday night, when all, worn out, had sought slumber under such shelter as remained, suddenly came a new convulsion advertised by a deafening alarum like thunder. Once more the shrieking multitudes rushed to the open amid showers of bricks and plaster, negroes making the night doubly hideous with their weird lamentations. Almost precisely twenty-four hours later came a third shock, milder, but sufficient to evict the people still again. The indication that the terrestrial ague was periodic put men awatch for another disturbance on Sunday night, and they were not disappointed. At the same hour as before, the demon came amid appalling throes. Fortunately, this fourth quaking was his adieu. When the telegraph lines were again in order, permitting the world to learn what had taken place, it was found that seven-eighths of Charleston's houses had been rendered unfit for habitation, scores of persons killed and \$8,000,000 worth of property destroyed. The

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME



SCENES
IN
CHARLESTON

AFTER THE EARTHQUAKE

handsomest streets suffered most, desolation as from innumerable dynamite explosions being visible far up and down many of them. Railroad tracks were torn awry, rifts and gullies gaping in all directions. For days all highways to the city were impassable, cutting off relief.

Many conjectures were uttered regarding the cause of

HALLET'S POINT REEF BLOWN UP

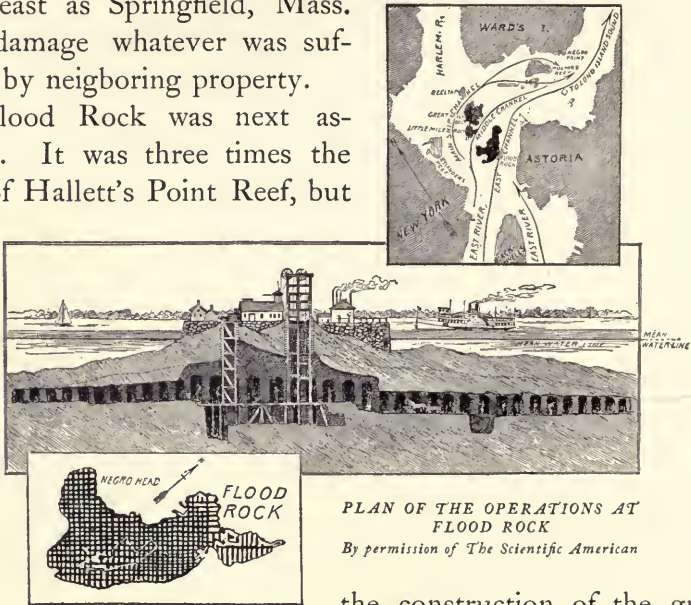
the earthquake, none very satisfactory. Fancy, however, could hardly avoid connecting it somehow with the artificial earthquake of the preceding October, when, through a brilliant piece of engineering executed by General John Newton, the channel from East River to Long Island Sound was rid of the last Hellgate ledge which dangerously choked it. Since 1884 this bit of coast had been the subject of many futile experiments. Strong tides sweeping back and forth over the reefs had strewn the spot with wrecks; yet the necessities of commerce, especially of the coastwise trade, kept it a thoroughfare. Up to 1876 the expenditure of not much less than \$2,000,000 had resulted in the demolition of only a few outworks. The Scylla and Charybdis, Hallet's Point Reef and Flood Rock, remained. The reef was made ready for annihilation by the novel method of tunnelling. The tunnels, corresponding to its semicircular form, radiated somewhat like the ribs of a fan, being connected with each other by concentric passages, the whole covering nearly three acres. Thus honeycombed, the rock was impregnated with above thirteen thousand cartridges, containing something like twenty-five tons of powder, and all were connected with electric batteries.

The experiment was so unprecedented and devised on so large a scale, that in anticipation many people living near suffered terrors as if a disastrous convulsion of nature were at hand. That the mine should be set off on Sunday, as had been arranged, was also a source of distress. General Newton, however, was unwilling to imperil life by delay. At high-tide, therefore, on Sunday, September 24, 1876, his baby daughter was allowed to touch the electric key, and instantly the thirteen thousand potent germs were hatched. For three seconds the water foamed and tumbled at a height of forty or fifty feet, cowed in thick black smoke, and ejecting fragments of rock and mud. A shock was felt in New York City, attended by a low booming sound. The tremor extended as far to the

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

northeast as Springfield, Mass. No damage whatever was suffered by neighboring property.

Flood Rock was next assaulted. It was three times the size of Hallett's Point Reef, but



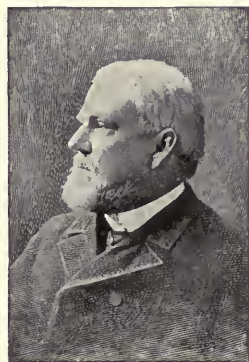
the construction of the grid-iron system of tunnels was now watched without alarm, the earlier achievement having set all qualms at rest. Dynamite was the explosive used. When all was ready, General Newton's daughter May, now eleven years of age, once more pressed the button, this time blowing about 300,000 cubic yards of reef into fragments—partly, indeed, into powder. "A tremendous volume of water rose to a height of one hundred and fifty or two hundred feet, masses of white foam shining in the sunlight, resembling the appearance of a fantastic iceberg lifted bodily upon a solid basis of dark frozen water. For five or six seconds it tumbled aloft, and then sank back into the river, where a yellow, sulphurous glow prevailed for a minute, after which the river resumed its wonted course."

We have seen that, spite of its little love toward him, Tammany almost unanimously voted for Cleveland. This had the unpleasant effect of leading such as inclined to be severe on him to lay all Tammany's sins at Cleveland's door.

JACOB SHARP IN THE RÔLE OF TWEED

And Tammany had not changed. The "boodle aldermen" scandal of 1886 emphasized the fact that the spirit of Tweed still haunted Manhattan Island. Jacob Sharp all but challenged admiration for the persistency of his assault upon the virtue of the New York City government. He secured from the aldermen his first franchise more than thirty years before (1851), in that case, too, over the Mayor's veto and in face of an injunction; with the result, however, of sending one alderman to jail in addition to the fine which he paid in common with his fellows. From that time Sharp had toiled unremittingly to secure at Albany such legislation as would enable him once more to begin hopeful conflict in New York City. Success waited upon him in 1884, after he had already become an old man, bringing him privileges for which a million dollars had been more than once offered. Charges were preferred against members of the Board of Aldermen for 1884, accusing them of having granted a charter to the Broadway Surface Railroad Company in consideration of \$300,000 divided equally among them. It appeared that thirteen members had combined for the purpose of selling their votes on important enterprises. Of these four were tried, convicted and sentenced to years of imprisonment with heavy fines. The charter of the road was annulled by the legislature, and Sharp prosecuted and tried for bribery. He was convicted but granted a new trial, before the conclusion of which, in the spring of 1888, his health broke down completely, and he died.

The President and the Senate first came to blows early in 1886 over the President's act in suspending from office, the preceding July, G. M. Duskin, District Attorney for the Southern District of Alabama. When Congress reassembled, the Senate, proceeding upon the theory that the power of removal as



GENERAL JOHN NEWTON

well as that of appointment was committed to it jointly with the President, called on him to furnish the reasons for his action and the papers relating to the case. This demand Mr. Cleveland refused. In a vigorous message he held that for his acts of removal and suspension he was responsible to the people alone, and that the papers asked for touching *Duskin* were of a private nature. Reluctantly the Senate acquiesced in this position. On March 3, 1887, a bill passed Congress repealing the old Tenure of Office Act, enacted in 1867, during the bitter feud between Congress and President Johnson, for the purpose of rendering Johnson unable to remove executive officers when they had been confirmed by the Senate. This repeal rendered explicit and unqualified the President's independent power to remove from office, making him as free in this as if the Tenure of Office Act had never been passed.

It seemed to be the Senate Republicans' purpose in this encounter to discredit Mr. Cleveland by showing him insincere in his avowals of sympathy with reform. His election was largely due to the stand he had taken in regard to the evil of Congressional patronage. He had given his word to abate this so far as lay in his power, and the conditions at his accession to office favored the accomplishment of that purpose. No strictly party vote had elevated him to the Presidency. Moreover, there were 15,000 offices, in which the Pendleton Act required vacancies to be filled by non-partisan tests, and that law authorized the President to extend this mode of appointment if he wished. The fact was that Mr. Cleveland had assumed a task greater than he anticipated. Democrats incessantly vociferated against continuing Republican monopoly of the offices, urging him, as a Democrat, to relinquish a policy which must disintegrate the party and lose him all its support. Not one recognized Democratic leader stood up for the policy. Congress betrayed no cordial sympathy with it. In June, 1886, an attempt was made practically to annul the

CLEVELAND DISAPPOINTS CIVIL SERVICE REFORMERS

Civil Service Law by refusing to make an appropriation for the Commissioners. Disappointing and disgusting a host of his friends, Mr. Cleveland gradually yielded. By June, 1887, nearly all the 2,359 Presidential postmasters had been replaced, as had 32 of the 33 foreign ministers, 16 of the 21 secretaries of legation, 138 of the 219 consuls, 84 of the 85 collectors of internal revenue, 8 of the 11 inspectors of steam vessels, 65 of the 70 district attorneys, 64 of the 70 marshals, 22 of the 30 territorial judges, 16 of the 18 pension agents and some 40,000 of the 52,609 fourth-class postmasters. Within three years from his inauguration the President had replaced not less than 75,000, perhaps 100,000, Republican office-holders by Democrats, considerably impairing the service. But, though roundly denounced as a hypocrite, he never recanted his profession of devotion to reform, and he faithfully executed the mandatory provisions of the law.

What hurt the President most with reformers was his aid to Senator Gorman, of Maryland, in 1887, seeming to be an effort to acquit himself of the charge, often preferred, that "he was no Democrat." A Democratic authority stated that in Baltimore election after election had been carried by bare-faced fraud; that to stop a ballot in an important ward murder was recognized as a political service; that ballot-boxes were continually looted, and that in one ward nineteen men of criminal record drew pay from the city for their evil activities. Yet Mr. Cleveland's aid and comfort to representative Democratic leaders came too slowly and grudgingly to win their support in return. They thought him meanly obsequious toward Independents, and declared that he was betraying his party.

Western Democrats in particular were never enthusiastic for Mr. Cleveland, owing partly to his views upon the civil service and partly to his hailing from New York. With them "Thomas A. Hendricks, of Indiana," had been the magic and drawing part of the ticket. What occurred on

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

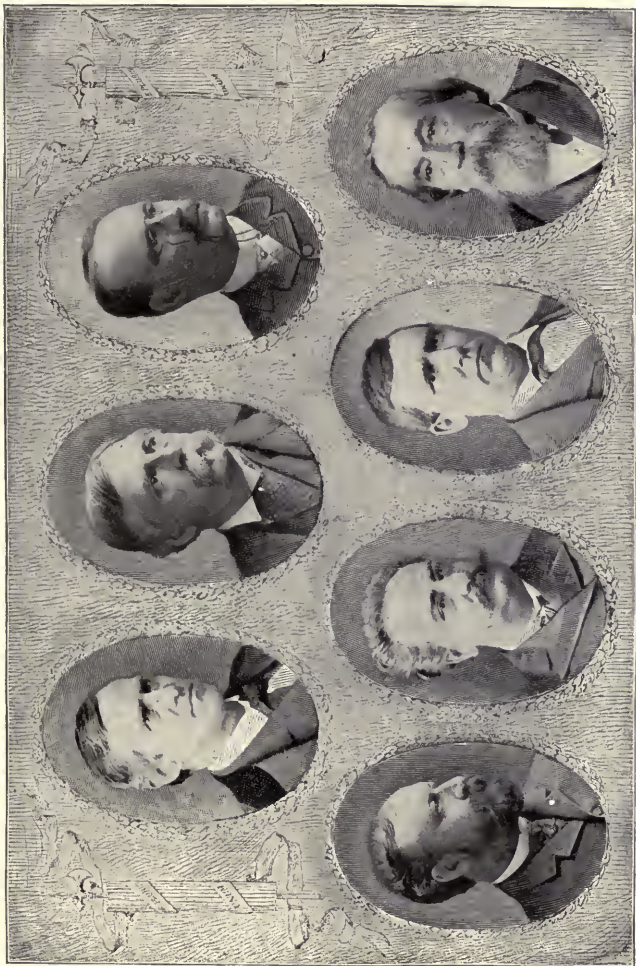
Inauguration Day indicated this. As the procession moved along Pennsylvania Avenue toward the Capitol cheers for the President-elect were at points rather faint, but the appearance of Mr. Hendricks's carriage was the signal for a prolonged roar that testified to the love and confidence the people felt for him. Many thought that this obvious contrast piqued the President and ascribed to it a certain lack of cordiality on his part toward the Vice-President, kept up till the latter's death. A month after the inauguration Mr. Hendricks had an interview with the President. On returning to his room at Willard's Hotel he seemed disappointed and said: "I hoped that Mr. Cleveland would put the Democratic party in power in fact as well as in name, but he does not intend to do it." A Southern Congressman told his Democratic friends: "Gentlemen, we've got a big elephant on our hands. I fear there will be some disappointment about the offices." Too few Republicans were turned out to suit Democratic workers, yet enough continually to keep up office-seekers' hopes. Those disappointed after long suspense were doubly unforgiving. The President would have done well to remember Machiavelli's precept: "Matters of severity should be finished at one blow, that so they may give the less distaste and be the sooner forgotten."

Republican papers made all possible political capital out of the pan-electric "scandal," affecting Attorney-General Garland. One Rogers had received a patent on a telephone which he hoped would rival Bell's. He assigned his rights to Democratic members of Congress, who transferred them to a certain "Pan-Electric Company," receiving stock in return. When the Democratic party came into power the Pan-Electric managers moved the Government to institute suit inquiring into the validity of the Bell patent. Though owning Pan-Electric stock which would rise in value a round million if the Bell patent were annulled, the Attorney-General did not forbid Solicitor-General Goode to attack that patent. This

T. F. Bayard, State

W. C. Endicott, War

W. C. Whitney, Navy



W. F. Vilas, Postm'r-Gen'l

Daniel Manning, Treasury

A. H. Garland, Att'y-General

L. Q. C. Lamar, Interior

PRESIDENT CLEVELAND'S FIRST CABINET

PENSION ABUSES

Goode did, though the Interior Department soon took the case off his hands. It was argued that Garland should not have allowed his subordinate to act in the matter, or, at any rate, should have divested himself of all interest in it by disposing of his stock. That he could at worst only *argue* the case and could not *decide* it, and that the court would specially scrutinize his plea as that of an interested party, was by most people forgotten or ignored. A congressional committee exonerated Garland, Goode and Mr. Lamar, Secretary of the Interior, from all censurable action in the premises.

When Mr. Cleveland took office the pensioning of Union soldiers was too indiscriminate, neither party venturing to advocate an economy of expenditure or a scrutiny of claims by which veterans might suffer. The Treasury surplus presented an irresistible temptation to foolish and pauperizing liberality. Greedy pension attorneys loved the "swag" which the system offered. Ultra protectionists also connived at it out of a wish to keep the high tariff intact. At that time pension attorneys were given access to soldiers' records in the War Department. Knowing that the record in any case would be appealed to in verifying the claim, they would obtain an old soldier's leave and set up on his behalf a claim for every trouble shown in his record. One attorney issued a circular announcing "Desertion marks quietly removed," the adverb being cancelled in ink. Innumerable fraudulent claims came to the bureau, too many of them successful. A New England merchant worth \$50,000, who never smelled powder or even served so much as three months, tried for a pension on the ground that his bad health was due to catarrh contracted in the army. An application was actually received at the bureau for injury by the chin of a comrade "while drilling on skates near Brattleboro, Vt." A wagoner who had lost his leg tumbling off a wagon when drunk obtained a pension. In several cases men who escaped service by shooting away their fingers got pensions for this disability.

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

To relieve those whom for any reason the bureau had denied, thousands of private bills were passed. The House of Representatives usually devoted one meeting each week to the passage of these personal bills, only a handful, far less than a quorum, being present. Bill after bill became law merely upon the recommendation of the Committee, without recording a vote and without discussion. The Senate was also slack. One day in April, 1886, it passed 500 pension bills in two hours. Instead of doubling watchfulness upon special legislation, our bicameral system seemed to halve it; each House shifting upon the other the onus of rejecting unworthy but influential claims; both, as a result, leaving that useful but thankless task to the Executive. Little wonder that many unworthy claimants sought presidential endorsement.

But they did not any longer receive this. While favoring, for the truly worthy, pensions even more bountiful than were then allowed by law, the President insisted, both as a matter of due economy and in justice to loyal and true pensioners, on careful discrimination in making up the pension list. Till Cleveland's time but one pension bill had been rejected by the Executive, but in 1886 he vetoed 101 out of the 747 which passed Congress. The veto-messages were bold and often caustic, giving the vetoed bills undue prominence in comparison with those which were approved. It was thus easy to represent the vetoes as betraying hostility to old wearers of the blue, and Republican organs and orators were not slow to arraign the President thus. But although many attempts were made to pass pension bills over the veto, only one was successful. Hostility toward the President was immensely intensified when he negatived the Dependent Pension Bill, passed in 1887, which pensioned all dependent veterans who had served three months in the Union army, and also all dependent parents of such. The veto was, however, agreeable to not a few even among the Republicans, who had begun to

THE REBEL FLAG ORDER

look with dread upon the rising tide of paternalism in our Government, a tendency which found expression in the Blair Educational Bill, meant to give governmental support to certain State schools all over the South, and in the Texas Seed Bill, to aid needy farmers, passed by the House and Senate, but vetoed by the President.

More scathing yet was the condemnation visited upon Mr. Cleveland in consequence of his unfortunate "Rebel Flag" order. Hastily and without authority, he had given permission that the various Confederate flags in possession of the Government might be returned to the Southern States from which they were borne forth. The permission did not take effect, as these flags were public property and could be restored only by act of Congress, but the mischief was done. The rank and file of the Grand Army of the Republic felt outraged, and post after post passed resolutions fiercely denouncing the order, some of them hinting at lack of patriotism in its author. General Sherman wrote: "Of course I know Drum, the Adjutant-General. He has no sympathy with the army which fought. He was a non-combatant. He never captured a flag and values it only at its commercial value. He did not think of the blood and torture of battle; nor can Endicott, the Secretary of War, or Mr. Cleveland." General Butler styled the order, "An attempt to mutilate the archives."

Just previous to the National Encampment at St. Louis, in 1887, a number of posts in western Pennsylvania, West Virginia and Ohio held a camp-fire at Wheeling. A banner had been suspended across the street on the line of their march, bearing the President's portrait with the inscription, "God Bless our President, Commander-in-Chief of Our Army and Navy." Most of the posts refused to pass under, marching through the gutters instead, with colors folded and reversed. The President had accepted an invitation to the St. Louis encampment, but owing to this extreme rancor toward him, felt constrained to decline attendance. "I should," he said, "bear

with me there the people's highest office, the dignity of which I must protect, and I believe that neither the Grand Army of the Republic as an organization, nor anything like a majority of its members, would ever encourage any scandalous attack upon it. If, however, among the membership of this body there are some, as certainly seems to be the case, determined to denounce me and my official acts at the National Encampment, I believe that they should be permitted to do so unrestrained by my presence as a guest of their organization, or as a guest of the hospitable city in which their meeting is held."

Wonder was often expressed at the ease with which the Republican Party, at first containing hosts of free-traders and not committed to any doctrine regarding the tariff, became transformed into a pronounced and devoted high-tariff party, defending with all zeal, in time of profound peace, rates of protection imposed during the stress of war and meant by all to give way so soon as that temporary necessity should end. But the cause of this interesting metamorphosis was not far to seek. The growing demand for extreme protection was no mere United States affair. All the nations of the earth shared it. Even New South Wales, ever the free-trader's pride and shining example, in 1891 succumbed to this drift. The strengthening sentiment for protection marked the precise period, after 1873, during which general prices were falling. Owing to the decadence of prices, production grew extra hazardous and needed shelter. Less and less could be obtained for products, while all fixed charges, like taxes and mortgage-interest, remained the same. As the evil affected the entire consuming class, sales were fewer, even at the lessened rates. Whenever, therefore, prices in any line of manufacture threatened or began to fall, when stock depreciated upon manufacturers' hands, they inevitably struggled to avert these results and welcomed any resource which could aid. A number of gigantic industries met this crisis by forming them-

RISE OF HIGH PROTECTIONISM

selves into "Trusts," but the majority could not at once do this. Unable to obtain relief in any other way, they everywhere agitated for high tariffs, and in nearly every country with success. Had prices after the war been stationary or only slowly advancing, the rise in United States tariff rates, culminating in the McKinley law, would in all probability never have been so much as thought of.

By no means all those crying for highest protection, whether here or in Europe, were addicted to protection as a general policy. Many such were, in theory, free-traders. Had general prices been stable or rising, they would decidedly have preferred low tariffs or free trade. Willingness to subject your country's industries to normal foreign competition was one thing; quite another was it to do so when your competitors were helped to beat you by a home bonus on exportation, such as favored all exporters from silver and paper lands during the years under review. In France these "opportunistic" protectionists were a powerful and growing party. Their logic was not at once understood in this country; but men mastered it more and more, and it carried over to the protectionist ranks armies of recruits in every Congressional and Presidential election.

The tariff problem was little discussed in the campaign of 1884. The platform on which Cleveland was elected did not speak strongly regarding it, and the Republicans had then by no means agreed upon the extreme form of protection embodied in the McKinley Act of 1890. When elected, Cleveland had no definite purpose concerning this subject, but the condition of the Treasury, present and prospective, soon drew his thoughts thereto. This History has already remarked that the Government's inability to pay its four-and-a-half per cent. bonds before 1891, or its fours before 1907, was unfortunate, and that the threes of 1882 were happily made payable at the Government's option. A call for the last of these was issued on May 20, 1887, interest to cease on the next July 1st.

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

After this time no bonds were subject to par payment at the Government's discretion, and surplus piled up ominously. December 1, 1887, after every possible Government obligation had been provided for, about \$50,000,000 remained—a sum increased by the end of that fiscal year, June 30, 1888, notwithstanding considerable purchases of long-term bonds at high rates, to \$103,000,000. There was no method at once legal and economical for paying this out. The Secretary could of course buy long bonds in the open market, and in 1888 he to some extent did so; but, obviously, if entered upon in a large way, this course must carry up the price of those bonds considerably. The President could not but foresee that the question, how to keep the money of the country from becoming locked up in the Treasury and Sub-Treasuries of the United States, was destined to be grave.

In his message to Congress in December, 1885, he said: "The fact that our revenues are in excess of the actual needs of an economical administration of the Government, justifies a reduction in the amount exacted from the people for its support. . . The proposition with which we have to deal is the reduction of the revenue by the Government, and indirectly paid by the people, for customs duties. The question of free trade is not involved. . . Justice and fairness dictate that in any modification of our present laws relating to revenue, the industries and interests which have been encouraged by such laws, and in which our citizens have large investments, should not be ruthlessly injured or destroyed. We should also deal with the subject in such a manner as to protect the interests of American labor. . . Within these limitations a certain reduction should be made in our customs revenue. . . I think the reduction should be made in the revenue derived from a tax upon the imported necessities of life."

The Forty-ninth Congress did nothing to carry out these suggestions, but the Morrison and the Randall bill, reported and discussed in the House, revealed among the Democrats a

PLEA FOR LOWER DUTIES

rapidly strengthening current of sentiment for lower duties. The President's convictions meantime became more pronounced. In his bold and candid message of 1887, he said, referring to the Treasury situation: "It is a condition which confronts us—not a theory. . . The question of free trade is absolutely irrelevant, and the persistent claim made in some quarters that all efforts to relieve the people from unjust and unnecessary taxation are schemes of so-called free-traders, is mischievous and far removed from any consideration of the public good. The simple and plain duty which we owe to the people is to reduce taxation to the necessary expenses of an economical operation of the Government, and restore to the business of the country the money which we hold in the Treasury through the perversion of governmental powers."

This message recommended the taxing of luxuries, the free-listing of raw wool, the radical reduction of duties on all raw materials, and the lowering or total abrogation of the tariff on necessaries. On the convening of the Fiftieth Congress, surplus revenue being more and more a menace, the House felt forced to attempt a reduction of the Government's income. The Mills Bill resulted, hotly denounced and violently opposed by the Republicans as a free-trade measure. It was far from being this, though many of the arguments adduced in support of it would have been equally valid against all protection. The bill passed the House. In the Senate a Republican substitute was reported but never pushed.

The Senate sought to use the country's relations with China as a means of advantage over Mr. Cleveland. Both parties had expressed themselves as opposed to Chinese labor. A treaty with China had been



ROGER Q. MILLS



"THE FORTUNE BAY AFFAIR"

Drawn by M. J. Burns from photographs

signed on March 12, 1888, but subsequently amended by the Senate so as to exclude those Chinese laborers who had formerly been in the country and had been given certificates of identification by the Government. It seemed probable that China would not accept this treaty. On September 7th the Senate took up and immediately passed an act which came from the House, excluding from the United States all Chinese laborers without distinction. The President was thus in a dilemma. If he vetoed the measure he would encounter popular displeasure, if he signed it he would be placed in hostile relations toward a friendly power. In the House the Committee on Foreign Affairs delayed sending the bill to the President until it was definitely known that China had refused to ratify the treaty, and the Exclusion Bill was signed October 1st.

While many happy events were cementing the old goodwill between us and the French Republic our relations with England were in danger of being strained over the inveterate Fisheries dispute, which had come down from the very birthday of the nation. Many remembered how, on Sunday,

FISHERIES DISPUTES



THE SECOND SEIZURE OF THE SCHOONER DAVID J. ADAMS

Drawn by M. J. Burns from photographs by Parker and description

January 6, 1878, a number of American sailors engaged in taking herring in Long Harbor, Fortune Bay, Newfoundland, were attacked by the Newfoundlanders, who destroyed one of their seines and forced them to stop fishing. This incident was for years one of the international questions in dispute between England and America.

On July 1, 1885, the fishery clauses of the Treaty of Washington ceased to be operative. Canadian salt fish was now taxed by us, who, on the other hand, found, to our sorrow, the cruel provisions of the 1818 Treaty again legally binding and the Canadian authorities bent on their strict construction and enforcement. Our citizens could not now fish "within three marine miles of any of the coasts, bays and harbors of her Britannic Majesty's dominion in North America." In determining this limit England "measured from the headlands or extreme points of land at the entrance of bays or indents of the coast," forbidding Americans to fish in such bays even if more than three miles from shore. American vessels could not enter Canadian ports for bait. During the season of 1886 numbers of our vessels were detained at Can-



Loading the Fish



SCENES IN QUIDI VIDI, A TYPICAL NEW-
FOUNDLAND FISHING TOWN

adian ports, some of them under most aggravating circumstances, though but two were condemned. Crews were refused water on the ground that they had not conformed to certain port or customs regulations.

The American schooner *David J. Adams*, calling at the

port of Digby, Nova Scotia, May 5, 1886, to procure bait, was seized by Captain Scott of the steamer *Landsdowne*. The captain of the *Adams* declared he had called to see friends and was released, but ran aground going out of the harbor. Since the truth had meanwhile been learned, the schooner was re-seized, everything movable being sold at auction to cover expenses. The matter was long in dispute between England and the United States.

For weeks the dispute greatly excited our country. Threats of war with Canada were uttered and careful estimates

John B. Moore, American Sec'y James B. Angell Sir Charles Tupper J. H. G. Bergue, British Sec'y



Sir Lionel Sackville-West W. L. Putnam Thomas F. Bayard Joseph Chamberlain

THE FISHERIES COMMISSION OF 1888

DANGER OF WAR WITH CANADA

made of the force we could throw across our northern border in case of need. In May Congress placed in the President's hands power to suspend commercial intercourse between ourselves and Canada. Later a bill was introduced in the House cutting off all commercial relations with Canada by land or water. The Senate advanced a more moderate proposition—to limit the proposed arrest of traffic to water commerce and to Canadian vessels, also to leave its enforcement optional with the President. This became law on March 3, 1887. Under this legislation the President, on being assured that our fishing-masters or crews were used in Canadian ports any less favorably than masters or crews of trading vessels from the most favored nations, could, "in his discretion, by proclamation to that effect, deny vessels, their masters and crews, of the British dominions of North America any entrance into the waters, ports or places of or within the United States."

The President did not think best at once to use this fearful power, likely enough to lead to war. He preferred to make another attempt at a peaceful settlement through a new treaty. This had constantly been the wish of the British Government. Accordingly, late in 1887, a joint commission, consisting of Secretary Bayard, President Angell, of Michigan University, and Hon. William L. Putnam, of Maine, on the part of the United States, and of Rt. Hon. Joseph Chamberlain, Sir Charles Tupper, of Canada, and Sir Lionel West, the British Minister, on the part of Great Britain, met at Washington. The Commission toiled nearly all winter, and passed to the President the result of its deliberations on February 16, 1888. The treaty which it drafted was necessarily a compromise. Canada thought the British Commissioners had yielded too much; many in the United States believed our Commissioners to have done the same. The document, approved by the President, went to the Senate, where, after long debate, it was refused ratification, August 21st.

The Commission had agreed upon a *modus vivendi*, to

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME



The Newfoundland Fisheries.—Fish-Sheds at Quidi Vidi

hold good, unless revoked by the Governor-General and Council of Canada, till February, 1890, under which our fishermen might obtain in Canadian ports, on payment of a license, the privileges of merchantmen. Many such licenses were taken out during the season of 1888. Most of the fishing-masters, however, did not seek licenses, and were averse to the new treaty, preferring the terms of 1818 to granting their rivals any further rights in our markets. Fresh fish, including frozen and slack-salted, was already free in our ports, competing sharply with our own catch. No one longer cared to fish inside, or, except in emergencies, to provision at Canadian towns.

Convenient as would be the power to obtain bait near the fishing-grounds and to transship fish home in bond, neither was indispensable. Cod were still caught with trawls and baited hooks. The best bait was squid, whose abundance upon the banks was what caused the cod so to frequent them. The squid could be had freshest as well as cheapest from the

THE SEAL FISHERIES QUESTION

peasantry of the Newfoundland and Nova Scotia coasts; but clams carried from home were found to do nearly as well. Accordingly, few collisions occurred in 1888, and as the season of that year closed there was a prospect that, even without a new convention, no necessity for American retaliation would arise.

Besides the Northeastern fisheries imbroglio, the seal fisheries of the Northwest gave trouble. The occasion was as follows: Shortly after our acquisition of Alaska, Congress passed stringent laws against killing fur-bearing animals in Alaska or the adjacent waters. In 1870 the Pribylov or Seal islands were leased to the Alaska Commercial Co., under regulations designed to preserve the seal life, rapidly becoming extinct everywhere else. Poaching was frequent and reckless. To punish and prevent it the Treasury Department in 1886 attempted to treat Behring Sea as a *mare clausum*, assuming that the United States had jurisdiction over it all, whereas British sealers claimed the right to hunt seals wherever they pleased if over three miles from land. In 1886 the British schooners *Carolina*, *Onward* and *Thornton*, though beyond the three-mile limit, were seized, taken to Sitka, condemned, their skins confiscated, and their masters fined. The British Government demanded the release of the prisoners and vessels and an indemnity of \$160,000. The release was ordered by President Cleveland in January, 1887, though the order was not immediately executed. In the summer of 1887 other British vessels, together with American seal-poachers, were taken from thirty to seventy miles out at sea. On August 19, 1887, Secretary Bayard sent circular letters to the United States ministers in England, France, Germany, Japan, Russia and Sweden, directing representations to be made to these governments that action was desirable for the better protection of the seals in Behring Sea. All the powers appealed to, except Sweden, began conference with the United States in the interest named, and for the present no

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

more British vessels were seized. In March, 1892, a treaty was ratified, submitting the questions that had arisen between the United States and Great Britain touching Behring Sea affairs to arbitration by seven commissioners, one each from Canada, Great Britain, Sweden, France and Italy, and two, Justice Harlan and Senator Morgan, from the United States.

On the five questions submitted to it, the Board decided as follows: (1) By the treaty of 1824 with the United States and by that of 1825 with Great Britain, Russia abandoned the right of exclusive jurisdiction beyond cannon-shot from shore, and never from that time till the cession of Alaska exercised it. (2) Great Britain never recognized Russian claims to exclusive jurisdiction outside territorial waters. (3) In the Anglo-Russian treaty of 1825 the term "Pacific Ocean" included Behring Sea. (4) At the cession all Russia's rights passed to the United States without impairment or increase. (5) The United States had no right to the protection of or to property in seals outside the ordinary three-mile limit. Points (3) and (4) were decided unanimously; from all the rest Senator Morgan and from (5) Justice Harlan dissented. The Board made happy provisions for a joint police of Behring Sea by Great Britain and the United States, for an open and closed fishing season, and for the careful licensing of sealing vessels. Finally special recommendations were offered to the respective governments touching measures for more efficiently protecting the seals, each within its own undoubted jurisdiction.

CHAPTER XVIII

GENERAL GRANT'S FUNERAL—ANARCHISM IN CHICAGO—STATE CONSTITUTIONS

CLEVELAND'S LETTER TO MRS. GRANT.—GRANT'S END.—THE PRIVATE FUNERAL.—THE BODY IN STATE AT ALBANY.—IN NEW YORK CITY.—CROWDS AT CITY HALL.—CATAFALQUE AND GUARD OF HONOR.—DISTINGUISHED MEN IN PROCESSION.—“LET US HAVE PEACE.”—AT AND NEAR THE TOMB.—THE PROCESSION ARRIVES.—THE HERO AT REST.—THE STATUE OF LIBERTY ENLIGHTENING THE WORLD.—ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE SCHEME.—THE SITE PROVIDED.—ARRIVAL OF THE STATUE IN NEW YORK HARBOR.—THE PROCESSION.—RECEPTION AT CITY HALL.—THE STATUE IN SITU.—THE UNVEILING.—THE GREAT SOUTHWESTERN RAILWAY STRIKE.—ORIGIN.—VIOLENCE.—EFFECTS.—MARTIN IRONS.—THE OLD STORY.—ANARCHISTS IN CHICAGO.—MEETING IN HAYMARKET SQUARE.—FIELDEN'S SPEECH.—HIS ARREST.—BOMBS.—THEIR DEADLY WORK.—BRAVERY OF THE POLICE.—SEVEN MEN INDICTED.—*THE ALARM*.—THE TRIAL AND THE SENTENCES.—WERE THE CONDEMNED GUILTY?—GOVERNOR ALTGELD'S PARDON.—HIS ARGUMENT THEREFOR.—H. GEORGE RUNS FOR MAYOR OF NEW YORK.—REVISION OF STATE CONSTITUTIONS.—GEOGRAPHY OF THIS.—CHARACTERISTICS OF THE NEW INSTRUMENTS.—LEGISLATURES BRIDLED AND THE EXECUTIVE GIVEN INCREASED POWER.—CORPORATIONS.—THE JURY SYSTEM.—TENDENCY TOWARD GOVERNMENT BY ADMINISTRATION.—THE AUSTRALIAN BALLOT.—SPIRIT OF SUFFRAGE LAWS.—DISFRANCHISEMENT OF BLACKS AT THE SOUTH.—ALABAMA DEMOCRACY WINS BY AID OF NEGROES.—THE MISSISSIPPI CONSTITUTION OF 1890.—ITS SUFFRAGE PROVISIONS.—UPHELD IN COURT.—INCREASE OF NEGROES QUALIFIED TO VOTE.—THE STRUGGLE IN SOUTH CAROLINA.—WADE HAMPTON.—REGISTRATION ACT OF 1882.—JUDGE GOFF'S INJUNCTION.—DISSOLVED.—THE CONVENTION.—THE NEW CONSTITUTION.

THE elect of the Solid South, and determined to give that section its rights, Mr. Cleveland yet took every occasion to recognize the results of the war, and to honor those who had made it successful. On learning of General Grant's death, he, on July 23, 1885, wrote Mrs. Grant :

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

“MY DEAR MADAM: Obeying the dictates of my personal feelings, and in accord with what I am sure is the universal sentiment of his fellow-countrymen toward your late husband, I am solicitous that every tribute of respect and affection should be duly rendered, and with constant consideration of your personal wishes on the subject. Adjutant-General Richard C. Drum is charged with the delivery of this note, and will receive and convey to me any intimation of the wishes of yourself and your children in respect to the selection of the place of burial and conduct of the funeral ceremonies, and the part which may be borne by those charged with the administration of the government. With sincere condolence,

“Your friend and servant,

“GROVER CLEVELAND.”

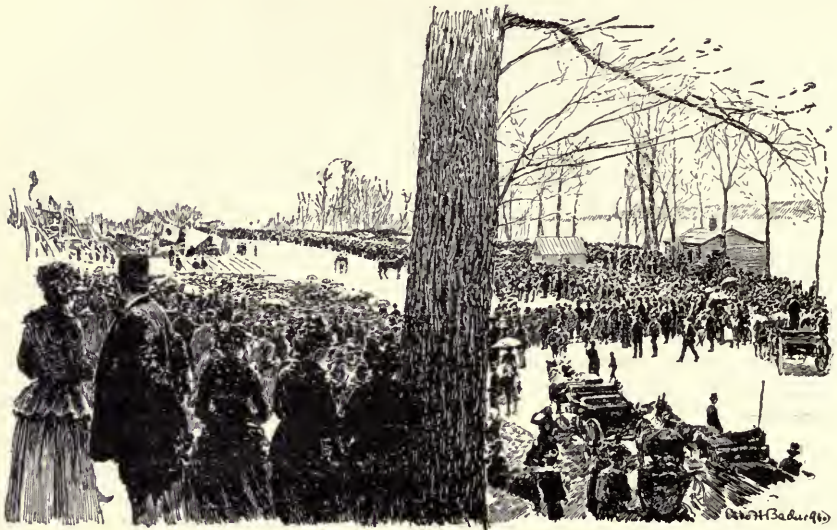
For months, intense suffering had been General Grant's lot, but he bore it in a hero's way. Never before had his character seemed so admirable as in this battle with disease, in which he was doomed to fall. No word of complaint escaped him. Work upon his “Memoirs,” whose sale—such his poverty—he expected to be his family's sole source of support when he was gone, he persistently kept up till four days before the end. His protracted affliction made the Silent Man seem each one's next of kin. All that had been out of order in his administration of the Presidency was forgotten, men's thoughts gliding kindly back to the days of his immortal deeds in the field. When it was known that he was gone, the entire nation bent over his bier in tears, every household in the land, North and South, feeling itself bereaved. Southern cities half-masted their flags in Grant's honor, Southern legislatures passed resolutions speaking his praises and adjourned out of respect for him. Even Jefferson Davis unbent for a moment, uttering about the deceased commander a greater number of kindly words than the public had heard from him before in twenty-five years.

GEN. GRANT'S FUNERAL

The death had occurred at Mount McGregor, near Saratoga. The private funeral services were performed at that place on August 4th; and the same day a heavily draped railway train without bell or whistle bore the remains to Albany, where, from the evening of August 4th till 10.30 A.M., August 5th, the body lay in state at the Capitol. It was here viewed by over seventy-seven thousand persons. The public funeral took place in New York City on August 8th—the most imposing spectacle of the kind ever seen in America. Business was suspended. Crowds poured in from all the neighboring States, every train and steamer being packed to its utmost capacity. Positions convenient for surveying the procession sold for as much as fifty dollars apiece. City Hall, the immense pillars and winding stairs of its vestibule impressively draped in black, received the coffin, and through its iron portals for hours flowed a steady stream in double columns of twos. It was thought that from the opening to the closing of the gates, nearly or quite three hundred thousand people gazed upon the corpse.

As day broke, August 8th, was heard the first of the dirges that till sunset were at no moment intermitted. The sound came nearer and nearer, till five hundred veterans of Meade Post, Grand Army of the Republic, came in sight. Soon old Trinity's grave chimes pealed forth. At seven, notes of mourning from all distances and directions rose, floating up to the barred gates behind which lay the remains. At 8.50 General Hancock and staff slowly entered the plaza, first presenting front to City Hall in honor of the dead, and then facing Broadway, prepared to lead the solemn march. At 9.35 the funeral car approached, drawn by twenty-four jet-black horses, a colored man at each bridle. Twelve soldiers who had formed the Guard of Honor at Mount McGregor, reverently lifted the casket upon the car, which, as it moved, was flanked by veterans.

The procession, eight miles long, wended up Broadway



The Grant Funeral—The Arrival at the Tomb

between lines of old soldiers—flags veiled, drums muffled and arms reversed. The Grant family, except Mrs. Grant, who was unable to be present, followed in four carriages, succeeded by the General's old staff, his Cabinet officers, and detachments from Grand Army Posts. Members of the Aztec Club, survivors of the Mexican War, formed a group. President Cleveland rode with Secretary Bayard, and they were followed by the Vice-President and the Cabinet, the Supreme Court Justices, United States Senators, and a Committee of the House. Governor Hill and his suite and a Committee of the State Legislature were of the *cortège*, also gentlemen who had occupied diplomatic and consular offices under Grant while President. Besides all these were official guests filling a hundred and fifty carriages. Over the ashes of the man who had said: "Let us have peace," all bitter memories were forgotten. Speaker Carlisle and ex-Speaker Randall rode with Congressmen Hiscock and Reed, Senator Morrill with Senator Cockrell, Sherman with Ransom, Ingalls with Harris. Famous Confederates, distinguishable by their gray silk sashes, fraternized

THE NAVAL DISPLAY

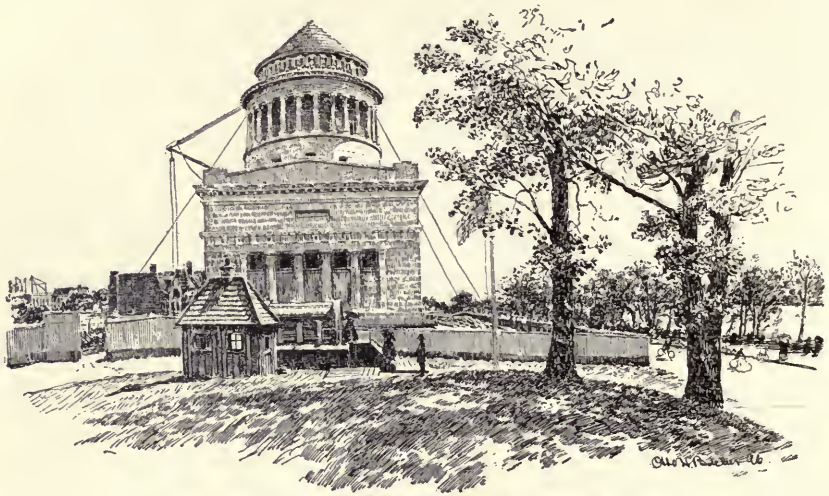
with Federal chieftains. Generals Joe Johnston and Buckner officiated with Sherman, Sheridan and Logan among the pall-bearers. Three other gallant Southerners, Wade Hampton, Fitzhugh Lee and Gordon, were also present at the funeral.

The tomb had been prepared in the upper city, near the North River and within sight of the Palisades. Directly opposite it that day lay the *Déspatch*, bearing the Rear-Admiral's pennant; near her the *Powhatan*, guns gazing from her ports; also the *Omaha*, the *Swatara* and the *Alliance*. The vessels had their yards "a-cockbill"—obliquely set in token of mourning. Their brass and steel fittings, their holystoned decks and the accoutrements of their marines shone in the bright sun. On land, too, wherever you looked, were brilliant uniforms and trappings, plumed cavalrymen and artillerists, burnished cannon, and bodies of infantry with rifles stacked in sheaves.

Shortly after two, trumpets heralded General Hancock



The Temporary Tomb, decorated in 1890



THE GRANT TOMB JUST PREVIOUS TO COMPLETION
Drawn from nature by Otto H. Bacher

and staff. Sweeping past the tomb, they drew rein beneath trees a hundred yards north. Soon a thunder-peal from the *Powhatan* shook the bluff, being returned, multiplied, from the Jersey shore. The salute was repeated at intervals. A little after four another strain of trumpets was heard; then the sound of muffled drums, announcing the approach of the catafalque. Infantry companies which had escorted it formed a hollow square between it and the tomb, and to the middle of this the body about to be laid away was transferred. The family mourners, alighting, stood nearest, then General Hancock, with President Cleveland, Vice-President Hendricks and members of the Cabinet. Close to the head of the bier were Generals Sherman and Sheridan, ex-Presidents Arthur and Hayes, Admiral Porter, General Fitzhugh Lee, General Gordon and General Buckner. Representatives from Meade Post circled the casket and went through the Grand Army ritual, after which came the burial service of the Methodist Episcopal Church. At the close of this "Tattoo" was sounded, ending the ceremonies, save that three volleys of musketry and as many of artillery were let off while the Grant family re-entered their carriages.

LIBERTY ENLIGHTENING THE WORLD

The burial of ex-President Grant had been immediately preceded by a pleasant event of international interest. June 19, 1885, the New York Aldermanic Chamber, late witness of the presidential count, might have been seen tricked out with our red, white and blue, and with the French tricolor, to welcome the bringers of Bartholdi's statue of Liberty Enlightening the World, presented by Frenchmen to the people of America. M. Bartholdi had conceived this enterprise before the Second Empire fell. Obeying a hint of M. Laboulaye touching American love for Lafayette, he wished that French and American effort might erect a monument typical at once of American independence and of liberty itself. Soon after the re-establishment of the Republic, a French-American Union was formed in France to realize this idea. Bartholdi's plan being approved, a popular subscription from 100,000 Frenchmen brought in more than \$200,000, the cost of the statue, to which Americans added \$300,000 for base and pedestal. The United States set apart as the site of the statue Bedloe's Island, now Liberty Island, in New York Harbor, occupied since early in the century by the star fort which forms so suitable a part of the base beneath the statue. Upon the soil of the island was laid a solid block of concrete, the largest in the world, 90 feet square at the bottom, 65 at the top, and 52 feet high, and this was surrounded by a concrete arch covered with turf. Above rose the masonry of the pedestal proper, with huge, rough-hewn quoins.

The work of art was formally made over to our Minister in Paris on July 4th. When the *Isère*, bearing it, approached our shores, Senator Evarts, chairman of the Pedestal Committee, Mayor Grace, the French Consuls of New York and Chicago, with many invited guests, steamed down to meet her. The naval progress up the harbor was led by the *Despatch*, with Secretary Whitney on board. Other American men-of-war followed, behind them the French frigate *Flore*, and then the *Isère*, with an American vessel on each side. Over a hundred excursion boats, big and little, sail and steam, brought up

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

the rear. Clouds of smoke and incessant thunder from the forts reminded one of the Yorktown celebration. This noise gave place to a bedlam of shrill steam whistles when the fleet reached Bedloe's Island. Here the American Committee and their French guests landed, while French choral societies of three hundred voices sang the Marseillaise and Hail Columbia. All then crossed to the Battery, whence a grand procession moved to City Hall. Three regiments of the New York State Guard, sixteen hundred strong, mounted policemen, delegations from the Chamber of Commerce and other New York bodies, prominent residents, the aldermen, with Admiral La-combe, Captain De Saune, and other guests of honor, were formally of the procession, while thousands upon thousands of on-lookers moved as it moved. Roofs and windows along the line were densely filled. In the Governor's Room at City Hall a lunch was served to the guests. Over the old-fashioned desk once used by Washington was his full-length portrait, *vis-à-vis* with that of Lafayette. The table bore a model of the *Isère*, also one of the statue on its pedestal, and an emblematic figure of France wearing a tricolor cap and bearing a French flag. At the formal reception, in the chambers, a number of addresses were made.



FRÉDÉRIC AUGUSTE
BARTHOLDI

The goddess was not unveiled till October, 1886. When in place she stood 151 feet high, the tip of her torch extending 305 feet above low water. Her weight was 440,000 pounds. Beside her the Colossus of Rhodes would seem a good-sized boy. The statue's only rivals in size were certain figures in India cut from the living rock, but they were hardly works of art or of engineering. The frame consisted of four heavy corner-posts, joined by



THE BARTHOLDI STATUE OF LIBERTY, SEEN FROM COMMUNIPAW, N. J.

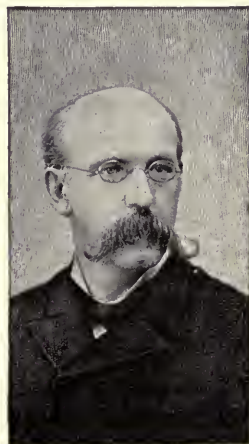
Painted from nature by Otto H. Bacher

THE UNVEILING

horizontal and diagonal braces. The contour was approximated by similarly braced struts, with a flying truss to support the arm. The cuticle was of copper plates 3-32 inches thick, strengthened by iron strips on the inside.

In contrast with the bright June day of her arrival, the day for the unveiling was chilly and drizzling, mud smearing the streets and mist lying over the harbor. From a shelterless platform at Madison Square President Cleveland and his Cabinet reviewed a procession twenty thousand strong as it marched to the Battery. The sidewalks were packed with humanity in two solid columns. Simultaneously with this pageant a grand naval parade of nearly three hundred vessels, led by French and American men-of-war, wended toward Bedloe's Island, where at last, though with face still hidden, stood the goddess, beautiful indeed. Afternoon saw the island crowded with distinguished guests. The head of the French Cabinet, the Minister of Public Instruction, members of the Senate and Chamber of Deputies and the Vice-President of the Paris Municipal Council were of the number. Comte de Lesseps spoke for France, when Senator Evarts, in a more extended address, delivered the statue to the President as representing the people. When M. Bartholdi removed the veil cannon roared on every side. President Cleveland in a few words accepted the gift. Addresses by M. Lefèvre and Hon. Chauncey M. Depew followed. Unfortunately the weather prevented the intended pyrotechnic display in the evening, though the harbor craft were all illuminated.

The year 1886 brought several labor movements which had grave political and social significance. The Texas Pacific Railroad was a bankrupt corporation in the custody of the United



TERENCE V. POWDERLY
From a photograph by Kuebler

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

States Courts. Its receiver having refused to re-employ a dismissed foreman, the Executive of the Knights of Labor, in March, ordered the employés to quit work. The strike rapidly spread over the entire Gould system in the Southwest, Missouri Pacific employés making common cause with the original strikers. St. Louis was the storm-centre. Here violence and terrorism were rife, and United States troops had to be sent to restore and keep the peace. April 7th and 9th bloody riots occurred, fatal to several and destroying vast amounts of property. A crowd of three or four hundred persons gathered on a bridge near the Louisville and Nashville Railroad crossing, which was guarded by eight special deputies brought from distant points. Taunts were freely thrown at them, especially at one who was conspicuous on account of his tall figure, surmounted by a shock of red hair. He was counselled to go shoot himself. Instead, he advanced and dragged forth his tormentor, whereupon a tumult ensued, and all the small boys set up the cry of "Rats!" The other deputies, furious, all followed the example of the red-haired one when he levelled his gun at the crowd. Some one called out, "Don't shoot!" but the response was a volley that felled five men and a woman. Now panic-stricken in their turn, the deputies sought safety in the jail, one in his flight killing still another man. The wrathful populace dispersed to secure arms, and, once more assembling, were about to advance upon the jail. This violence was avoided and many lives saved by the leaders of the Knights of Labor, who hastened to the spot and implored the people to make no unlawful demonstrations. That evening, however, some \$50,000 worth of property was destroyed by incendiarism. Perishable goods spoiled, the St. Louis flour industry was stopped, and the price of provisions greatly increased. When coal rose from \$5.50 to \$40 a ton, factories of all descriptions had to shut down.

At last, some agreement being reached, General Master

MARTIN IRONS ASSUMES THE LEAD

Workman Powderly, of the Knights, ordered work resumed; but feeling had become so bitter that in St. Louis his mandate was disobeyed. Martin Irons, head of the St. Louis Knights, assumed the leadership and kept the conflict raging for some time. Congress raised a committee to investigate the strike, and before this, in the course of time, Irons came. He had been born in Scotland in 1832; arriving in America when fourteen. For years he was a rover, but at length settled at Sedalia, Mo., near Jesse James's old camping ground. His ultra policies, much more than his ability, had made him a labor leader. It was "a weak, irresolute, half-cunning, half-frightened face, that he turned toward the committee. He wore a dirty white shirt and a dirty white collar held in its place by a brass stud. An imitation diamond relieved the discolored area of his shirt-front, and a heavy brass watch-chain dangled from his unbuttoned vest. His first act after taking his seat was to draw a spittoon toward him and take a huge quid of tobacco, which he chewed heavily while he listened to Chairman Curtin's opening address to him." Irons and many more were examined. It was the old story: hot heads of a lax labor organization making rash demands; stiff capitalists readier to die than yield a point. The strike worse than failed of its purpose, at least of its immediate purpose. It was estimated that the strikers lost \$900,000 in wages, and non-striking employés deprived of work not less than \$500,000. The Missouri Pacific, it was thought, lost nearly \$3,000,000.

Serious as was this disturbance, it was temporarily forgotten in the more sombre event which occurred in Chicago on the very evening when the Southwestern strike terminated. Chicago labor organizations had recently started a movement to secure the adoption of an eight-hour labor day. Forty thousand workmen struck to enforce the demand, in efforts to withstand which some workmen had been shot by police and by Pinkerton detectives. On the evening of May 3d was

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Drawn by Orson Lowell

"WE ARE PEACEABLE"

The Tragedy in Haymarket Square, Chicago. The scene during Fielden's speech just before the bomb was thrown

announced a public indignation meeting for next day in Haymarket Square, which "good speakers" would address. On Tuesday some 1,400 workmen assembled. Most of the addresses were comparatively mild in tone, but about ten o'clock, after the Mayor had gone and part of the audience dispersed, Samuel Fielden gave utterance to vehement incendiary remarks: "John Brown, Jefferson, Washington, Patrick Henry and Hopkins said to the people: 'The law is

A DEADLY BOMB IS THROWN

your enemy. We are rebels against it.' The skirmish lines have met. The people have been shot. You have been robbed, and you will be starved into a worse condition." At this point a body of about 180 policemen marched up. Halting within a few feet of the speaker, Captain Ward said: "I command you, in the name of the People of the State of Illinois, to immediately and peaceably disperse." Fielden said, "We are peaceable." He was arrested.

As the police were carrying him off a gleaming missile was seen to curve in the air and fall among them. A deafening explosion ensued, and a third of their number fell writhing, seven being fatally wounded. "Fall in; close up!" The officers still on their feet obeyed instantly, and, not knowing the extent of the disaster or whether the cowardly attack would be repeated, dashed against the mob, of whom over fifty fell, the rest fleeing. Such magnificent courage in the presence of a sudden, mysterious and horrible danger, of a nature specially calculated to breed panic, won for the Chicago police force admiration at home and abroad. Army-disciplined *gendarmerie* or regular troops could have behaved no better. The Chicago people did well to commemorate the deed with a monument.

A storm of wrath fell upon the Anarchists, who had thus for the first



HAYMARKET SQUARE, LOOKING EAST, 1895
Showing the Statue Erected in Memory of the Murdered Police.
(The bomb was thrown from the alley just behind the centre building on left.)

time tried their methods in America. The actual thrower of the bomb was probably Rudolph Schnaubelt; but by shaving off his beard immediately after the event he avoided identification, though twice arrested, and finally escaped to unknown parts. Excitement was increased by the discovery in Cincinnati of Anarchists to the number of 600, organized and armed with rifles. Efforts were redoubled to bring the heads of the Chicago conspiracy to justice. The bomb used was probably the production of Louis Lingg, who all the afternoon before the riot had, with his assistants, been filling bombs similar to the one thrown. Besides Lingg seven other men were indicted, connected with two Anarchist sheets, *The Alarm*, Albert R. Parsons's paper, and the *Arbeiter Zeitung*, conducted by Augustus Spies. An extract from the *Alarm* read as follows: "DYNAMITE! Of all the good stuff, this is the stuff. Stuff several pounds of this sublime stuff into an inch pipe (gas or water pipe), plug up both ends, insert a cap with a fuse attached, place this in the immediate neighborhood of a lot of rich loafers who live by the sweat of other people's brows, and light the fuse. A most cheerful and



JOSEPH E. GARY

gratifying result will follow. The dear stuff can be carried around in the pocket without danger, while it is a formidable weapon against any force of militia, police or detectives that may want to stifle the cry for justice that goes forth from the plundered slaves. A pound of this good stuff beats a bushel of ballots all hollow, and don't you forget it." When this passage was read in court the accused seemed greatly amused at the wit of it.

SENTENCED AND EXECUTED

It was mainly upon such extracts from Anarchist papers that the prosecution was based. As accessories before the fact, equally guilty with the unknown principal, having by speech and print advised the commission of murder, Augustus Spies, Michael Schwab, Samuel Fielden, Albert R. Parsons, Adolph Fischer, George Engel and Louis Lingg were, on August 20, 1886, sentenced to death. Oscar Neebe was sentenced to fifteen years' imprisonment at hard labor. With the approval of Judge Gary and District Attorney Grinnell, Governor Oglesby commuted Schwab's and Fielden's sentence to life imprisonment. Lingg escaped the gallows by suicide, or, as his friends maintained, by murder at the hands of the police, a bomb, his chosen weapon, being exploded in his mouth. Four more bombs were found in his cell. Engel failed in an attempt to kill himself by poison. In November, 1887, Engel, Parsons, Fischer and Spies were hanged, remaining defiant to the last. Their bodies were buried two days later. A procession of Anarchists followed them to the grave, singing the Marseillaise and sporting red ribbons.

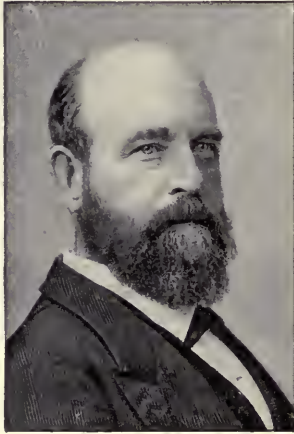
There were people of intelligence, standing, patriotism and high courage who, then and later, differed from the prevailing opinion touching the proper method for dealing with the convicted. Some believed that Anarchy would be discouraged by mildness more effectively than by severity; others thought that all the condemned, though guilty, were proper objects of executive clemency; still others were convinced that the seven were unjustly convicted. One of the ablest practitioners at the Chicago bar, thoroughly conversant with all the proceedings and evidence, years after the event, when all passion had subsided, using the utmost emphasis, declared it a



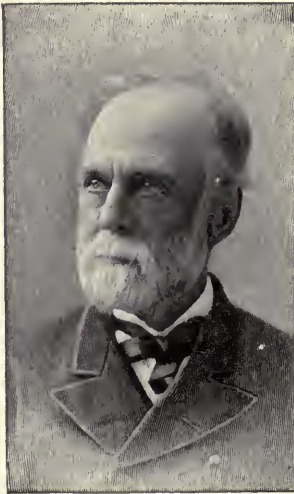
GOV. JOHN P. ALTGELD
of Illinois

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perfectly clear and indubitable as well as a most sad and disgraceful case of judicial murder. Henry D. Lloyd, of Chicago, Mr. Howells and many others thought that there might have been guilt, but strongly favored clemency. Even Judge Gary,



HENRY GEORGE



ABRAM S. HEWITT

who presided at the trial, wrote : " In copying these fierce denunciations, these recitals of alleged tyranny and oppression, these seemingly pitying descriptions of the hardships and wrongs of the humble and the poor, written with apparent sincerity and real intellectual ability, I have occasionally lost sight of the atrocity of the advice given by the Anarchists, and felt a sort of sympathy with the rioters who would have praised my assassination as a virtuous act." Mr. Black, of the counsel for the defence, was deeply touched by what he considered the wrongs of his clients. Speaking at the graves of the executed, he confessed that he " loved these men " when he came to know " of their love for the people, of their patience, gentleness and courage."

Between eight and nine years after the Haymarket riot, Governor Altgeld, of Illinois, pardoned the three Anarchists still in the penitentiary, bringing upon himself unmeasured and lasting condemnation, increased by the fact that he chose for his act the day of the dedication of a monument to the dead Anarchists. His Excellency declared that the pardon was not mercy, for

ALTGELD DEFENDS HIS PARDON

which there was no place, but tardy justice. He said: "If the defendants had a fair trial, and nothing has developed since to show that they are not guilty of the crime charged in the indictments, then there ought to be no executive interference, for no punishment under our laws could then be too severe. Government must defend itself, life and property must be protected, and law and order maintained. Murder must be punished, and, if the defendants are guilty of murder, either committed with their own hands or by some one else acting on their advice, then, if they have had a fair trial, there should be in this case no executive interference." He insisted that the men had not been legally convicted. Their conviction proceeded solely upon the ground that they had in a general way, by speech and print, advised classes, not particular individuals, to commit murder, and that, in consequence of such advice *somebody not known* threw the bomb. There was no evidence whatever that any of the accused threw it, or that the one doing so, whoever he was, ever read or heard a word that proceeded from the mouth or pen of any of the accused. Governor Altgeld was thought by many to have established the facts that the jury was prejudiced, and that their admission to the panel, as also the principle upon which conviction was had, was a legal novelty. He charged that the jury was packed, and the judge not judicial in conducting the trial or in delivering sentence. He suggested that the murder was not upon the seditious advice of those obscure Anarchist sheets, but was an act of personal retaliation for some of the several instances of police or Pinkerton shooting and brutality which he alleged.

In 1886, labor strife stirred New York City as well as Chicago. Here, in June, Johann Most and three other Anarchists were convicted of inciting to riot and imprisoned. Several members of labor unions were also sentenced for boycotting. The same year Henry George ran as Labor candidate for the office of mayor, polling nearly seventy thousand

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votes. In this campaign the foreign element for once deserted Tammany. To stem such adverse tide the braves nominated Abram S. Hewitt, a gentleman of courage, ability and integrity. It thus came to pass that one of the best mayors New York ever had was the official choice of Tammany Hall. Never previously had he been in even ostensible alliance with that body, and he was not so afterward. Indeed, he was one of the famous 1894 Committee of Seventy, of whose work the reader will learn later.

The exigencies of the race war at the South, various new forms of civil disorder everywhere, and the useless and archaic nature of many provisions in the old instruments, led to a pretty general revision of State Constitutions.* The New England States, indeed, continued to live under constitutions adopted before the civil war, modified, however, in most instances, by extensive amendments. Delaware, New Jersey and New York were equally conservative, as also the group of noble States next to the westward: Ohio, Indiana, Michigan and Wisconsin. Of the more westerly States only Kan-

*STATE CONSTITUTION-MAKING SINCE 1861.

| | Provisional Government entered upon | Reconstruction Act adopted | Present Constitution adopted |
|------------------------|--|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Alabama | 1865 | 1867 | 1875 |
| Arkansas | 1864 | 1868 | 1874 |
| Florida | 1865 | 1868 | 1885 |
| Georgia | 1865 | 1868 | 1877 |
| Louisiana | 1864 | 1868 | — |
| Mississippi | — | 1868 | 1890 |
| North Carolina | — | 1868 | 1876 |
| South Carolina | 1865 | 1868 | 1895 |
| Texas | 1866 | 1868 | 1876 |
| Virginia | 1864 | 1870 | — |

None of the eight Provisional Constitutions were recognized by Congress. Doings of Secession Conventions are not considered here. Usually, aside from the article of secession, they made merely verbal changes in existing instruments and did not submit the altered Constitutions to the people. Texas did this, however. Maryland adopted Constitutions in 1864 and 1867. Missouri ratified anti-secession amendments in 1861-63; renewed her Constitution in 1865 and 1875. West Virginia made her first separate State Constitution in 1861-63, her present one in 1872. Tennessee, in convention, ratified the anti-secession amendment in 1865; made her present Constitution in 1870. Kentucky adopted her present ground-law in 1891.

CONSTITUTIONAL GEOGRAPHY

sas, Iowa, Minnesota and Oregon remained content with ante-bellum instruments. Between 1864 and 1866 eight of the Southern States inaugurated provisional governments, which, however, were not recognized by Congress. These were succeeded by governments under the reconstruction acts. Alabama underwent this change in 1867; Virginia in 1870; the rest in 1868. After the death of the carpet-bag governments eight of the ten reconstruction constitutions were overthrown by 1896. During the Quarter-Century surveyed in this History eleven new States entered the Union, of which all but West Virginia and Nebraska retained their first bases of government. In some of these cases amendments made were so pervasive as to render the constitutions in effect new documents. Among constitutional conventions the most important were two in New Hampshire, 1876 and 1889, one in New York, 1894, and one each in Missouri, Tennessee, Mississippi and South Carolina.

Generally speaking, the new State constitutions reserved to the people large powers formerly granted to one or more among the three departments of government. They displayed a very strong tendency to hold the legislature in check

Northern and Western States have since 1861 made fundamental laws as follows, those marked with an asterisk being first constitutions of new States: Nevada in 1864*; Nebraska in 1867* and 1875; Illinois in 1870; Pennsylvania in 1873; Colorado in 1876*; California in 1879; Montana in 1889*; North Dakota in 1889*; South Dakota in 1889*; Washington in 1889*; Idaho in 1889*; Wyoming in 1889*; Utah in 1895.*

The following States were still (1896) under constitutions adopted before 1861: Connecticut's document hailed from 1818, Delaware's from 1831. This State was to hold a convention, Dec. 1, 1896. Indiana's Constitution dated from 1851; Iowa's from 1846; that of Kansas from 1859; that of Maine from 1820; that of Massachusetts from 1780; that of Michigan from 1850; that of Minnesota from 1857. This State proposed, on November 3, 1896, to vote on the question of holding a revising convention. New Hampshire's Constitution had come down from 1792; but conventions for amendments were held in 1876 and 1889. New Jersey's Constitution was made in 1844. New York State held an able Constitutional Convention in 1894, which passed many amendments. Ohio enacted her great document in 1851; Oregon did the same in 1857; Rhode Island in 1842; Vermont in 1793; Wisconsin in 1884.

It appears from the above that from the opening of the Civil War to 1896 the ten Secession States passed twenty-six constitutions; five other Southern States eight; and certain Northern and Western States fourteen more, making forty-eight new constitutions in all. Of this total eleven were first constitutions; one of these Southern (W. Va.) and ten Western.

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by more minute directions and restrictions than were formerly usual. The new constitutions were much longer than earlier ones, dealing with many subjects previously left to statutes. Popular distrust of legislatures was further shown by provisions shortening the length of sessions, making sessions biennial, forbidding the pledging of the public credit, inhibiting all private or special legislation, items being usually specified, and fixing a maximum for the rate of taxation, for State debts and for State expenditures. Many new requirements were laid down to be observed in the passing of laws, such as printing the bills, reading them thrice, the yeas and nays on every bill, an absolute majority voting yea, inhibition of "log-rolling" or the joining of two or more subjects under one title, and enactments against legislative bribery, lobbying and "riders." It was the legislative rather than the executive branch of the government that was snubbed. The Revolutionary distrust of the executive had vanished. Indeed, there had appeared a quite positive tendency to concentrate responsibility in the Executive, causing the powers of governors on the whole considerably to increase. In consequence the governor now enjoyed a longer term, and could veto items or sections of bills, but he commonly shared his pardoning power with a board. By the ten latest constitutions all other executive officers as well as the governor were created directly by the people, neither appointed by the governor nor elected by the legislature.

The newer constitutions and constitutional amendments paid great attention to the regulation of corporations, especially of railroads. Commissions were created or provided for to deal with railroads, insurance, agriculture, lands, prisons and charities. Restrictions were laid upon trusts, monopolies and lotteries. Numerous modifications of the old jury system were introduced. Juries were made optional in civil cases, and not always obligatory in criminal. A number less than twelve was sometimes allowed, and a unanimous vote sometimes

THE AUSTRALIAN BALLOT

not required. Restrictions were enacted respecting the hours of labor, the regulation of factories, the alien ownership of land. The old latitude of giving and receiving by inheritance was trenched upon by means of inheritance taxes. The curbing of the legislature, the popular election of executive officials, civil service reform, and the consequent creation of a body of administrative officials with clearly defined duties, all seemed to betray a strong tendency toward the development of an administrative system.

A chief stronghold of political corruption was assaulted from 1888 to 1894 by an energetic and hopeful measure known as the "Australian" or secret ballot. It took many forms in different States; yet the essence of the device everywhere was the provision, in case of every voter, of opportunity to prepare and fold his ballot in a stall by himself, so that no one could dictate or determine whom he should vote for, or, unless freely told by him, know, subsequently, whom he had voted for. The State of Massachusetts and the City of Louisville, Ky., employed the new system in 1888. Next year ten States enacted similar laws. In 1890 four more followed, and in 1891 fourteen more. By 1894, when the impulse had largely spent itself, thirty-seven States, making all the members of the Union but seven, practised the Australian ballot system. Of these seven, six were Southern States, which framed their election laws mainly with the view of securing white domination.

Antagonists of the reform dubbed it "penal colony reform" and "Kangaroo voting," but failed to render it unpopular, although some States weakened its good effects by imperfect or ill-enforced regulations. An official ballot replaced the privately—often dishonestly—prepared party ballots formerly hawked all about each polling place by workers of the various political parties. This new ballot was a "blanket." It formed a conspectus of all the candidates before the people, whether by regular nomination or by the petition of a required

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

percentage of the voters. The arrangement of candidates' names varied in different States. One ticket was so constructed as to make it easy for the illiterate or the straight-out party man to mark or stamp his will at the head of a column of party candidates. Another made voting a heavy labor for the ignorant, but a delight to the discriminating independent.

It was painful to observe that the new method of balloting failed to produce by any means the excellent results expected of it. The connivance of election officials and of corrupt voters often annulled its virtue by devices growing in variety and ingenuity as ward politicians became better acquainted with the reform measure which had been forced upon them.

In the North and West the tendency of the new fundamental laws was to widen the suffrage, making it, for males over twenty-one years of age, almost universal, except in voting on financial bills. The right of women to vote, especially upon local matters, was more and more recognized. In Wyoming and Utah women equally with men exercised the suffrage upon all matters. There was also some drift toward accepting national citizenship as a basis for State citizenship. Much agitation occurred in favor of minority representation, and inclination appeared in certain quarters to adopt it more or less completely.

All over the South was manifested an irresistible movement toward the disfranchisement of the blacks. At first the cause was advanced illegally, by force, fraud and corruption; later, legal means, decent constitutional and statutory subterfuges, were tried. In North Carolina and Louisiana local colored majorities were rendered impotent by weakening local self-government. In Florida, Tennessee, Arkansas, Mississippi, Georgia, South Carolina, and in Virginia till 1882, proof of payment of taxes, notably of poll-taxes, was made an indispensable prerequisite to voting, either alone or as an alternative for an educational qualification. Such as had not paid, or, having paid, had failed to preserve or to bring to the polls

RACIAL STRIFE IN POLITICS

their receipts, were cut off. Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, Tennessee, Florida, Virginia and South Carolina surrounded registration and voting with complex enactments. An educational qualification, often very elastic, sometimes the voter's alternative for a tax-receipt, was resorted to by Alabama, Arkansas, Mississippi, Tennessee and South Carolina.

White solidarity yielding with time to party factions, there were heard in North and South Carolina, Alabama and Louisiana, loud allegations that this side or that had availed itself of negro votes to make up a deficit, or had turned the enginery of vote-suppression against its opponents' white supporters. A populist cartoon in a St. Louis comic paper pictured the Democratic "trump card" in Alabama as the "ace of spades," the device on the card being the face of an unsightly denizen of "the black belt." There was no doubt whatever that, at the election referred to, the Democracy was saved from defeat solely by the agency of colored votes.

Nowhere was the color line more sharply drawn than in Mississippi. The blacks were numerous there, and, unless controlled, would rule and ruin the State, themselves with it. It was easy for the whites to keep them in check, as they had done for years, by bribery and threats, supplemented, when necessary, by the use of flogging and the shot-gun. But this policy gave to the rising generation of white men the worst possible sort of a political education. What meaning could free institutions have for young voters who had never in all their lives seen an election carried save by these vicious means! The system was too barbarous to continue. A new constitution which should legally eliminate most of the negro vote was the alternative. Pursuant to an act of the preceding legislature a constitutional convention of 131 Democrats, 2 Republicans and 1 Greenbacker, deliberated in Mississippi from August 12 to November 1, 1890. Its main problem was to steer between the Scylla of the Fifteenth Amendment and the



BENJAMIN R. TILLMAN

Charybdis of negro domination, in other words, legally to abridge the negro vote so as to insure Caucasian supremacy at the polls.

The new "Mississippi plan" finally evolved for its main features a registry tax and an educational qualification, all adjustable to practical exigencies. Each voter must, by the February preceding election, pay a poll-tax of at least \$2, never to exceed \$3, for school purposes, and must produce to the officers conducting the election satisfactory evidence of having paid said poll-tax and all other legal taxes. The voter must be registered "as provided by law." He "must be able to read any section of the Constitution of the State, to understand the same when read to him, or to give a reasonable interpretation thereof." In municipal elections electors were required to have "such additional qualifications as might be prescribed by law." The Constitution was not submitted to the people for ratification. On this ground, and as violating the Act of Congress re-admitting Mississippi, the instrument's validity was attacked, but decisively sustained by the State Supreme Court in 1892.

South Carolina followed Mississippi in efforts to secure a reasonable Constitution, holding for this purpose a convention in 1895. As a stimulus to education the Mississippi Constitution had worked well. A negro member of the South Carolina Convention, protesting against the disfranchisement of his race, after remarking that the scandals of the reconstruction era no more proved the incapacity of the negro for self-government than the scandals of the Tweed *régime* proved the incapacity of the whites, said: "Other States have marched on to prosperity while you are trying to keep down the negro. You may as well make up your minds that the negro will rise. He will not be crushed. The negro will rise sooner or later,

SOUTH CAROLINA FOLLOWS MISSISSIPPI

crush us as you may. He cannot be kept down forever. It is not in the nature of human affairs."

Events in Mississippi in a measure confirmed these words. The Mississippi negroes who got their names on the voting list rose in number from 9,036 in 1892 to 16,965 in 1895. This result of the "plan" displeased some South Carolina statesmen. Said one, in the 1895 Convention: "If the white men of South Carolina undertake to have fair elections they will be left. They will all be ruined. I do not want fair elections and I do not propose to vote for anything which would disfranchise any white man. As to the educational qualification, the black man is learning faster than the white man, and under it the first thing we know we will all be left. I am utterly opposed to giving the Republicans one manager of elections. We've got to throw 'em out. In my county there are five or six negroes to one white. If this law is passed we'll be left, in Berkeley."

The shade of negro domination which Mississippi conjured away by her new Constitution, haunted South Carolina the more the more her ordinary white population got control and the "Bourbons" were set aside. The progressive Democracy of the State, led by the enterprising Captain Benjamin R. Tillman, who became Governor and then Senator, early determined to pursue, touching the race imbroglio, the Mississippi path. A few Bourbons protested, but in vain. Consistently with his record Wade Hampton wrote in 1895: "I, for one, am willing to trust the negroes. They ask only the rights guaranteed to them by the Constitution of the United States and that of our own State. 'Corruption wins not more than honesty;' I advocate perfect honesty, for defeat on that line is better than victory by fraud." The ex-Governor probably did not herein voice the opinion of a majority even of the aristocracy, who had retained control till the '90's, though all were disgusted with the dangerous paradox of having to support honest government by a makeshift of fraud, perjury and murder.

At any rate, he was hopelessly out of accord with the progressive elements of the Democracy. So early as 1882 a registration act was passed, which, amended in 1893 and 1894, compelled registration some four months before ordinary elections and required the registry certificate to be produced at the polls. Other laws made the road to the ballot-box a labyrinth, wherein not only most negroes but also some whites were lost. The multiple ballot-boxes alone were a Chinese puzzle. The registration act, however, was especially attacked as repugnant to the State and to the Federal Constitution. It imposed electoral qualifications not provided for or contemplated in the State Constitution and contrary to its express provisions. It was alleged to antagonize the Federal Constitution (1) in fixing by statute, instead of by State constitutions, the qualifications for electors of Federal representatives, (2) in virtually abridging the rights of United States citizens on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude, and (3) in establishing a white oligarchy in place of a republican form of government. Judge Goff, of the United States Circuit Court, at Columbus, S. C., on May 8, 1895, declared this registration law unconstitutional and enjoined the State from taking any further action under the same. This seemed effectually to block the way to the Constitutional Convention, which was confidently looked to to place the State on the same electoral platform with Mississippi. But all things come to those who wait.

In June the Court of Appeals overruled Judge Goff, and the injunction was dissolved. Very little interest was taken in the election of delegates, some polls not even being opened; from others five-sixths of the voters stayed away. The Conservatives held that the proposition had been voted down in the fall of 1894, but the Tillmanites, being in authority, proclaimed it carried. The Convention, which assembled on September 10th, was in the hands of Tillman's followers, many of them ready to go greater lengths than he. Tillman

WHY A NEW CONSTITUTION ?

said in the Convention, "I am willing to give the good deserving white man and black man who cannot read or write, and who has not \$300 worth of property, two years within which to be registered and become a qualified voter. I shall use every effort within my power to banish illiteracy from the land, but let us make this law fixed and beyond the possibility of fraud, so that after January 1, 1898, every honest and intelligent white man and negro can vote, if he can read or write, or has \$300 worth of property." It was over Tillman's protest that Republicans were excluded from the registration boards.

The *Greenville News* said the object of the Convention was to "provide a system of elections which would give a white majority of from 20,000 to 40,000 without disfranchising anybody and without requiring officers of election to be experts in perjury, fraud and cheating." The *Charleston News and Courier* said: "The Constitutional Convention has been called to accomplish in a constitutional way the overthrow of negro suffrage. Nobody tries to conceal it, nobody seeks to excuse it. It is not meant to disfranchise every negro in this State—there are some of them who are qualified by education and property to vote—but it is intended that every colored voter who can be disfranchised without violating the higher law of the United States Constitution shall be deprived of the right to vote. On the other hand, it is meant to disfranchise no white man, except for crime, if any way can be found to avoid it without violating the United States Constitution." The *Philadelphia Bulletin*, a Republican paper, noting the fact that there was a time when such utterances in Mississippi or South Carolina would have set the Republican party ablaze, proceeded: "The plain truth is that the Republicans generally have come to the conclusion that universal negro suffrage has been a failure and that the desire of the South to free itself from the evils of a great mass of ignorance, stupidity and superstition at the ballot box is largely pardonable."

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

The Convention adjourned on December 4, 1895. By the new Constitution the Mississippi plan was to be followed until January 1, 1898. Any male citizen could be registered who was able to read a section of the Constitution, or to satisfy the election officers that he understood it when read to him. Those thus registered were to remain voters for life. After the date named applicants for registry must be able both to read and to write any section of the Constitution, or to show tax-receipts for poll-tax and for taxes on at least \$300 worth of property. The property and the intelligence qualification each met with strenuous opposition, but it was thought that neither alone would serve the purpose. Any person denied registration might appeal to the courts.

CHAPTER XIX

THE NEO-REPUBLICAN ASCENDANCY

PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES IN 1888.—BENJAMIN HARRISON.—NOMINATED ON THE EIGHTH BALLOT.—THE CAMPAIGN LITTLE PERSONAL.—CLUBS REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC.—CAUSES OF CLEVELAND'S DEFEAT.—FEDERAL PATRONAGE.—CIVIL SERVICE REFORMERS DESERT CLEVELAND.—DEMOCRATIC BLUNDERS.—THE MURCHISON LETTER.—SACKVILLE-WEST'S REPLY.—"SEE LAMONT AT ONCE."—THE BRITISH MINISTER GIVEN HIS PASSPORTS.—CLEVELAND'S ACTION CRITICISED.—OHIO BALLOT-BOX FORGERY.—THE TARIFF ISSUE.—BLAINE.—DEMOCRATIC ATTITUDE.—"BRITISH FREE TRADE."—HARRISON AND HILL IN NEW YORK STATE.—CORRUPT PRACTICES IN INDIANA.—FLOATERS IN "BLOCKS OF FIVE."—THE REPUBLICANS VICTORIOUS.—HARRISON'S INAUGURAL.—RESTRICTION OF EMIGRATION.—CONSULAR REPORTS ON THIS.—CENTENNIAL ANNIVERSARY OF WASHINGTON'S INAUGURATION.—MCKINLEY, LODGE AND REED THE REPUBLICAN LEADERS.—THREE GREAT REPUBLICAN MEASURES.—"CZAR" REED IN THE HOUSE.—A FORCE BILL PASSES THE HOUSE.—BUT DIES IN THE SENATE.—DEPENDENT PENSIONS ACT.—EVOLUTION OF THE PENSION SYSTEM.—THE BONDED DEBT.—WHAT TO DO WITH SURPLUS REVENUE.—THE MCKINLEY BILL.—THE NEW ORLEANS MAFIA.—CHIEF HENNESSY MURDERED.—MASS MEETING.—"WHO KILLA DE CHIEF?"—MASSACRE OF THE PRISONERS.—COMPLICATIONS WITH ITALY.—THE SETTLEMENT.—THE UNITED STATES AND CHILE.—THE BARRUNDIA CASE.—DEMOCRATIC "LANDSLIDE" OF 1890.—CAUSES.—INTERNATIONAL COPYRIGHT BILL.

APPROACHING the presidential campaign of 1888 the Democrats found their programme ready-made. Cleveland's administration, silencing his enemies within the party, made him the inevitable nominee, while his bold advocacy of reform in our fiscal policy determined the line on which the campaign must be won or lost. To humor the West and to show that it was a Democratic, not a Mugwump ticket, Allen G. Thurman of Ohio, was named for Vice-President. The Republicans' path was less clear. That they must lift the banner of high protection was certain; but who should be the bearer of it was in doubt till after the Convention sat.



ALLEN G. THURMAN

The balloting began with John Sherman far in the lead, polling 229 votes. Gresham had 111, Depew 99, Alger 84, Harrison only 80, and Blaine only 35. After the third ballot Depew withdrew his name, and on the fourth ballot New York and Wisconsin joined the Harrison forces. A stampede of the Convention for Blaine was expected, but it did not come, being hindered in part by the halting tenor of despatches received from the

Plumed Knight, far away. After the fifth ballot two telegrams were received from Blaine requesting his friends to discontinue voting for him. Two ballots more having been taken, Allison, who had been receiving a considerable vote, withdrew. The eighth ballot nominated Harrison, and the name of Levi P. Morton, of New York, was at once placed beneath his on the ticket.

Mr. Harrison was the grandson of President William Henry Harrison, therefore great-grandson of Governor Benjamin Harrison, of Virginia, the ardent Revolutionary patriot, signer of the Declaration of Independence. An older scion of the family had served as major-general in Cromwell's army and been put to death in 1660 for signing the death-warrant of King Charles I. Thoroughly educated and already a successful lawyer, Mr. Harrison was, in 1860, made Reporter of Decisions to the Indiana Supreme Court. When the war came on, obeying the spirit that in his grandfather had won at Tippecanoe and the Thames, he volunteered and was appointed colonel. Gallant services under Sherman at Resaca and Peach Tree Creek made him a brevet brigadier. Owing to his character, his lineage, his fine war record, his power as a speaker, and his popularity in a pivotal State, he was a prominent figure in politics not only in Indiana, but, more

THE CAMPAIGN NOT PERSONAL

and more, nationally. Defeated for the Indiana governorship in 1876, by a small margin, he was afterward elected United States Senator, serving from 1881 to 1887. In 1880 Indiana presented him to the Republican National Convention as her favorite son, and from this time, particularly in the West, he was thought of as a presidential possibility. Eclipsed by Blaine in 1884, he came forward again in 1888, this time to win.

In the campaign which succeeded personalities had no place. After his arrival from Europe, August 10th, Mr. Blaine was, on the Republican side, far the most prominent campaigner. The West and the East both heard him on nearly every question entering into the canvass, and every speech of his was widely quoted and commented on. Harrison's ability was much underrated in the East, for which reason, it was thought, the managers kept him mainly near home. But his reputation was above reproach; while, fortunately for the party, no Republicans cared to revive the mean charges against Cleveland so assiduously circulated four years before. Instead of defamation both sides resorted to a cleaner and more useful device, the political club, whose evolution was a feature of this campaign. By August, 1887, 6,500 Republican clubs were reported, claiming a membership of a million voters. Before the election Indiana had 1,100 Republican clubs, New York 1,400. The Democrats, less successful than their opponents, yet organized about three thousand clubs, which were combined in a National Association, to correspond to the Republican League of the United States. Numerous reform and tariff reform clubs, different from the clubs just mentioned, worked for Democratic success. This, for most of the campaign, seemed assured, and the reverse outcome surprised many in



LEVI P. MORTON

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both parties. The causes of it, however, were not far to seek.

The federal patronage, as always, benumbed the activities of the Administration and whetted the Opposition. The office-holder army, of course, toiled and contributed for the Democracy's success; but, operating as counter-weights to office-holders were an equal or greater number of soured office-seekers, each with his little following, who had been "turned down" by the Administration. The Opposition, on the other hand, commanded a force of earnest and harmonious workers, some impelled by patriotism, more, perhaps, by hopes of "recognition" in case their cause won. Thus the craving of both sides for political "swag" worked against the Democratic party. Though the tone of the campaign gave little hope of improvement should Harrison be elected, a large number of civil service reformers indignantly deserted Cleveland owing to his practical renunciation of their faith. The public at large resented the loss which the service had suffered through changes in office-holders. Democratic blunders thrust the sectional issue needlessly to the fore. The Rebel flag incident, Mr. Cleveland's fishing trip on Memorial Day, the choice of Mr. Mills, a Southerner, to lead the tariff fight in Congress, and the prominence of Southerners among the Democratic campaign orators at the North, were themes of countless diatribes.

Not all the Republican speakers of the campaign did so much to make people think Mr. Cleveland "un-American" as was accomplished by means of the so-called "Murchison Letter." This clever Republican document, written by Mr. George Osgoodby, of Pomona, California, was dated at Pomona, September 4, 1888, and directed to the British Minister at Washington, D. C. The text of it follows:

"SIR: "The gravity of the political situation here, and the duties of those voters who are of English birth, but still consider England the motherland, constitutes the apology I hereby

THE MURCHISON LETTER

offer for intruding for information. Mr. Cleveland's message to Congress on the fishery question justly excites our alarm and compels us to seek further knowledge before finally casting our votes for him as we intended to do. Many English citizens have for years refrained from being naturalized, as they thought no good would accrue from the act, but Mr. Cleveland's Administration has been so favorable and friendly toward England, so kind in not enforcing the retaliatory act passed by Congress, so sound on the free-trade question and so hostile to the dynamite schools of Ireland, that, by the hundreds—yes, by the thousands—they have become naturalized for the express purpose of helping to elect him over again, the one above all of American politicians they considered their own and their country's best friend. I am one of these unfortunates with a right to vote for President in November. I am unable to understand for whom I shall cast my ballot, when but one month ago I was sure that Mr. Cleveland was the man. If Cleveland was pursuing a new policy toward Canada, temporarily only and for the sake of obtaining popularity and continuation of his office four years more, but intends to cease his policy when his re-election in November is secured, and again favor England's interest, then I should have no further doubt, but go forward and vote for him. I know of no one better able to direct me, sir, and I most respectfully ask your advice in the matter. I will further add that the two men, Mr. Cleveland and Mr. Harrison, are very evenly matched, and a few votes might elect either one. Mr. Harrison is a high-tariff man, a believer on the American side of all questions, and undoubtedly an enemy to British interests generally. This State is equally divided between the parties, and a mere handful of our naturalized countrymen can turn it either way. When it is remembered that a small State (Colorado) defeated Mr. Tilden in 1876, and elected Hayes, the Republican, the importance of California is at once apparent to all.

“As you are the fountain-head of knowledge on the question, and know whether Mr. Cleveland’s policy is temporary only, and whether he will, as soon as he secures another term of four years in the Presidency, suspend it for one of friendship and free trade, I apply to you privately and confidentially for information which shall in turn be treated as entirely secret. Such information would put me at rest myself, and if favorable to Mr. Cleveland enable me on my own responsibility to assure many of my countrymen that they would do England a service by voting for Cleveland and against the Republican system of tariff. As I before observed, we know not what to do, but look for more light on a mysterious subject, which the sooner it comes will better serve true Englishmen in casting their votes.

“Yours, very respectfully,
 “CHARLES F. MURCHISON.”

The Minister replied :

“SIR : I am in receipt of your letter of the 4th inst. and beg to say that I fully appreciate the difficulty in which you find yourself in casting your vote. You are probably aware that any political party which openly favored the mother country at the present moment would lose popularity, and that the party in power is fully aware of the fact. The party, however, is, I believe, still desirous of maintaining friendly relations with Great Britain, and still desirous of settling all questions with Canada which have been, unfortunately, reopened since the retraction of the treaty by the Republican majority in the Senate and by the President’s message to which you allude. All allowances must, therefore, be made for the political situation as regards the Presidential election thus created. It is, however, impossible to predict the course which President Cleveland may pursue in the matter of retaliation should he be elected ; but there is every reason to believe that, while upholding the position he has taken, he

“SEE LAMONT AT ONCE”

will manifest a spirit of conciliation in dealing with the question involved in his message. I enclose an article from the *New York Times* of August 22d, and remain yours faithfully,
“L. S. SACKVILLE-WEST.”

This correspondence was published on October 24th, and instantly took effect. Sir Sackville-West was famous. His photographs were in demand, and a dime museum manager offered him \$2,000 a week to hold two *levées* daily in his “palatial museum.” The President at first inclined to ignore the incident, but changed when a member of the Cabinet received from the Democratic National

Committee the following: “Does the President know that the Irish vote is slipping out of our hands because of diplomatic shilly-shallying? See Lamont at once. Something ought to be done to-day.” Something was done. On October 30th the Minister was notified that he was a *persona non grata*. His recall was asked for but refused, whereupon his passports were delivered to him. The English Government resented this, and refused



LORD SACKVILLE-WEST

to fill the vacancy during the remaining months of Cleveland's administration. An influential newspaper friendly to the President, said: “If President Cleveland had resisted the clamor he could not have suffered any more complete defeat than that which he was called upon to endure, while he would have had the consciousness of having acted in a manly, upright and courageous manner, with full appreciation of the courtesy which one friendly government should extend to another. But this was one of the instances in President Cleveland's career in which the cunning of the politician outweighed the judgment of the statesman, and he caused the recall of Minister Sack-

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ville for reasons and in a manner that will always stand in history as an instance of contemptible personal weakness. The other side played a demagogic trick to capture the Irish vote ; the President of the United States tried to outwit them by a piece of trickery of even larger dimensions, and, as in this instance he deserved, failed of his purpose."

Another artifice attracted some notice in this campaign, particularly in Ohio. It was directed against the popular Democrat, Hon J. E. Campbell, of that State, whom the evident design was to brand as corrupt, as using his political office and influence for the purpose of personal gain.

In September, 1888, one Richard G. Wood delivered to Governor Joseph B. Foraker, of Ohio, the following paper :

" WASHINGTON, D. C., July 2, 1888.

" We, the undersigned, agree to pay the amounts set opposite, or any part thereof, whenever requested so to do by John R. McLean, upon ' Contract No. 1,000,' a copy of which is to be given to each subscriber upon payment of any part of the money hereby subscribed. It is understood that each subscription of five thousand dollars shall entitle the subscriber thereof to a one-twentieth interest in said contract."

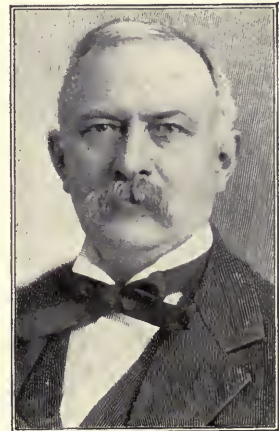
First among " the undersigned " names stood that of Governor Campbell, who was down for \$15,000 in all. John Sherman, William McKinley, W. C. P. Breckenridge and other prominent men of both the great political parties were also among the apparent subscribers. " Contract No. 1,000 " was an arrangement to make and market the Hall and Wood ballot box, a patent concern to prevent fraudulent voting. On July 23, shortly after the date of the asserted agreement, Mr. Campbell introduced a bill in the national Congress which required the purchase of the boxes by the Government, and their use where it had the authority.

THE BALLOT-BOX FORGERY

In a little over a fortnight Foraker handed a copy of the alleged contract to the editor of the Cincinnati *Commercial Gazette*, which came out on October 4th with a *facsimile* thereof, to which, however, only Campbell's name was attached. Gossip supplemented the astute silence of the press. Other alleged signers got knowledge of the paper and denounced it as a forgery. Campbell vindicated himself completely and at once. Just a week after publishing the contract, the *Commercial Gazette* gave out a statement by Mr. Murat Halstead, the editor, to the effect that he was satisfied that Campbell's signature was false, but he still omitted to mention any other names. Foraker as well as Halstead had been deceived touching the genuineness of the contract, but the Governor seemed in no haste to rectify the harm which his error had led him to inflict. Sherman always deemed it strange that Foraker, having in his possession a paper which implicated Butterworth, McKinley and Sherman himself, in what all men would regard a dishonorable transaction, did not inform those gentlemen and give them an opportunity to deny, affirm, or explain their alleged signatures. Inquiry from him would at once have elicited the facts. "No doubt," said Sherman, "Foraker believed the signatures genuine, but that should not have deterred him from making the inquiry."

The whole matter was at last thoroughly aired in Congress and the contract, with all the names, published in *facsimile*. A Committee of the House found that Wood and two confederates were responsible for the forgery, and that Foraker and Halstead unwittingly aided in uttering the same. The Congressmen concerned were wholly exonerated.

The election, after all, turned mainly upon the tariff issue. Smarting



J. B. FORAKER

under his defeat in 1884, Mr. Blaine had written: "I was not sustained in the canvass by many who had personally a far greater stake than I. They are likely to have leisure for reflection and for a cool calculation of the small sums they were asked in vain to contribute." This prophecy came true. In 1888 the Republicans screamed that protection was on trial for its life. Many Democrats held the same view of the contest, inveighing against protection as pure robbery. They accused the tariff of causing Trusts, against which several bills had recently been introduced in Congress. At the opening of the campaign Blaine declared such combinations largely private affairs "with which neither President Cleveland nor any private citizen had any particular right to interfere."

Democratic organs diligently used this utterance to prove that Republicans slavishly served the rich and were always glad to grind the faces of the poor. Moderate Democrats, taking cue from Mr. Cleveland's 1887 tariff message, urged simply a reduction in protective rates; but they usually did this with arguments which would have served equally well in a plea for out and out free trade. The Mills Bill was to a great extent constructed on the tariff-for-revenue theory, dutying at snug rates good revenue articles that needed no protection, and at low rates many which, it was alleged, could not be produced in the United States without protection. Wool, lumber and salt it placed upon the free list. Henry George, who wished every custom-house in the land levelled, took the stump for Cleveland. Republican orators and organs pictured "British free trade" as the sure consequence of a victory for Cleveland. "British goods would flood us; our manufactures, the Home Market gone, would be driven to a competition—in which they must fail—with the pauper-made products of Europe; farming would be our sole great industry; wages would vastly fall or cease altogether." Whether solid argument, or sophistry which a longer campaign of education would have dispelled, these considerations had powerful effect. Startled at

FLOATERS IN BLOCKS OF FIVE

prospects so terrible, people voted to uphold the "American System." The worst tug of war occurred in New York State. "I am a Democrat," said Governor Hill on every occasion; yet he and his friends disliked the Administration, and were widely believed to connive at the trading of Democratic votes for Harrison in return for Republican votes for Hill. "Harrison and Hill" flags waved over liquor-saloons in nearly every city and large town of the State. Many a Democratic meeting was addressed by one speaker who extolled the President but would not say a word for the Governor; then by another who eloquently lauded the Governor but ignored the President.

To all the above it is unfortunately necessary to add that the 1888 election was among the most corrupt in our history. The campaign was estimated to have cost the two parties \$6,000,000. Assessments on office-holders were largely relied upon to replenish the Democrats' campaign treasury, though goodly subsidies came in from other sources. But with "soap," recurring to President Arthur's figure, the Republicans were better supplied than their rivals. The manufacturers of the country regarded their interests and even their honor as assailed, and contributed generously as often as the Republican hat went round. Special store of "the needful" was laid out in Indiana, where no resource which could assist the Republican victory was left untried.

The National Republican Committee wrote the party managers in that State: "Divide the floaters into blocks of five and put a trusted man with necessary funds in charge of these five, and make him responsible that none get away, and that all vote our ticket." William W. Dudley, Treasurer of the Committee, was alleged to have written this. After election a complaint was brought against him for bribery, but the grand jury found no indictment. The mandate to the State workers was obeyed. In one place, on "the night before election, more than a hundred of the 'floaters' had been collected in various buildings, with sentries to guard them against



BENJAMIN HARRISON

surprise by the foe." Wagon-loads of them were taken into the surrounding country, ready to be rushed to the polls at sunrise before they could fall into the hands of the enemy. In this particular market the price of votes had risen since 1880 from \$2 to about \$15. Experts referred the advance not to diminution in the supply of purchasable voters, but rather to increase in the demand for them occasioned by the impor-

tance of Indiana's vote. At the election more than eleven million ballots were cast, yet so closely balanced were the parties that a change of ten thousand in Indiana and New York, both of which went for Harrison, would have re-elected Cleveland. As it was, his popular vote, of 5,540,000, exceeded Harrison's of 5,400,000, by 140,000. The Republicans held the Senate and won a face majority of ten in the House, somewhat increased by unseating and seating subsequently. In New York, because, apparently, of the trading referred to, Hill was re-elected Governor. Connecticut gave a Democratic plurality of 336, and New Jersey one of 7,149. The Republicans were also victorious in the Congressional elections, the House at the opening of the Fifty-first Congress, first session, having 170 Republican members to 160 Democrats. The Republicans were thus in control of all branches of the general government, in condition to carry out the principles laid down in the Chicago platform.

UNWELCOME IMMIGRANTS

The new President's inaugural address reaffirmed the Republican principle of Protection and supported Civil Service Reform. It recommended the increase of the Navy, and advocated steamship subsidies. A reform of the electoral and of the immigration laws was likewise urged. This recommendation had in view the exclusion of undesirable foreigners from our shores, already referred to in this History. The first movement in this direction dated back to 1882, when, on August 3d, an act was passed prohibiting the landing of any convict, lunatic, idiot or person unable to take care of himself. On March 3, 1887, a supplementary act was passed, but its provisions were found to be entirely inadequate to prevent the coming of improper persons to our shores. In December of the same year an unsuccessful bill was introduced into the Senate authorizing the Secretary of State to establish rules and issue instructions to consuls of the United States tending to prevent undesirable immigration, by granting certificates only to suitable persons. In 1888 Congress made an investigation into the matter, but nothing definite was accomplished.

The extent to which the evil had grown was well set forth by an address of one hundred American consuls to the general government at Washington in 1888. In this address the Consul at Palermo said: "Emigration is here considered a mere matter of business so far as steamship companies are concerned, and it is stimulated by them in the same sense that trade in merchandise is when they desire a cargo, or to complete one, for their vessel, as the company desire that all space in their vessels shall be occupied; and, in order to accomplish this, they employ emigrant brokers or agents, to whom they pay from three to five dollars for each emigrant. The brokers are a low, lying, dishonorable set, who will swear to anything to induce the poor, ignorant people to emigrate, and thus earn their fees." The Consul at Venice said: "Emigrants are recruited from those people whom, as a rule, their native country does not wish to maintain. They are no more fitted

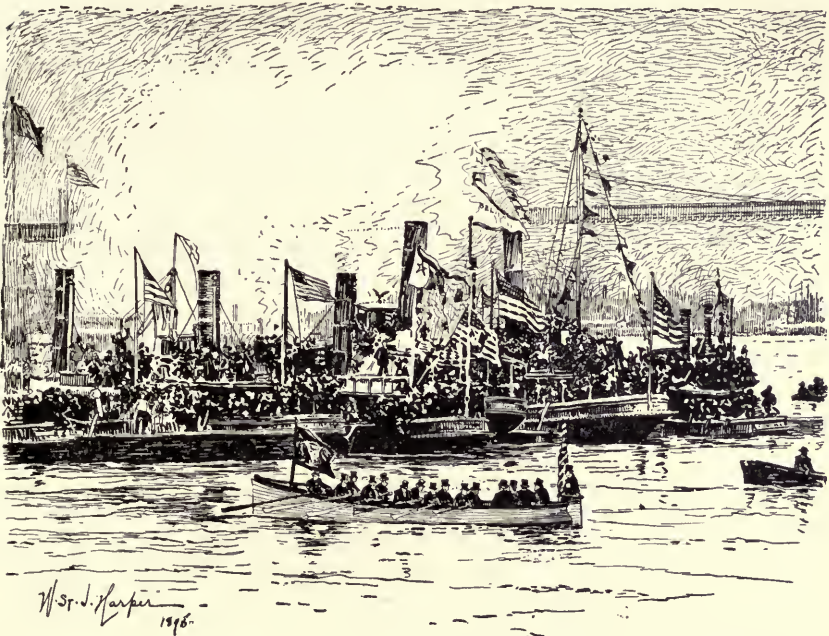
THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

to perform the duties of citizenship than slaves newly released from bondage." The immigration question had entered to a slight extent into the campaign, having been agitated principally by the American Party, which held a convention at Washington, D. C., August 14th and 15th, nominating for the Presidency James L. Curtis, of New York, and for the Vice-Presidency James R. Greer, of Tennessee.

Shortly after his inauguration, President Harrison was the central figure in one of the most unique and imposing demonstrations ever witnessed in America. This was the celebration of the centennial anniversary of the inauguration of General Washington as President, in the city of New York, on April 30, 1789. The celebration lasted for three days, beginning on the morning of the 29th of April, when Mr. Harrison was entertained by the Governor of New Jersey, as Washington had been just one hundred years before. From the residence of Governor Green President Harrison viewed a military procession, after which he proceeded to Elizabethport, where he was received by the revenue cutter *Despatch* and conveyed to the foot of Wall Street. Here he disembarked at the spot at which Washington had landed on his journey to take the oath of office. The *Despatch* convoyed by three large steamboats, was greeted on her journey by the war ships of the United States navy, drawn up in line in the North River and upper bay, and a salute of twenty-one guns was fired from each vessel.

The naval procession which followed the *Despatch*, was on a grand and imposing scale. After landing in the city, the President proceeded to the Lawyers' Club in the Equitable Building on Broadway, where a reception was given him, followed by a public reception in the Governor's Room in the City Hall. In the evening of the 29th a grand ball occurred at the Metropolitan Opera House. On the second day of the celebration, President Harrison was escorted to St. Paul's Church, Broadway, where the Chief Magistrate occupied the

ANNIVERSARY OF WASHINGTON'S INAUGURATION



W. J. Harper 1896.

PRESIDENT HARRISON BEING ROWED ASHORE AT WALL STREET DURING THE INAUGURATION CENTENNIAL

After a photograph

same pew which Washington had occupied on the day of his inauguration. Here the Rt. Rev. Henry C. Potter, Bishop of New York, officiated, as did Bishop Samuel Provost in 1789. On a platform erected around a bronze statue of Washington at the granite steps of the sub-Treasury building, the site of Federal Hall, where the first President took his oath of office, the Literary Exercises of the second day occurred. John Greenleaf Whittier read a poem and Chauncey M. Depew delivered an oration. President Harrison also addressed the throng. These exercises being concluded, Archbishop Michael A. Corrigan pronounced the benediction. Then followed a grand military procession, with Major-General Schofield as Chief Marshal. This was reviewed by the President and other dignitaries at Madison Square. In the procession marched over 50,000 men. At the conclusion

of the second day's pageant the Metropolitan Opera House was a scene of a brilliant banquet. The third day witnessed an industrial parade with more than 100,000 men in line.

Mr. Blaine was now the most eminent of the older statesmen surviving, and President Harrison could not do otherwise than make him Secretary of State ; but even he was hardly so conspicuous as the younger leaders, McKinley, Lodge and Reed. This became noticeable when the Republicans in the House began to initiate their policy. This policy was mainly embodied in three measures, the Federal Elections Bill, the Dependent Pensions Bill, and the McKinley Tariff Bill. Only the last two became laws, and but one of these long survived.

To enact any of those bills required certain parliamentary innovations, which were triumphantly carried through by the Speaker of the House in the Fifty-first Congress, Hon. Thomas B. Reed, of Maine. One of them was this Speaker's practice of declining to entertain dilatory motions ; another, more important, his order to the clerk to register, as "present and not voting," those whom he saw endeavoring by stubborn silence to break a quorum. The Constitution provides that a majority of either House shall be a quorum for the transaction of business. Although the Sergeant-at-Arms was empowered to compel the presence of members, yet, hitherto, unless a majority of the House answered to their names, no majority was recorded as "present," and legislation could be blocked. As the traditional safeguard of minorities and as a compressed air-brake on majority action, silence was indeed golden. Under the Reed theory, since adopted, that the House may, through the Speaker, determine the presence of a quorum in its own way, the Speaker's or the Clerk's eye was substituted for the voice of any recalcitrant member in demonstrating the member's presence. The most strenuous opposition met the attempt to enforce this new rule. On the "Yeas and Nays" or at any roll-call some Democrats would dodge out of sight,

THE REED "TYRANNY"

others start to rush from the Chamber, to be confronted by closed doors. Once Mr. Kilgore, of Texas, kicked down a door to make good his escape. Till resistance proved vain the minority would at each test rave round the Chamber like so many caged tigers, furious but powerless to claw the "tyrant from his throne." Yet, having calculated the scope of his authority, Mr. Reed coolly continued to count and declare quorums whenever such were present. The Democratic majority of 1893 somewhat qualified the newly discovered prerogative of the Speaker, giving it, when possible, to tellers from both parties. Now and then they employed it as a piece of Democratic artillery to fire at Mr. Reed himself; but he each time received the shot with smiles.



THOMAS B. REED

The cause which the Reed "tyranny" was in 1890 meant to support made it doubly odious to Democrats. For years negroes in parts of the South had been practically disfranchised. To restore them the suffrage, the Republicans proposed federal supervision of federal elections, supported, in last resort, by federal arms. A "Force Bill" being introduced into Congress, sectional bitterness reawoke. The South grew alarmed and angry. One State refused to be represented at the Chicago Fair, a United States Marshal was murdered in Florida, and a Grand Army Post was mobbed at Whitesville, Ky., on Memorial Day. A proposal for a Southern boycott of Northern merchandise had influential support. Against the threatened legislation Northern phlegm co-operated with Southern heat. Many who were not Democrats viewed the situation at the South as the Republicans' just retribution for enfranchising ignorance and incompetence, and preferred white domination there to a return of carpet-bag times. Others dreaded the measure as sure to perpetuate the

Solid South. The House passed the bill, but in the Senate it encountered obdurate opposition. Forced over to the second session, where its passage depended on some form of *clôture*, it was finally lost through a coalition of free-silver Republican Senators with Senators from the South, standing out against so radical a change in the Senate rules.

The Republican majority in the Fifty-first Congress found the overflowing Treasury at once embarrassing and tempting. Their policy touching it, involving vast expenditures, won for this Congress the title of the "Billion Dollar Congress." The most prominent and permanent among its huge appropriations was entailed by the Dependent Pensions Act, approved June 27, 1890, which was substantially the same as the one vetoed by President Cleveland three years before. In it culminated a course of legislation. Our well-meant pension system had its evil side. The original intention of it was easily perverted. In 1820 our less than 10,000,000 people were alarmed that pensions to revolutionary soldiers aggregated \$2,700,000. "The revolutionary claimant never dies," became the proverb. Investigation revealed that one-third of the admitted claims were fraudulent. This was the result of a Dependent Pensions Act, for the relief of all indigent Revolutionary veterans who had served nine months. History repeated itself.

The numerous pensionable cases originated by the Civil War raised up a powerful class of pension attorneys, able to control, to a great extent, public opinion and legislation. Their agency was at the root of the demand which induced Congress in 1880 to endow each pensioner with a back pension equal to what his pension would have been had he applied on the date of receiving his injury. Unsuccessful in the Forty-fourth Congress, the bill was in 1880 sent with all speed to President Hayes, who gave it his approval, in spite of the vastly increased expenditure which the act must entail. Outgo for pensions under the old law had reached its maxi-

EVILS CONNECTED WITH THE PENSION SYSTEM

num in 1871. It was then \$34,443,894.88. In 1878 this item of our national expenditure was only \$27,137,019.08. The next two years doubled the amount. In 1883 it exceeded \$66,000,000; in 1889 it was \$87,624,000. But the act of 1890 was the most sweeping yet, pensioning all Unionists who had served in the war ninety days, provided they were incapacitated for manual labor, and the widows, children and dependent parents of such. At the beginning of the fiscal year 1891-92, the Commissioner of Pensions informed the chiefs of division in his office that he wished one thousand pensions a day issued for each working day of the year; 311,567 pension certificates were issued that year. Rejected claimants by no means abandoned hope, but assaulted the breastworks again and again, many at last succeeding on some sort of "new evidence." Stirred up by attorneys, old pensioners could not rest content, but put in pleas for increase. Thus impelled the pension figure shot up to \$106,493,890 in 1890; \$118,548,960 in 1891; and to about \$159,000,000 in 1893. The maximum seemed thus to have been reached, for the pension outgo for the fiscal year ending with June, 1894, was but \$141,000,000.

June 30, 1890, \$109,015,750 in the four and a half per cent. bonds, redeemable September 1, 1891, were still outstanding. By April 1, 1891, they had, by redemption or purchase, been reduced to \$53,854,250, of which one-half in value was held by national banks to sustain their circulation. To avoid contracting this circulation, the Secretary of the Treasury permitted holders of these bonds to retain them and receive interest at two per cent. About \$25,364,500 was so continued. Interest on the remainder ceased at their maturity, and nearly all were soon paid off. The bonds continuing at two per cent. were all along quoted at par, though payable at the will of the Government, revealing a national credit never excelled in history. On July 1, 1894, after an increase during the previous fiscal year of \$60,000,000, the debt less cash in the

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME



WILLIAM MCKINLEY

Treasury stood at \$899,313,381. By this time, surplus of revenues, which, in October, 1888, stood at about \$97,000,000, had ceased to trouble the Administration, but at Mr. Harrison's accession it occasioned extreme anxiety.

Under Cleveland's leadership the Democrats would have reduced the revenue by lowering tariff imports. The Republicans proposed to reach the same end by a method precisely the reverse, pushing up each tariff rate toward or to the prohibitive point. This was the policy embodied in the McKinley Bill, which became law October 1, 1890. Sugar, a lucrative revenue article, was made free, and a bounty given to sugar producers in this country, together with a discriminating duty of one-tenth of a cent per pound on sugar imported hither from countries which paid a bounty upon sugar exportation. The reciprocity feature of this bill proved its most popular grace, though it was flouted in the House, and not enacted in the form in which its best-known advocate, Mr. Blaine, conceived it. Reciprocity treaties were concluded with several countries, considerably extending our trade. Those with Germany, France, Belgium and Italy resulted in relieving American pork from the embargo placed upon it in those lands. These successes did not wholly reconcile Mr. Blaine to the bill. By his hostility to the McKinley phase of protection and by his opposition to the idea of a Force Bill, the Secretary of State stood for the time in opposition to the younger Republican leaders, though he probably had with him a majority of his party.

Long schooled to appeal from bad law to what seemed righteous disorder, in the spring of 1891 the State of Louisiana was confronted with an occasion for such appeal that would.

HENNESSY WAS A DYING MAN

have sorely tempted the most orderly population in the world. Certain Italians, accused of shooting some of their countrymen, had been convicted by false swearing. A second trial being secured, the New Orleans Chief of Police, David C. Hennessy, busied himself with tracing the record of their accusers, who were Sicilians. He was surprised to find evidence that the "Mafia," an oath-bound secret society indigenous to Sicily, had thriving branches in New Orleans, New York, St. Louis and San Francisco. This dreaded organization was wont to demand of its victims sums of money, \$500, \$1,000, or \$2,000 each, the mandate in every case naming some secluded spot for the deposit. Few dared refuse.

Engrossed in his search, the Chief of Police had no idea that he was watched. He probably knew nothing of a certain Italian neighbor of his, Monasterio by name, lately arrived from abroad, occupying a shanty fifty yards from his house. It was nearly time for the trap to be sprung and full exposure made, when, late one evening, Hennessy drew near his home. A boy ran in front of him and gave a peculiar whistle. Next moment the chief was a dying man. Bullets tore three cruel rents in his chest and abdomen, his right knee and his left hand were shot through, and his face, arms and neck were shockingly mutilated. Though he languished till the next morning, the only explanation that passed his lips was the whispered word, "Dagoes." Within ten minutes of the shooting the immigrant was seized in his shanty. Others were arrested later, but only eleven were held and only nine finally presented. The trial proved that Hennessy's assassins hid in Monasterio's hut, and that an Italian boy was posted to notify them of Hennessy's approach. The deadly weapons were found, six shot-guns, five with barrels sawed off and stocks hinged so that they could be doubled up and carried under the clothing.

Verdict was rendered on Friday, March 13, 1891. The judge, usually imperturbable, was observed, when the paper

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was handed him, to look at it for a moment in stupefaction. No wonder. Six of the culprits were acquitted ; in the case of three the jury disagreed ; not one was convicted. "Bribery," said some. Others whispered "Intimidation." All agreed that such a fiasco was an "outrage." Awaiting trial upon a second indictment, and joyfully reckoning upon a similar result next time, the accused were again locked in their cells. At the moment the doors closed behind them a vigilance committee of well-known citizens were writing and sending to the various newspaper offices the following notice :

" Mass Meeting.

"All good citizens are invited to attend a mass meeting on Saturday, March 14th, at ten o'clock A. M., at Clay Statue, to take steps to remedy the failure of justice in the Hennessy case. Come prepared for action."

The assembly at the statue blocked the street-cars and climbed on top of them. Neighboring balconies were peopled

With store of ladies, whose bright eyes rain'd influence.

Words from some influential man in the crowd voiced the unanimous view : "When the law is powerless the rights delegated by the people are relegated back to the people, and they are justified in doing what the law has failed to do." The speaker charged that the jury was corrupted and asked if the people were ready to follow him. The response was favorable, loud, and unanimous. The prison occupied a whole square, its main iron gates frowning upon Orleans Street. From within the deputy sheriff observed a crowd, larger and larger each moment, drifting toward the building. This,



DAVID C. HENNESSY
The New Orleans Chief of Police.

“WHO KILLA DE CHIEF?”



The Clay Statue in New Orleans

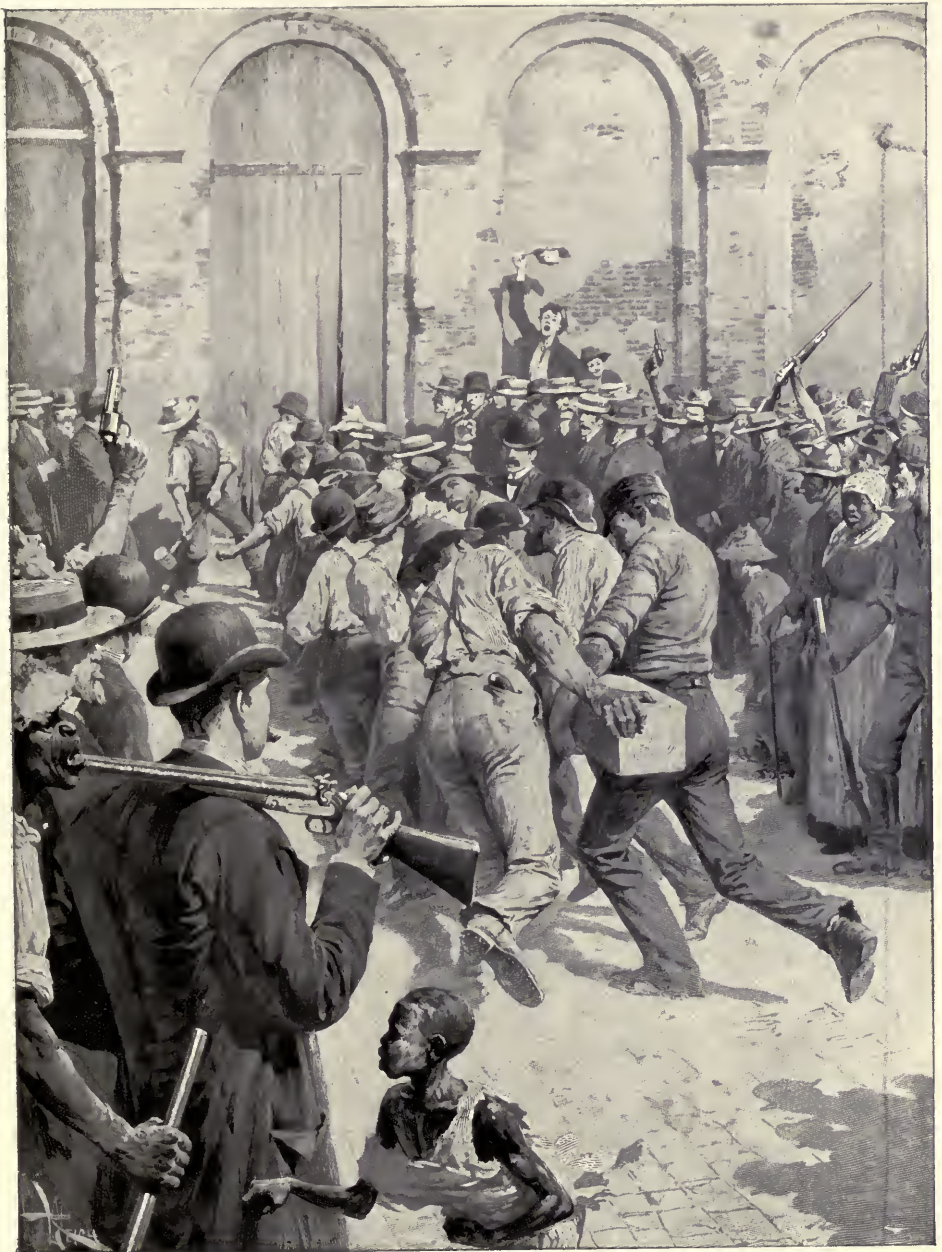
with the mass meeting at the Clay statue, warned him what to expect. The Italian prisoners, too, had heard of the meeting, and trembled. Carpenters barricading the side entrance were jeered. The small boys in the crowd set up a shout: “Who killa de chief? Who killa de chief?” Then followed the Mafia whistle, but what a new meaning it bore to its authors now! More por-

tentous than the chattering of those gamins was the hush long maintained by the multitude. At last this gave way to rolling volleys of applause, growing louder and louder as there was heard the steady cadence of Hennessy’s avengers marching hither from the meeting at the statue. A neighboring wood-pile furnished battering rams, and the work of demolishing the front gates was soon finished, a burly negro aiding with a huge stone. The vigilance committee admitted to the prison not more than sixty men, posting sentries at all exits to shoot down escaping prisoners. The Italians had been set free within the prison, to escape, if they could, by hiding. The boy who had warned them of the chief’s approach on the night of the murder was found beating at the cell doors and begging to be let in. He was spared. Three poor wretches stood in line behind a pillar as

the lynchers approached. Peeping from his shelter, one was shot through the head; the second stumbled over the corpse and was at once riddled; the third seized an Indian club, and in desperation beat at a door where he hoped for egress, just as a crowd from the other direction broke in. A shot in the forehead failed to fell or dishearten him. Thinking to parry a charge aimed at his shoulder, he lost his hand. The next moment a rifle was pressed to his breast and fired. He sank, and the crowd passed on over him. In the women's yard six more, huddled in an attitude of supplication, were despatched, one body receiving forty-two bullets. Two others were hanged outside the prison. One of these had gone insane, and was kicked to the lamp-post, muttering to himself. At the first attempt to string him up the rope broke; the second time he clutched it and drew himself hand over hand to the cross-piece, but was beaten back to the ground; the third time he repeated the attempt with the same result. When he was successfully hanged deafening cheers went up. The wretch's clothing was stripped from him and torn in pieces, to be distributed as souvenirs.

The crowd was now satisfied with the work done, and walked quietly back to the Clay statue, whence they dispersed.

This incident opened grave international complications, which Mr. Blaine handled with skill. Three of the murdered men had been subjects of King Humbert. Our treaty with Italy, ratified in the early seventies, provided that "the citizens of each of the high contracting parties should receive in the States and territories of the other the most constant protection and security for their persons and property, and enjoy in this respect the same rights and privileges as were, or should be, granted to the natives." The Italian Consul at New Orleans stated that while some of the victims were bad men, many of the charges against these were without foundation; that the violence was foreseen, and could have



AN EPISODE OF THE LYNCHING OF THE ITALIANS IN NEW ORLEANS
The Citizens Breaking Down the Door of the Parish Prison

Drawn by *W. R. Leigh* from photographs and descriptions



BLAINE AND DI RUDINI

been prevented ; that he had in vain requested military protection for the prisoners ; and that at the massacre he and his secretary had been assaulted and mobbed.

On the very day when the prisoners were killed, Italy sent her protest to Mr. Blaine, who expressed his horror at the deed. He at the same time urged Governor Nicholls to see the guilty brought to justice. The Italian Premier, Marquis di Rudini, insisted on indemnity for the murdered men's families, and on the instant punishment of the assassins. Mr. Blaine did not regard indemnity as a right which the Italian Government could maintain, though intimating that the United States would not refuse it in this case. Demand for the summary punishment of the offenders he declared unreasonable, since the utmost that could be done at once was to institute judicial proceedings, and this function, he explained, could not be assumed by the United States, but belonged exclusively to the State of Louisiana. "The foreign resident," said he, "must be content in such cases to share the same redress that is offered by the law to the citizen, and has no just cause of complaint or right to ask the interposition of his country if the courts are equally open to him for the redress of his injuries?"

The Italian public thought this equivocation, a mean truckling to the American prejudice against Italian immigrants. Baron Fava, the Italian minister at Washington, could not see why Italian subjects in America should not receive the same protection accorded to Americans in Italy. In vain did Mr. Blaine set forth that by our federal system foreign residents, however shielded by treaty, cannot, any more than citizens, claim protection from the national authority direct. Baron Fava was ordered, failing to obtain assurance of indemnity and of immediate and impartial judicial proceedings, to "affirm the inutility of his presence near a government that had no power to guarantee such justice as in Italy is administered equally in favor of citizens of all nationalities." Mr. Blaine replied that

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the Italian Premier was endeavoring to hurry him in a manner contrary to diplomatic usage, and that he could announce no decision until the cases of the massacred Italian subjects had been investigated. "I do not," said he, "recognize the right of any Government to tell the United States what it shall do; we have never received orders from any foreign power and shall not begin now." It was to him "a matter of indifference what persons in Italy think of our institutions. . . I cannot change them, still less violate them." Such judicial proceedings as could be had against the lynchers broke down completely. The Italian minister withdrew, but his government was finally persuaded to accept \$25,000, to be distributed among the families of the murdered men.

When Mr. Blaine was for the second time made Secretary of State a Chilian paper spoke of him as "that foreign minister who made us so much trouble." Aided by his own unfortunate choice of a minister thither, Chile now became a cause of trouble to Mr. Blaine. The country was in the throes of a civil war between the "presidential party"—adherents of President Balmaceda—and the "congressional party." Mr. Egan eagerly espoused Balmaceda's cause, alienating the congressional party and a majority of the people. The misunderstanding was aggravated by the *Itata* incident. On May



THE *ITATA* IN SAN DIEGO HARBOR

From a photograph by Slocum

EGAN'S WOES IN CHILE

6, 1891, the *Itata*, a Chilean cruiser in the service of the Congressionalists, was, at the request of the Chilean minister, seized at San Diego by the United States marshal, on the ground that she was about to carry a cargo of arms to the Revolutionists. The next day she put to sea, defying the marshal's injunction. Two days after the cruiser *Charleston* set out in pursuit, but reached Callao without having seen her quarry. On June 4th the offender surrendered to the United States squadron at Iquique. Congressionalists in Chile were angry at us for meddling with the *Itata*, the President's party for not making our intervention effective. Excitement ran so high in Chile that it was unsafe for Americans to be recognized anywhere on Chilean territory. On October 17th some sailors from the *Baltimore* were attacked in Valparaiso, two being killed and eighteen hurt. To Secretary Blaine's demand for an explanation the Chilean Foreign Office replied on October 28th. Later was furnished a satisfactory indemnity.

Another incident attracting some attention in 1890 referred to General Barrundia, a political refugee from Guatemala,



PRESIDENT BALMACEDA
OF CHILE



THE CHARLESTON IN SAN DIEGO HARBOR

From a photograph by Slocum

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

who took passage on the Pacific Mail steamer *Acapulco*, for Salvador. The captain, Pitts, assured Barrundia that, though the steamer was to call at several Guatemalan ports, he would not be delivered to the Guatemalan authorities. These nevertheless sought to arrest him at Champerico and again at San José de Guatemala. The United States Minister, Mr. Mizner, Consul-General Hosmer and Commander Reiter, of the United States Ship of War *Ranger* then present in the port of San José, believed that Guatemala had a right to do this, as the *Acapulco* lay in Guatemala's territorial waters. They so advised Captain Pitts, who then, though with the utmost reluctance, permitted the arresting party to board the *Acapulco*. Barrundia resisted capture and was killed. Mizner's action was severely censured by Secretary Blaine and he was called home. Commander Reiter, also, for not interfering to prevent the arrest, was deprived of his command, receiving, moreover, a sharp letter from the Secretary of the Navy. The officer complained that this letter "conveyed a severe public reprimand—a punishment which could be inflicted legally only by the sentence of a general court-martial." He was afterward restored, but to another command. Our Government's attitude in this affair, seeking to set up a doctrine of asylum on merchant ships, was, in international law, wholly untenable. The two officials were cruelly punished for having acted with admirable judgment and done each his exact duty.



ROBERT E. PATTISON
From a photograph by Gutekunst

In the congressional campaign of 1890 issue upon the neo-Republican policy was squarely joined. The Republicans had interpreted Harrison's victory as a popular mandate, given *carte blanche*, and had legislated as if never to be called to account. The 1890 election, a "landslide" unpre-

MR. QUAY FLAYED

cedented in our political history, revealed their error. The House of Representatives was now overwhelmingly Democratic. Pennsylvania once more elected Pattison Governor, and also gave the Democrats three new seats in Congress. In this State the turn of the tide was partly due to the Republican dislike of Senator Quay. Early in 1890 Mr. H. C. Lea, of Philadelphia, had made charges, reiterated in leading journals with wealth of detail, to the effect that as State Treasurer Quay had been guilty of peculation. Honorable Robert P. Kennedy, a Republican member from Ohio, speaking in the House of Representatives, impeached Quay on the same ground. Kennedy's indictment was expunged from the record, which widened rather than narrowed its influence.



MATTHEW QUAY
Senator from Pennsylvania

The political change was far from local. The Pacific slope aside, huge Democratic gains occurred everywhere. The defeated referred their fall to "off-year" apathy, but that was not its sole or its main cause. The Billion Dollars gone, the Force Bill, and to a less extent the McKinley tariff, had aroused popular resentment. The new law so disliked at home was naturally odious abroad. France, Germany and Austria talked of reprisals. So did Great Britain. By the tirades against him there McKinley was for a time better known in Europe than any other American. Yet so long as the sun shone Europe diligently made hay. Just as the advanced rates were about to go into effect ocean greyhounds came racing hither to bring in, under the old duties, all the goods they could. The *Etruria's* speed, saving a few seconds, was said to have won the owners of her cargo no less than \$1,000,000 in this way. Vast as was its preponderance of Democrats, the new House could of course carry no low-tariff

measure against Harrison and the Senate; but it passed a number of "pop-gun bills" for free raw materials, as if to make "coming events cast their shadows before."

The international copyright bill of the McKinley Congress was one of the most conspicuous of its enactments, the more conspicuous in that it drew the favorable comment of the "literary." In 1886 an international conference, from which Austria-Hungary, Russia and the United States were absent, resulted in a treaty for international copyright. Two years later the United States Senate passed a bill, which failed in the House, intended to reconcile our law with that idea. In 1890 the House in turn passed a bill with similar intent, but involving severe provisions against importing foreign books. The Senate amended these features so as to permit the importation of foreign-made books like other foreign articles. The bill ultimately passed, approved by the President on March 3, 1891, provided for United States copyright for any foreign author, designer, artist or dramatist, provided "that in case of a book, photograph, chromo or lithograph, the two copies of the same required to be delivered or deposited with the Librarian of Congress shall be printed from type set within the limits of the United States, or from plates made therefrom, or from negatives or drawings on stone made within the limits of the United States or from transfers therefrom." Foreign authors, like native or naturalized, could renew their United States copyrights; and penalties were prescribed in the new law to protect these rights from infringement.

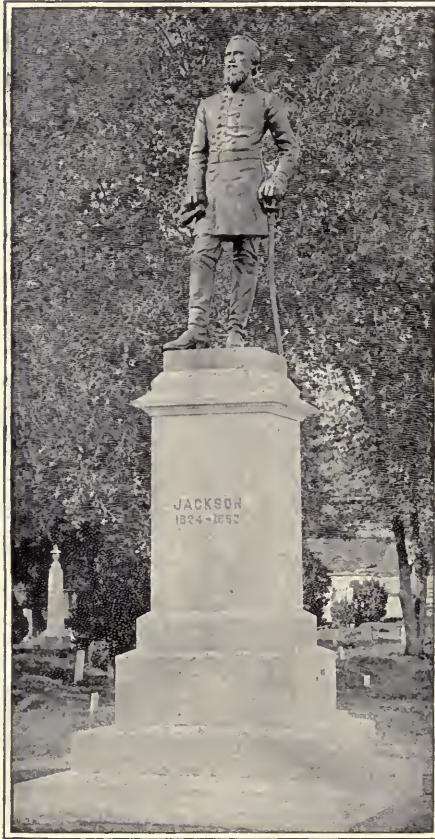
CHAPTER XX

IMPORTANT EVENTS MAINLY NON-POLITICAL DURING HARRISON'S TERM

SIGNS OF A NEW TIME.—HENRY W. GRADY.—BAD TEMPER OVER JEFF. DAVIS.—ZACHARIAH CHANDLER ARRAIGNS DAVIS.—GEN. SHERMAN DOES THE SAME.—OKLAHOMA.—THE "BOOMERS."—GROWTH OF THE TERRITORY.—THE "MESSIAH CRAZE" AMONG THE INDIANS.—ITS ALLEGED ORIGIN.—ANOTHER ACCOUNT.—END OF SITTING BULL.—RELATED MANIFESTATIONS OF THE DELUSION.—THE JOHNSTOWN FLOOD.—DEVASTATION AND DEATH.—RELIEF WORK.—THE SEATTLE FIRE.—FATAL CONFLAGRATION IN SECRETARY TRACY'S WASHINGTON HOME.—THE LOUISIANA LOTTERY.—ITS FIGHT FOR LIFE.—ITS DEFEAT AND BANISHMENT.—MORMONISM.—ANTI-POLYGAMY LAWS.—THE MOUNTAIN MEADOWS MASSACRE.—EXECUTION OF JOHN D. LEE.—THE EDMUNDS LAW.—ITS RIGOR.—THE HIGHEST COURT SUSTAINS IT.—A "REVELATION" AGAINST POLYGAMY.—AMNESTY AND PARDON.—UTAH A STATE.—GEARY ANTI-CHINESE LAW.—THE UNITED STATES IN SAMOA.—HURRICANE THERE.—ESCAPE OF THE CALLIOPE.—ADMIRAL KIMBERLY TO CAPTAIN KANE.—RUSSIAN FAMINE OF 1892.—THOUGHT OF RELIEF FROM AMERICA.—MINNEAPOLIS IN THE LEAD.—DESPERATE SITUATION IN RUSSIA.—RUSSIANS' OWN GENEROSITY.—THE SUPPLIES FROM AMERICA.—WISDOM SHOWN IN DISTRIBUTING THEM.—PHILADELPHIA CONTRIBUTES.—GOOD EFFECTS OF THE RELIEF MOVEMENT.—POLITICAL "TIDAL WAVES" OF 1892 AND 1894.

IN 1890 and 1891 an old cycle appeared distinctly merging into a new. Memorials rising on every hand shocked one with the sense that familiar figures and recent issues were already of the past. These two years saw monuments raised to Horace Greeley, Robert E. Lee, Henry Ward Beecher, Stonewall Jackson, Garfield and Grant. The year of Grant's death was also that of Hendricks's, to whom a statue was speedily erected in Indianapolis. The next year Logan, Arthur and Hancock departed. General Sheridan died in 1888. In 1891 General Sherman and Admiral Porter fell within a day of each other. General Johnston, who had been

a pall-bearer at the funeral of each, rejoined them in a little over a month. All these heroes of the war followed Grant to the tomb in 1885, and had now followed him beyond it. A monument just reared at Atlanta was a reminder of Henry W.



THE STATUE OF THOMAS J. JACKSON AT LEXINGTON, VA.

Unveiled July 21, 1891, the Thirtieth Anniversary of the First Battle of Manassas, where he gained his sobriquet of "Stonewall." E. B. Valentine, Sculptor

(The face is from a death-mask by Volz, and the pedestal covers the vault where are the bodies of Jackson and his two daughters.)

Grady's recent death, in which the morning star of the New South faded from our sky. The fraternal strife ending in 1865 began to seem a far memory. The locality of Lee's monument at Richmond, amid streets and avenues, was farmland at the time Lee and his army were protecting the city. The unveiling in May, 1890, was indeed no little of a Confederate occasion. Fitzhugh Lee, Joseph E. Johnston, Jubal Early, Longstreet and Gordon were all in attendance and warmly received. The Lost Cause was mentioned, but little was said or done to indicate that any regretted its loss. The Confederate flag was displayed, but not in derogation of the Stars and Stripes.

Grady's death was lamented nowhere more sincerely than at the North. His clever speeches at the New England Society's New York dinner, in 1886, and at the Merchants'

HENRY GRADY

Club dinner in Boston, shortly before his death, December 23, 1889, had brought him fame. He was born in Athens, Ga., in 1851. His father, a man of wealth and a colonel, was killed in the Confederate service. At the universities of Georgia and Virginia he had been a universal favorite, celebrated for a brilliancy akin to genius. Brought up at the feet of Robert Toombs, the youth acquired the old fire-eater's ardor without his venom. After 1876 he wrote for the *New York Herald* and other Northern papers, and his letters made a strong impression. After he, in 1880, became interested in the *Atlanta Constitution*, that sheet was widely read all over the North, doing much to allay sectional animosity.

The last angry outbreak of this related to the ex-President of the Confederacy, Jefferson Davis. Northerners might with great satisfaction to themselves, and with justice, speak of their triumph in the war as a victory of and for the Constitution; and they could not but indulge the natural inclination to question the motives of Southern leaders. But Southerners, however loyal, now, to the Union, with equal inevitableness took the



THE EQUESTRIAN STATUE OF
ROBERT E. LEE

On the Allen Plot, West End, Richmond, Va. Unveiled May 20, 1890. Antonin Mercie, Sculptor. Shows Lee as he appeared at the Battle of Gettysburg

(The pedestal is forty feet high, and the statue twenty. The picture shows the pedestal cut on both sides.)

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

position that at the time when secession occurred the question of the nature of the Union had not been settled ; that, therefore, Mr. Davis and the rest might attempt secession not as foes of the Union but as, at heart, its most loyal friends and defenders.

In the early morning hours of March 3, 1879, ingenious chemists of the Republican party had concocted in the Senate an acrid and effervescent parliamentary mixture, giving a foretaste of the Bloody Shirt campaign tactics of 1880. The question of suitable pensions to the soldiers and sailors of the Mexican War being under debate, matters suddenly took a partisan turn, evoking bitter controversy, when Senator Hoar moved an amendment to except Jefferson Davis from the benefits of the act, a move which some years before, in the hands of James G. Blaine in the House of Representatives, had met with brilliant success in connection with an amnesty bill. General Shields did not wish further to exalt Mr. Davis by such a distinction. Senator Thurman opposed making Davis a vicarious sacrifice. Exasperated by the invidious import of the amendment and by remarks from the Republican side, Southern Senators launched into extrava-

gant eulogies of Mr. Davis, as indiscreet as they were well meant. Senator Garland said : " His services are upon the record of this country, and while they may not surpass, yet they will equal in history all Grecian fame and all Roman glory." Though it was not yet daylight, sleepy Senators came pressing into the Chamber, while the galleries were recruited from unknown sources.

The debate had proceeded in this strain for some time, when Senator Zachariah Chandler, of Michigan,



HENRY W. GRADY

From a photograph by Notes

THE DISPUTE OVER JEFFERSON DAVIS



THE BEECHER STATUE IN THE CITY HALL PARK,
BROOKLYN, N. Y.

John Q. A. Ward, Sculptor. Unveiled June 25, 1891

arose. His huge frame, loud voice and earnest manner always made his speech effective, but it was particularly so now :

“Mr. President,” said he, “twenty-three years ago to-morrow, in the old Hall of the Senate, now occupied by the Supreme Court of the United States, I, in company with Mr. Jefferson Davis, stood up and swore that I would support the Constitution of the United States.”

After narrating Davis’s secession and his opposition to the flag notwithstanding the oath he had taken, Chandler continued : “I remained here, sir, during the whole of that terrible rebellion. I saw our brave soldiers by thousands and hundreds of thousands, ay, I might say millions, pass through



ZACHARIAH CHANDLER

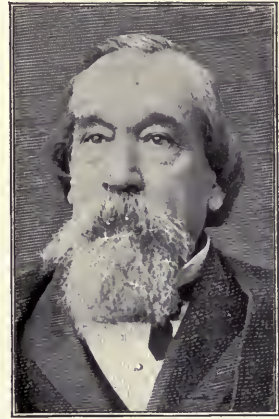
to the theatre of war, and I saw their shattered ranks return; I saw steamboat after steamboat and railroad train after railroad train arrive with the maimed and the wounded; I was with my friend from Rhode Island, General Burnside, when he commanded the Army of the Potomac, and saw piles of legs and arms that made humanity shudder; I saw the widow and the orphan in their homes and heard the weeping and wailing of those who had lost their dearest and their best. Mr. President, I little thought at that time that I should live to hear in the Senate of the United States eulogies upon Jefferson Davis, living—a living rebel eulogized on the floor of the Senate of the United States! Sir, I am amazed to hear it; and I can tell the gentlemen on the other side that they little know the spirit of the North when they come here at this day and, with bravado on their lips, utter eulogies upon a man whom every man, woman and child in the North believes to have been a double-dyed traitor to the Government.”

The presiding officer was unable to repress the applause that ran round the galleries. The speech was quoted with approval all over the North, indicating the state of the public mind at the time. The Hoar amendment was carried; but even so the pension proposal did not commend itself to the Senate, presumably because so many Mexican War veterans were also ex-Confederates.

The question whether or not Jefferson Davis was a traitor came up in the Senate again in 1885. At a Camp Fire of the Grand Army of the Republic at St. Louis, General W. T. Sherman made the assertion that Davis, insincere in his secession doctrines, had in 1865 written threatening to resist

LAMAR *VERSUS* SHERMAN

“separate State action on the part of Southern States even if he had to turn Lee’s army against it.” Davis made rejoinder, calling for the production of the letter. General Sherman could not reproduce the document, but filed in the War Department a statement meant to constitute evidence of his assertion or to show where such could be found. Controversy over Davis was precipitated in the Senate by a resolution of Senator Hawley calling for General Sherman’s statement. The debate waxing bitter, Senator John Sherman sought to justify his brother. He said :



L. Q. C. LAMAR

“Sir, whenever, in my presence, in a public assemblage, Jefferson Davis shall be treated as a patriot, I must enter my solemn protest. Whenever the motives and causes of the war, the beginning and the end of which I have seen, are brought in question, I must stand, as I have always stood, upon the firm conviction that it was a causeless rebellion, made with bad motives, and that all the men who led in that movement were traitors to their country.”

Senator Lamar answered with some heat, closing : “We, of the South, have surrendered upon all the questions which divided the two sides in that controversy. We have given up the right of the people to secede from this Union ; we have given up the right of each State to judge for itself of the infractions of the Constitution and the mode of redress ; we have given up the right to control our own domestic institutions. We fought for all these, and we lost in that controversy ; but no man shall, in my presence, call Jefferson Davis a traitor, without my responding with a stern and emphatic denial.”

The growth of population still continued to force back the barriers of the Indian reservations. Pressure was now

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

Boomers in Camp just Outside the Line, April 27, 1880, Waiting for the Opening of the Oklahoma Lands Next Day



hardest against that part of Indian Territory known as Oklahoma. This consisted of a large tract which shortly after the Civil War the Seminole Indians sold to the Government with the understanding that no white man but only colonies of In-



A General View of the Town on April 27, 1880, the Second Day After the Opening

THE BUILDING OF A WESTERN

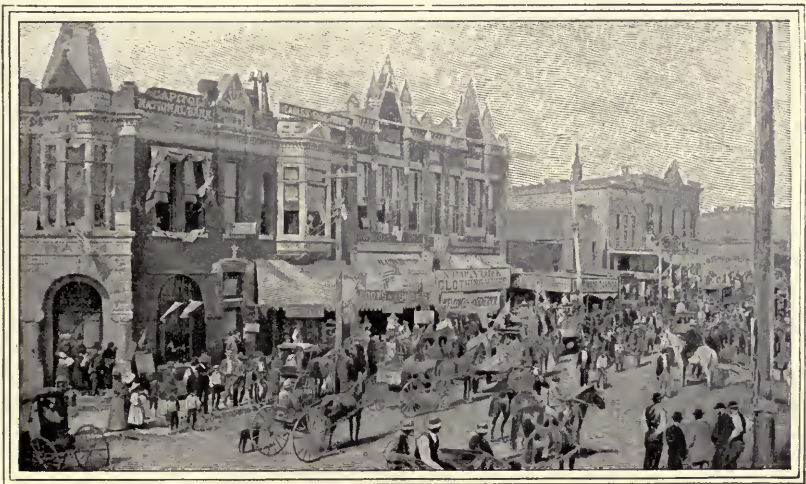
From photographs

RISE OF THE "BOOMER"



A View along Oklahoma Avenue on May 10, 1889

dians and freedmen should settle there. Nevertheless, the great cattle kings had inclosed large tracts of the territory. This imposition, helped by the eviction of small prospectors, raised up the species known as Oklahoma "boomers" or "raiders," who incessantly clamored that this land be opened for settlement. Western nomads called "movers" rallied to



Oklahoma Avenue, as it Appeared on May 10, 1893, during Governor Noble's Visit

TOWN, GUTHRIE, OKLAHOMA

by C. P. Rich



The Crook Commission Holding a Conference with the Sioux Indians at Lower Brule Agency, S. D., July 3, 1889

(The negotiations led to the opening for settlers of nine million acres of the Sioux reservation on February 10, 1890.)

every filibustering enterprise into the reservations. One David L. Payn was the first and most famous of the "Oklahoma raiders." He and his allies made repeated forays into the forbidden region, but were each time driven off at the tails of their carts. Kansas real estate men found business dull and added their voices to the cry that Oklahoma must be opened; but they sought their end by legislation rather than by raids.

It at length became obvious that the conditions on which the lands had been bought could not be complied with, and in 1888-89 Congress gladly appropriated \$4,000,000 to obtain a fee simple. The sluice-gates were opened one after another by proclamation. The first one was appointed to give way on April 22, 1889. The incidental advertising which preceded the event spread excitement from Denver to New York. The General Land-Office and the Post-Office Department made hasty preparations for the rush, which involved five times as many people as could obtain foothold. In spite of utmost efforts on the part of the military the woods and val-

MUSHROOM CITIES

leys of Oklahoma were full of "sooners" before the opening day; but the vast majority lined up on the borders awaiting the bugle-call at noon of April 22d. When it sounded there was a sudden cloud of dust and a wild scurry of hoofs, wheels and feet, spreading out frontward like a fan. It was said that one man on foot, carrying his kit, ran six miles in sixty minutes to reach his choice claim, where he fell down exhausted. Those in or rushing in at the opening, were followed later by heavily loaded trains from a distance. All went armed, and bloodshed was prevented only with difficulty. Liquor-selling within the territory had to be totally prohibited. At noon on the eventful day Guthrie was only a town site; at nightfall it was a city of 10,000 and had taken steps toward forming a municipal government. Oklahoma City grew less rapidly, but perhaps more solidly. By June business blocks and residences had risen there, the wonder of all residents. On so short notice the Promised Land had gotten ready for the pilgrims no milk or honey—not even water, though a yellow



Settlers Passing Through Chamberlain, S. D., on their Way to the Lands Acquired by the Treaty with the Sioux

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME



*A DISBELIEVER IN THE "MESSIAH"
From a photograph by H. F. Denton*

brackish fluid by that name was peddled on the streets. Sandwiches were hawked for twenty-five cents each, and in the restaurants a plate of pork and beans sold for seventy-five cents. In a day or two the vast majority of the rushers left in disgust at the dust, heat and hardships, many of them being on the point of starving. Yet by December the territory was estimated to hold 60,000 people, who boasted eleven schools, nine churches, three daily and five weekly newspapers. Guthrie had 8,000 and Oklahoma City 5,000 souls, both towns being governed by voluntary acquiescence in the ordinances. Under acts of Congress proclamations from time to time opened other tracts, when in each case similar scenes were enacted. The Sioux reservation in South Dakota was unlocked on February 10, 1890. From the towns of Chamberlain and Pierre troops of boomers galloped and ran to locate claims. Carts and wagons loaded with building materials were hurried forward. In one case a house on wheels was dragged across a river on the ice.

In this settlement of their old hunting-grounds Indians saw a new imposition by the whites. Their lands had been seized piece by piece and their attempts to get justice or revenge had only added to their misery. Many savages passed the winter of 1890 on the verge of starvation because of the Government's failure to provide rations. In South Dakota twelve hundred were in this condition. In such extremity many tribes ordinarily hostile to each other together gave up to the so-called "Messiah craze." Six thousand fighting men in North Dakota and as many more in the

THE INDIAN "MESSIAH CRAZE"

Indian Territory were infected. Sioux, Cheyennes, Arapahoes, Osage, Missouri and Seminole Indians participated in the ghost dances, which formed an invariable part of the new cult. There were several accounts of the delusion, all possibly authentic, and all in some way involving the belief that the Great Spirit or his Representative would soon appear with a high hand and an outstretched arm to deliver the Red men from their White oppressors. They were perhaps versions of Christ's second coming brought to the Indians by missionaries, which fanatics or charlatans had distorted and mixed with vulgar spiritualism.

According to what was said to be the original story, a young Indian dreamed that the Messiah appeared to him, bidding him take other youth of good habits and set out by a way revealed through an unknown country to the Great Sea. At each camping place on the journey they found a spring supplying just enough water for them to drink. Arrived at the shore of the Great Sea, amid a strong light which shone ever brighter and brighter, they saw in dim outline the Son of



SIoux INDIANS ABOUT TO TAKE PART IN A "GHOST DANCE"
(During the "Messiah Craze")

From a photograph in the possession of H. F. Denton

the Great Spirit coming toward them over the water. The prints of the nails were visible in his hands and feet and the spear-marks in his side. He bade them come out to him, but they dared not, and he drew close to the shore. Avowing a long-time sympathy with the red men, he taught them that this earth was merely their temporary home and that those who were faithful to him would after death be taken to a better country. He advised them touching the way to live, warning them above all things not to attempt a war against the whites. Finally he said: "Return to your homes, tell your friends what you have seen, and assure them of my interest in them." Ere they could thank him the Son of the Great Spirit had gone and they saw and heard nothing but the dashing waves of the Great Sea.

Certain of the prophets had it that the Mighty Spirit promised to put all the Indians behind him and all the whites in front, then bury the whites with their tallest works deep underground, while the prairie would thunder with the tramp of buffalo and the gallop of wild horses. To others the Messiah appeared and said, "I will teach you a dance, and I want you to dance it." They obeyed, uttering weird chants and cries of "The buffaloes are coming!" General Miles thought that this strange hallucination, spreading so steadily and far, indicated "a more comprehensive plot than anything inspired by Tecumseh or even Pontiac."

Here and there an Indian was above the superstition. Red Cloud prophesied: "If it (the new gospel) is true it will spread all over the world; if not it will melt like snow under the hot sun." Little Wound said they would dance till spring, but stop if the Messiah did not then appear. Sitting Bull, the whites' inveterate enemy, the old schemer who had stayed behind and made medicine during the Custer fight, now had a characteristic interview with the Indian Messiah, who wished to know what he would like. He replied that he would take a little buffalo meat, as he had not had any for a

DEATH OF SITTING BULL

long time. In response, as he reported, a herd of buffaloes appeared, when, shooting one, he cooked and ate its hump. Elated by the confidence of the Superior Power, Sitting Bull grew troublesome. In December the Indian police arrested him with others, and in attempting to escape he was killed. Fortunately, the craze became less intense and dangerous as it spread. The Southern negroes in sections lent a ready ear to "voodoo doctors," and soon ghost dances were common also among them. Even the scattered Aztecs of Mexico gathered by hundreds around the ruins of their ancient temple at Cholula. There they performed mystic rites and looked for a Messiah who should cause Popocatapetl to inundate the country with lava till all but the Aztecs were destroyed, and should then raise them again to their pristine glory.

On May 31, 1889, western Pennsylvania was visited by one of the most awful catastrophes ever chronicled. A flood



MAIN STREET, JOHNSTOWN, AFTER THE FLOOD

Wreckage piled up thirty or forty feet high

From a photograph by Rau



*A VIEW AFTER THE
JOHNSTOWN FLOOD
Looking Across the Great
Drift to the Pennsylvania
R. R. Bridge*

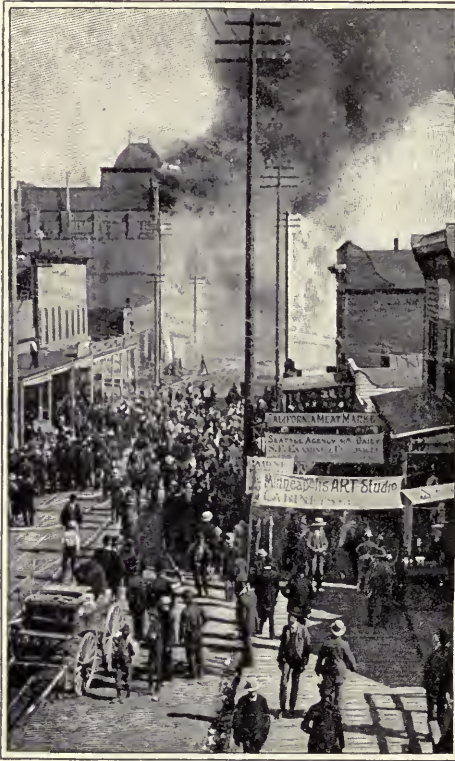
From a photograph by Rau

from a burst reservoir annihilated the city of Johnstown with its numerous suburbs, destroying thousands of lives and \$10,000,000 worth of property. The reservoir was two and a half miles in length, one and a half broad at places, one hundred feet deep in places, and situated two hundred and seventy-five feet above the level of Johnstown. Heavy rains had fallen and the dam was known to be weak; yet the people below, who were repeatedly warned during the day, took no alarm. When, starting just before the break, about 3 P.M., Engineer Park galloped down the valley shouting to all to run for their lives, it was too late. Hard behind him came thundering along at a speed of two and a half miles a minute, a mountain of water fifty feet high, thirty feet wide at first,

THE JOHNSTOWN FLOOD

and widening to half a mile, bearing upon its angry crest, whole or in fragments, houses, factories, bridges, and at length villages, and growing wilder, higher, swifter, deadlier and more powerful as it moved. Trees, brush, furniture, boulders, pig and railway iron, corpses, machinery, miles and miles of barbed wire, and an indescribable mass of miscellaneous wreckage, all inextricably mixed, also freighted the torrent. Immense mills were knocked from their foundations, and whirled down stream like children's block-work. Pig-iron by the hundred tons was borne away, the bars subsequently strewn for miles down the valley. Engines weighing twenty tons were tossed up and on as if the law of gravity had been repealed. One locomotive was carried a mile. At Johnstown, where the shape of the valley generated an enormous whirlpool, the roar of the waters and the grinding together of the wreckage rent the air like lost spirits groaning in chorus.

Hundreds who had clambered to the roofs of houses floated about on that boiling sea all the afternoon and night, shot hither and thither by the crazy flood. Most who met death were, we may hope, instantly drowned, but many clung to fragments, falling into the waters only when their strength gave way, their limbs were broken or their brains dashed out. A telegraph operator at Sanghollow saw one hundred and nineteen bodies, living or dead, float by in an hour. Early next morning two corpses had reached Pittsburg, seventy-eight miles distant. A little boy was rescued who, with his parents, a brother and two sisters, had sailed down from Johnstown in a small house. This went to pieces in going over the bridge, and all were drowned but he. A raft formed from part of a floor held a young man and two women, probably his wife and mother. As they neared Bolivar bridge a rope was lowered to rescue them, and the man was observed to be instructing the women how to catch and hold it. Himself succeeded in clutching it, but they failed, whereupon he purposely let go and regained the raft as it lurched under the



bridge. Later it struck a tree, into which with preternatural skill and strength he helped his *protégées* to climb; but a great wreck soon struck the tree, instantly overwhelming the trio in the seething tide. Fate reached the acme of its malignity next day, June 1st, after the flood had begun to subside. Then the immense boom of *débris* gathered at the railway bridge just below Johnstown—an eighth of a mile wide and long, from thirty to



THE SEATTLE FIRE

The Beginning of the Fire, Looking South on Front Street, and a View Showing the Ruins, Looking South from Commercial Street

RELIEF FOR THE SUFFERERS

fifty feet deep, and rammed so solid that dynamite was at last required to rend it—took fire. The flames raged for twelve hours. No effort was spared to recover the living imprisoned in the pile. Fifty or more were taken out, but it is feared that no fewer than five hundred perished.

Relief work began at once, commendably systematic and thorough, and on a scale commensurate with the disaster. In less than twenty-four hours, spite of washed-out tracks and ruptured telegraph-wires, Pittsburg had trainloads of provisions in Johnstown, and a body of nearly three hundred active men who comforted, fed, clothed and housed the distressed people until relieved by the Flood Relief Commission on June 12th. Pittsburg contributed \$252,000 in money, \$64,000 of it being subscribed in an hour. Philadelphia contributed half a million dollars to the relief fund; New York the same. Nearly every city in the Union aided. President Harrison was chairman of a meeting in Washington where \$30,000 was pledged. Several sums were telegraphed from abroad, among them one of \$1,000 from Baroness Burdett-Coutts. The total of contributions reached \$3,000,000. Trainloads of supplies rolled in. The Red Cross Society, with physicians, nurses, tents, disinfectants, medicines, food and clothing was promptly on the ground. Rigid sanitary provisions were enforced, made specially necessary by the length of time inevitably elapsing before all the dead could be interred. Ere the gloom proceeding from this event was lifted, during the same month of June, the public was horrified afresh by an awful fire in Seattle, Wash., destroying many million dollars worth of property, and demolishing almost the entire business part of the city. Happily, few lives were lost.

In the evening of February 3, 1890, the library of Secretary Tracy's Washington house caught fire. A colored man rang the bell and informed the astonished servant, who threw open the doors of the library, whereupon the fire rushed into the hall, driving him from the house. The flames spread

swiftly. Mrs. Wilmerding, the Secretary's daughter, and his granddaughter were saved by leaping from the front windows. A servant girl perished in her room; another servant was rescued from the cornice. At the risk of suffocation men rushed to the Secretary's room. At the door they found the body of his other daughter, whose life had been lost in the attempt to arouse her parents. Inside, Mr. Tracy was stretched unconscious and was with great difficulty restored. His wife, who had vainly tried to move him to the window, now, at the moment of rescue, became bewildered and suffered a fatal fall to the stone area below. At the President's desire the remains of Mrs. and Miss Tracy were removed to the White House, whither they were in due time carried to a place of temporary interment.

The Federal power helped relieve the South from a worse blight than the enactment of the Force Bill would have been. The Louisiana Lottery Company was incorporated in 1868, as a monopoly to last twenty-five years. In 1879 the charter was repealed, but this action was rendered invalid by a judicial decision. A Constitutional Convention which soon followed reinstated the charter, providing that after its expiration all lotteries should be prohibited in the State. By 1890 the lottery had assumed towering proportions. It was estimated to receive one-third of the whole mail matter coming to New Orleans, and it cashed postal notes and money orders to the amount of \$30,000 a day. The press was won to its service and new papers started in its interest. As the year 1893, the term of its charter, drew near, the monster bestirred itself to secure a new lease of life, but it now felt the strength of the Federal arm. In September, 1890, an anti-lottery bill passed Congress, by which, being satisfied that any person or company was conducting a lottery, the Postmaster-General might cause to be returned all registered letters addressed to such person or company, and payment to be refused on postal money orders drawn in

THE LOTTERY AND THE STATE OF LOUISIANA

favor of such. As the express companies, however, still tolerated its patronage, the business of the lottery was safe so long as its native State, Louisiana, continued it in existence. Its fight for life therefore was on Louisiana soil. In return for an amendment to the State Constitution enfranchising the lottery for twenty-five years, the impoverished State was offered \$1,250,000 per year, \$350,000 of this sum to maintain the levees, \$350,000 for charitable purposes, \$50,000 for Confederate pensions, \$100,000 for drainage in New Orleans and \$250,000 for the general fund of the State. In connection with this proposal, it was ingeniously suggested that only seven per cent. of the lottery's revenue came from Louisiana itself.

A bill introduced in the Legislature to give effect to this bargain passed by a two-thirds majority in each house, but was promptly vetoed by Governor Nicholls. Liberal bribes to legislators were supposed to have supplemented the \$1,250,000 per year offered the State; yet in attempting to override this veto, voicing as it truly did the sentiment of thousands, the lottery company feared opposition in the Senate. After pushing the bill once more through the House, its promoters changed front and sent it directly to the Secretary of State for promulgation, on the ground that a proposal for a constitutional amendment, though in form a bill, did not require the Governor's signature. The Secretary of State refused to take this view, but it was sustained by the Supreme Court, three to two. Let a majority of the people now vote "aye" on the proposed amendment, and the lottery was saved. Or, if the Democratic nomination, ordinarily equivalent to an election, fell to lottery candidates,



MURPHY J. FOSTER



BRIGHAM YOUNG
From a photograph by Rau

the amendment could again be put upon its passage. The "pro" Democrats carried New Orleans, but most of the country parishes were swept by a fusion of "anti" Democrats and Farmers' Alliance men. The number of contesting delegations, however, placed the result in doubt. Two rival Democratic conventions met at Baton Rouge, each claiming a majority of the delegates elected. The convention of the "antis" nominated Murphy J. Foster for Governor; that of the "pros" ex-Governor McEnery, whose vote as Supreme Judge had been one of the three to sustain the lottery's contention. The "pro" convention having been presided over by the chairman of the State committee, thus giving that faction a show of special legitimacy, the "pro" leaders now made the party-whip sing. Politicians little different from carpet-baggers shouted for harmony, denouncing the "antis" as a third party working to disrupt the Democracy and restore Republican rule. The election, which occurred in April, 1892, negated the lottery amendment and made Foster Governor. The fight for a constitutional amendment was given up. Not only so, but Foster, while Governor, was permitted to sign an act "prohibiting the sale of lottery tickets and lottery drawings or schemes in the State of Louisiana after December 31, 1893." In January, 1894, the lottery company betook itself to exile on the island of Cuanaja, in the Bay of Honduras, a seat which the Honduras Government had granted it, together with a monopoly of the lottery business for fifty years.

The same year, 1890, formed a crisis in the history of Mormonism in America. The book of Mormon was published in 1830, professing by divine revelation to give an

MORMONS EMIGRATE TO UTAH

account of the Western Hemisphere, as the Scriptures dealt with the Eastern. Next year not a few converts rallied around the author, Joseph Smith, among them Brigham Young, a granite Vermonter, whose energy soon pervaded the new Church. Though missionaries gathered in armies of recruits from far regions, and though polygamy was not at first avowed

by them as part of their creed or practice, the Mormons seem always to have been unpopular, even odious, with their Gentile neighbors. They were driven from place to place, yet incessantly thriving, till in 1844 their prophet, Joseph Smith, was shot by a mob. Brigham Young now easily and naturally assumed command of the demoralized hosts, leading them with military precision and masterly skill across the Great American Desert to Utah. There for many



THE MORMON TEMPLE AT
SALT LAKE CITY

From a photograph by Rau



MAIN STREET, SALT LAKE CITY

From a photograph by Rau

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

years he was able, by diplomacy and other means, to reign supreme among the "Saints," and to snub the far-off "States" to his heart's content.

In 1855, in 1859 and in 1862 anti-polygamy bills were introduced in Congress. The last, fathered by Senator Morrill, who, like Brigham Young himself, was a Vermonter, became a law, but was enforced only fitfully and to a trifling extent. The invasion of the railroad, and the proclaimed discovery of precious metal mines—a discovery against which Young struggled in vain—destroyed the isolation of the peculiar people, though the Mormon majority could still be maintained by assisted immigration from Mormon colonies abroad.

In 1871 Brigham Young and other leaders were arrested under the 1862 law, and some of them convicted. Others were arrested on charges of murdering Gentiles, a crime of which the Mormons were more than once suspected after the frightful Mountain Meadows Massacre of 1857, though Mormon juries failed to convict those indicted. In 1874 the Poland Act introduced reforms in impaneling juries, when John D. Lee was once more arraigned for complicity in the Mountain Meadows tragedy, and convicted. In March, 1877, twenty years after the commission of the crime wherein he had been leader, this monster was taken to the scene of it. There a cairn and a rude cedar cross rose above the mingled bones of the 120 victims, who had, after surrendering their arms, been murdered in cold blood. The curse of the Almighty seemed to have blasted the vegetation and dried the springs about the hideous site. There Lee seated himself upon his coffin, the sharp report of a volley was heard, and tardy justice was at last meted out.

The measure of 1862 proving inoperative, Senator Edmunds, still another man from Vermont, introduced a bill, which became law March 22, 1882. By it bigamy, polygamy or the cohabitation of a man with more than one woman in

LAWS AGAINST POLYGAMY

any Territory of the United States was made punishable by a fine of not more than \$500 and imprisonment for not more than three years. A person convicted, moreover, could neither vote nor hold any position of public trust or emolument. The children of such illicit relations were to be deemed illegitimate. Jurymen who were living or had lived in these practices, or believed them right, were disqualified.

Some of these provisions resembled the "thorough" reconstruction treatment administered to the South after the War. A test-oath was imposed upon voters. Elections were supervised, returns canvassed and certificates supplied by a commission of five persons, three of whom might be of the same political party. If the Commission reminded one of the Returning Boards, there were not wanting in Utah office-holders who seemed to the Mormons nothing but carpet-baggers. Southern statesmen were prominent in opposing the bill as unconstitutional, impolitic and sectional, referring to the easy and frequent divorces in many Northern and Western States as more immoral than aught occurring in Utah.

Nevertheless the law was rigidly enforced. In two years twelve-thousand Mormons were disfranchised, though monogamous as well as polygamous Mormons made common cause against the law. When convicted persons promised to obey the laws of the land in future they were set free, but few availed themselves of the chance. On May 19, 1890, and again on December 19, the next year, the Supreme Court declared the law constitutional, thus taking away the last hope of the Mormon hierarchy. This attitude of the court, combined with the influx of Gentile population and the desire that Utah should become a State, which would be impossible while polygamy continued, led, in October, 1890, to a "revelation," which thenceforth made polygamy morally wrong, as it had before been legally. After that date convicts under the Edmunds law with one accord promised to obey it in future,

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

and were without exception set free, sentence being suspended. In December, 1891, the officials, pledging the obedience of the church membership to the laws against plural marriages and unlawful cohabitation, petitioned for amnesty for past offenses, which petition was endorsed by the Utah Commission reporting next year. President Harrison, on January 4, 1893, granted "a full amnesty and pardon to all persons liable to the penalties of said act by reason of unlawful cohabitation under the color of polygamous or plural marriage, who had since November 1, 1890, abstained from such unlawful cohabitation; but upon the express condition that they should in the future faithfully obey the laws of the United States hereinbefore named."

On July 17, 1894, President Cleveland signed a bill providing for a Utah Constitutional Convention in March, 1895, and the constitution framed by that body for the proposed

State of Utah was ratified by the people in November, 1895. Utah became a State on January 4, 1896.

In 1888 the anti-Chinese act passed during President Arthur's Administration was amended so as to prohibit the return of Chinese laborers who had once departed from this country. In the spring of 1892 Mr. Geary, of California, introduced a still more drastic measure, called after his name. It re-enacted for

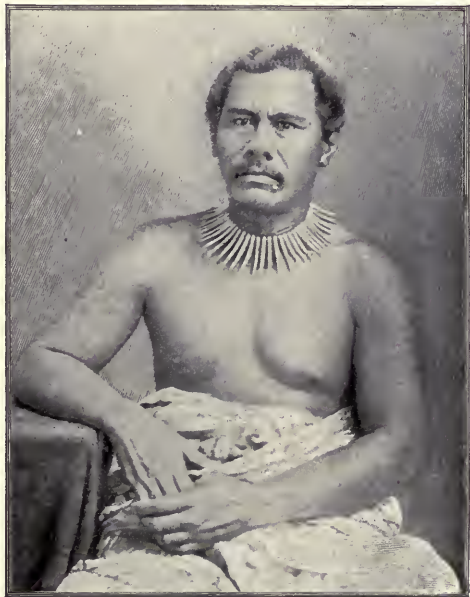


TAMASEE

UNITED STATES INTEREST IN SAMOA

ten more years all laws regulating and prohibiting Chinese immigration. It provided for the fining, imprisonment and subsequent deportation of all Chinamen who did not within a year obtain certificates from the Government proving their right to be here. Under advice of eminent counsel Chinese laborers generally disobeyed the act, but ten days after the limit expired its constitutionality was affirmed by the Supreme Court. The Executive, however, did not enforce its provisions, owing to a shortage of appropriation. It would have required at least \$5,000,000 to deport all infractors, and only \$100,000 had been provided for the purpose. Congress, therefore, in 1893 extended the time of certification for six months.

In 1878 the United States obtained by treaty the Samoan harbor of Pago Pago, the finest in Polynesia, for a coaling station. The English and Germans had in the islands commercial interests far more important than ours. Later the German and British consuls signed a convention to secure good local government in the town and neighborhood of Apia. The American consul cooperated in this endeavor, but was not a party to the convention. Within six years German influence secured from King Malietoa Laupepe control of the islands, and a little later the German flag was raised over them. Persuaded by



MALIETOA LAUPEPE



STERN OF THE U. S. S. NIPSIC
Showing the Bent Propeller and the Loss
of Rudder, Rudder-post and Heel

the Samoans, the United States consul assumed a protectorate in opposition, but his action was promptly disavowed at home. Our Secretary of State suggested that a conference of German, British and United States commissioners devise a plan for the election by the natives of a ruler who should be sustained by all three. After several bootless sittings at Washington the conference adjourned, with the express understanding that the *status quo*,

Malietao still king, should be maintained pending further deliberations. Notwithstanding this, and in spite of British and American protest, Bismarck made unreasonable demands upon Malietao, which, not being complied with in a few hours, were followed by his summary dethronement and the elevation of the German creature, Tamasese.

Early in the spring of 1889, seven warships occupied the harbor of Upolu, near Apia, a body of water barred from the open ocean by a circular coral reef, with a gap in the front centre for the entrance and exit of ships. Three of the vessels were American, the *Trenton*, flagship, Rear-Admiral Kimberly commanding, the *Vandalia* and the *Nipsic*. As many were German, the *Adler*, the *Eber* and the *Olga*. One, the *Calliope*, was British, Captain Kane in command. On March 15th falling barometers indicated the approach of a storm, yet none of the warships made for the clear sea. By

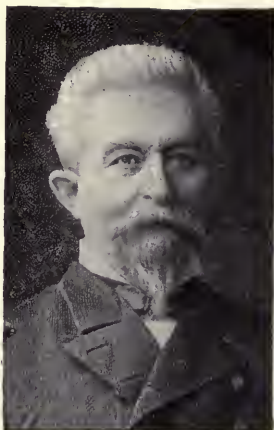


THE GERMAN GUNBOAT ADLER ON HER BEAM-ENDS

THE SAMOAN HURRICANE

daylight of the 16th the typhoon was on, the wind blowing inshore with fearful velocity, rolling mountainous billows into the harbor. The vessels dragged their anchors and several collisions occurred. One vessel lost her smoke-stack, another her bowsprit, but these were comparatively small injuries. Early in the morning the *Eber* crashed against the coral and sank. The *Nipsic* struck sand instead of coral, and lay stranded, but in safety. The *Adler* was also dragged to the reef, and the next wave would have been her ruin too; but just as she scaled the water-mountain the seamen slipped her moorings, so that she was lifted up and thrown on the reef "like a schoolboy's cap upon a shelf." No longer thinking of Germans as foes, the Samoans nobly helped to rescue the survivors, being foremost in that good work all day.

There remained the *Trenton* in the harbor mouth, and the *Calliope* farther in, threatened now on one side by the *Olga*, now on the other by the *Vandalia*, and in the rear continually by the reef. The harbor was death, the high seas salvation, and Captain Kane determined upon a desperate effort to get out. Her furnace walls red-hot and her boilers strained nearly to bursting, the *Calliope* matched her engines against the awful tornado. For a time she stood stationary, then crawled or rather sidled to the gap in the outside reef, close by the *Trenton*, which was pitching at anchor, with fires drowned and wheel and rudder gone. As the Englishman at last came to the wind outside a rousing cheer went up from the American flag-ship, returned with a will by the British tars. The *Vandalia*, trying to beach herself beside the *Nipsic*, missed her aim, struck the reef and slowly settled to her tops,



ADMIRAL KIMBERLY
From a photograph in the collection of
H. W. Fay



The Eber

The Adler

The Trenton

SCENE IN THE HARBOR OF UPOLU AFTER THE GREAT SAMOAN HURRICANE
The Natives Going Out to the Wrecked Vessels

From a photograph in the possession of Commander F. E. Chadwick, U. S. N.

which were crowded with men. Then the *Trenton* parted her cables and drifted, helpless as an iceberg, into collision with the *Olga*. The two ships struck once or twice, when the German craft slipped her moorings and escaped, having the *Nip-sic's* good fortune to light upon sand instead of hard reef. Impelled by the wind and by some mysterious current, the *Trenton* now bore slowly but surely upon the populous tops of the *Vandalia*, rescuing in her approach the clinging seamen by throwing them lines. Soon she struck and stopped. By next morning she had settled to the gun-deck, but those of her men and the *Vandalia's* who survived successfully reached shore. Admiral Kimberly gathered the shipwrecked Americans about him, and, parading the band of the *Trenton*, had it strike up "Hail Columbia." The *Calliope* returned on the

CIVIL WAR IN SAMOA

19th to find all the other war-ships ruined. Captain Kane hastened to acknowledge the parting cheer sent after him as he put to sea. Our Admiral replied: "My dear Captain: Your kind note received. You went out splendidly and we all felt from our hearts for you, and our cheers came with sincerity and admiration for the able manner in which you handled your ship. We could not have been gladder if it had been one of our ships, for in a time like that I can say truly, with old Admiral Josiah Tatnall, that '*blood is thicker than water.*'"*

Thoughts of war were banished by the havoc Nature had wrought. The conference, renewed in Berlin, ended by a practical back-down on Bismarck's part. Tamasese was deposed, the exiled Malietoa restored. The three powers agreed that after his death the natives should elect a successor. This triangular authority did not work well. It was an annoyance to the Powers and a grievous exasperation to the natives, who regarded the weak Malietoa as merely the scalawag creature of white carpet-baggers. One rebellion, headed by Mataafa, was cut off, and the leaders deported to an island in the Marshall group. Then the younger Tamasese rose, gathering the disaffected Samoans about him. The war-vessels of the Powers were compelled to co-operate in suppressing this rebellion, which after all continued to smoulder.

Of all the Old World's troubles few ever aroused among Americans more interest or generosity than the Russian famine of 1891-92. It was a time when, throughout immense reaches of that far empire, children and the aged were suffering and dying on every hand, no cow or goat for milk, not a horse left strong enough to draw a hearse, old grain stores exhausted, crops a failure, the land a waste, life itself a blackness and a curse. Loud cry for help was raised from every hut in the vast famine region. The cry was not in vain; it was heard on this side of the Atlantic.

*The description of the storm is abridged from R. L. Stevenson's.

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME



A Russian peasant in the Famine District

The credit of first turning public attention to the duty of relieving Russia was probably due to *The Northwestern Miller*, a Minneapolis journal devoted to the great flour interests of the Northwest. On December 4, 1891, having previously ascertained from the Russian Government that such a gift would be acceptable, this paper published an appeal to the millers of the United States to unite in sending a cargo of flour to the starving Russians. The Minneapolis millers, the great Pillsbury firm at their head, began generous dona-

tions of flour. Interest spread rapidly through Minnesota, the energetic Governor Merriam ardently assisting, and thence to other States, millers all over the country nobly responding.

Terrible, indeed, was the necessity. Famine was no new thing for great, weak, pitiable Russia; but a famine which brought suffering to thirty millions of people, through twenty provinces, comprising 475,000 square miles of eastern, central and southern Russia, was exceptional even there.

Under ordinary circumstances the Russian peasant was not so far below other peasants as many travellers had affirmed. Dressed in his unkempt sheepskin, dirty and slovenly, lacking in ambition and the power to help himself rise, he was yet sturdy, industrious and reliable. The provinces visited had once been



"HUNGER BREAD"

(Bread made by starving peasants from weeds, cockle straw and refuse of various sorts mixed with a little rye. The small piece of white bread on the left shows the contrast in color.)

RUSSIAN FAMINE OF 1891-92

the most fertile in Russia, but their soil had become impoverished by a bad system of communal land-holding, so that peasants found themselves no better off than before 1861, when they were serfs. Drought, floods, enormous taxes and cruelties by government officers added to their miseries.

The niggardliness of nature would scarcely have caused famine had the exportation of cereals fallen off in proportion to their production, but this was not the case. In 1891, after the exports had been made, there was a deficit of about



*The steamship Missouri after unloading her relief cargo**

eighteen pounds per inhabitant in the usual corn supply. Since supply was never evenly distributed, this deficit meant starvation for many. The Russian peasant's dwelling was at best a forlorn, foul-smelling hovel, where his whole family and often his domestic animals lived huddled in a single room not over fifteen or twenty feet square. When famine came to such homes the results were terrible.

In some districts the annual death-rate increased from thirty-five to two hundred in the thousand. Well had it been could hunger have wrought its fatal results directly instead of invoking those awful means, the typhus, the scurvy and the small-pox, by which it prefers to bring death; but this, like every famine, was made more awful by those accompaniments.

*The accompanying "Russian famine" photographs are published through the courtesy of *The Northwestern Miller*.

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

Russia herself gave generously, though distributing in clumsy ways. It was estimated that to June, 1892, the government of that country spent from seventy-five to one hundred millions of dollars in the famine district. A large portion of this was in loans, administered by the county councils, made directly to the most needy. Taxes were remitted and the poor given public work. The higher classes showed a kindly spirit. Many a one of the old landed proprietors took his villagers back under his care and fed them as in serfdom days. Not a few followed the course of the novelist, Leo Tolstoi, who with his family, carried on a great relief work in Samara, the centre of the famine tract, establishing free eating-rooms and sending out soup and bread, at times feeding as many as twenty thousand a day.

Most of the supplies for Tolstoi's work and much of the provision dispensed in other sections came from the United States of America. No other nation outside of Russia equalled us in this splendid philanthropy. Besides individual gifts sent with characteristic open-handedness, our people despatched four shiploads of supplies, whose value must have reached hundreds of thousands. Large gifts by the Chamber of Commerce gave New York the first place among the contributors. Minnesota proved a close second. Nebraska came third, her donations including two train-loads of corn-meal, which proved very popular in Russia. In all twenty-five States joined in making up the cargoes. Railroads carried the grain to tide-water free of charge, and the necessary telegraphing, storage and other expenses connected with the enterprise were all gratuitous.

By the first of March, 1892, nearly five and a half million pounds of flour and meal had been gathered at New York ready for transportation. A generous donation was made by the American Transport Line, which offered its fine steamer *Missouri* to carry the food across the ocean. This generosity was the more appreciated, as a bill to have the

AMERICAN FOOD FOR RUSSIA



THE FIRST TRAINLOAD OF AMERICAN FOOD ABOUT TO START FROM LIBAU
FOR THE INTERIOR

American Government transport the flour had been defeated in Congress. The *Missouri* sailed from New York March 16th. She arrived at the Russian port of Libau on April 3d. After an enthusiastic welcome from the Russians there, her cargo was sent forward in two hundred and forty-one carloads to thirteen provinces in the heart of the famine-country. Through the careful planning of our Minister to Russia, Hon. Charles Emory Smith, every pound of the American flour was sent to responsible distributors, by whose hands it reached the hungriest poor. Mr. Smith's enlightened advice was followed in selecting all the American relief stores as well as in dispensing them on their arrival in Russia. Many Americans had declared the sending of a flour cargo a foolish display, urging that a generous bill of exchange from America cashable in Russia would do more good in less time. This was an error. The amount of money which the *Missouri's* cargo represented, besides being harder to obtain in the first place, would have been able to purchase much less food in Russia, where famine prices ruled, and would therefore have accomplished far less benefit.

This charity of the American millers, while the most popular and widely known, was by no means America's only relief agency for Russia. Early in the winter the citizens of

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

Philadelphia appointed a relief commission, which worked with such energy that by February 22d the staunch old *Indiana*, a Philadelphia ship, could steam down the Delaware bearing a plentiful and well-chosen relief cargo. This, like the *Missouri's*, consisted chiefly of flour, but it contained various other food supplies and also some lumber. The vessel arrived at Libau March 24th. Directed by our Minister at St. Petersburg, the cargo went straight to the centre of the famine-stricken population. The good effect of these two cargoes was at once apparent. On their arrival in the region about Samara the price of bread-stuffs fell fifty per cent.

By the middle of April a third ship from America, the *Conemaugh*, was ready to sail from Philadelphia. The last week in April the *Tynehead* also sailed, laden with stores gotten together by the energy and perseverance of many women's committees. In this effort Iowa women led, their donations of money, corn and flour representing two-thirds of the value of the cargo. The expense of this steamer's voyage was generously borne by City of Washington people. This expedition also represented the Red Cross Society. In the steamer went a party of women who supplemented America's other relief work by the aid which they rendered the Red Cross agents of Russia itself.

Apart from the immediate good it did, the Russian relief movement had the valuable result of cementing and increasing Russia's friendliness for the United States. America became a household word to Russians in the most remote interior. It was said that even among the poorest there, to whom our country could be only a name, many long "thanked God, the Emperor and the Americans" for the help which came to them amid the famine of 1892.

Our account of the Democratic victory in 1892 must be reserved for the next Chapter. Harrison was then defeated and the Senate won for the Democracy. Reasoning from the

A THIRD "TIDAL WAVE"

fate of Federalism, a prominent Republican senator interpreted his party's repeated overwhelming defeat as heralding its extinction. However natural, the fear was unfounded. The Fifty-second Congress proved unwieldy and discordant, soon being no less unpopular than the Fifty-first. If that was profligate, this was more so, its expenditures reaching \$1,028,000,000: So the new generation of voters had in store for 1894 a third tidal wave, a veritable "*trikumia*," as Æschylus would have said, bearing the Republicans once more into power in Congress. Meantime thoughts of politics were banished, as all eyes were turned toward Chicago, where the matured era since the war was about to be fittingly celebrated by a splendid efflorescence of its prosperity and progress.



CHAPTER XXI

COLUMBUS'S DEED AFTER FOUR CENTURIES

WORLD'S EXPOSITIONS.—IDEAS OF A WORLD'S COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION.—ASSURANCE THEREOF.—CHICAGO MADE ITS SITE.—RISE AND GROWTH OF CHICAGO.—JACKSON PARK.—THE WORK OF PREPARING IT.—BUILDING BEGUN.—THE HIVE STILLED OCT. 21, 1892, COLUMBUS DAY.—BOTH HARRISON AND CLEVELAND ABSENT.—VICE-PRESIDENT MORTON DOES THE HONORS.—THE FESTIVITIES.—COLUMBUS ANNIVERSARY IN NEW YORK CITY.—PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1892.—REASONS FOR HARRISON'S DEFEAT.—THE HOMESTEAD STRIKE.—PINKERTON POLICE MOBBED.—ATTEMPTED ASSASSINATION OF H. C. FRICK.—ARRESTS, TRIALS AND COMMENTS.—SENATOR PALMER'S VIEWS.—DESTRUCTIVE FIRE AT TITUSVILLE AND OIL CREEK.—MINING RIOTS IN TENNESSEE.—ISSUES DISCUSSED IN THE CAMPAIGN.—POPULISM GAINS.—SWEEPING NATURE OF THE DEMOCRATIC VICTORY.—PRESIDENT CLEVELAND OPENS THE WORLD'S COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION.—THE SCENE.—OPENING EXERCISES AT THE WOMAN'S BUILDING.—VARIOUS STATE DAYS.—CHICAGO DAY.—SIZE AND SPLENDOR OF THE GROUNDS AND BUILDINGS.—JOHN W. ROOT.—RICHARD M. HUNT.—GENERAL ARRANGEMENT OF GROUNDS.—STATE BUILDINGS.—THE WOODED ISLAND.—INTRAMURAL RAILWAY.—THE ARCHITECTURE OF THE EXPOSITION.—VARIOUS BUILDINGS AND WORKS OF ART.—FIRE IN THE COLD STORAGE BUILDING.—THE FISHERIES BUILDING.—SPECIALLY INTERESTING EXHIBITS.—THE MIDWAY.—THE FERRIS WHEEL.—TRANSPORTATION TO AND FROM THE EXPOSITION.—ATTENDANCE.—ORDER.—ASSASSINATION OF MAYOR CARTER HARRISON.—THE "WHITE CITY" GOES UP IN FLAME.

THE historian of the half-century will turn with pleasure from the battles which he must describe to the victories of peace, whose records are traceable in a stately succession of World's Expositions, transient as breakers, yet each marking a higher tide of well-being than the one before it. The first of these to occur this side the Atlantic enlivened New York in 1853. The second was in Philadelphia in 1865. Memory of both these was well-nigh obliterated by the Centennial

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

Exposition in 1876. In 1883 Boston held a modest International Exposition, contemporaneously with a similar display at Louisville. The New Orleans Cotton Exposition of 1881 may be mentioned in connection with its notable successor of 1884. The World's Columbian Exposition at Chicago in 1893 excelled all that had preceded it, whether here or abroad.

The idea of celebrating in this way Columbus's discovery of the New World long anticipated the anniversary year. New York was appealed to as a suitable seat for the enterprise, and entertained the suggestion by subscribing \$5,000,000, whereupon, in 1889, Chicago apprised the country of her wish to house the Fair. St. Louis and Washington appeared as competitors, but the other three cities unanimously set Washington aside. St. Louis showed little enthusiasm. Thirty-five citizens of Chicago, led by a specially active few of their number, organized Chicago's energies with such success that on appearing before Congress she had \$5,000,000 in hand and could promise \$5,000,000 more. The commodiousness of the city as well as its position near the centre of population and commerce told in its favor. Father Knickerbocker was not a little chagrined when his alert and handsome cousin persuaded Congress to allot her the prize. The act organizing the Exposition was approved April 25, 1890. A National Commission was appointed, under the presidency of Hon. T. W. Palmer, of Michigan. An Executive Committee was raised, also a Board of Reference and Control, a Chicago Local Board, a Board of Lady Managers, and a number of standing committees to deal with various branches of the colossal undertaking.

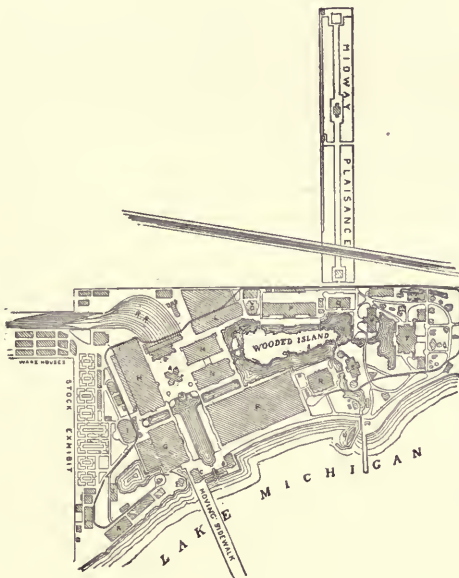
In the seventeenth century the present site of Chicago was a swamp, which fur-traders and missionaries found fatally miasmatic. About 1800 a government engineer, viewing that rank morass traversed by a sluggish stream, pronounced it the only spot on Lake Michigan where a city could *not* be built.

CHICAGO'S TASK AT JACKSON PARK

In 1804 Fort Dearborn was erected here to counteract British influence. In 1812 the fort was demolished by Indians, but in 1816 rebuilt, and though abandoned in 1837, it continued standing till 1871. Around the little fort in 1840 were settled 4,500 people. The number was 30,000 in 1850; 109,000 in 1860; 300,000 in 1870. In 1880 the community embraced 503,185 souls; in 1890 it had 1,099,850. In 1855 the indomitable city illustrated her spirit by pulling herself bodily out of her natal swamp, lifting churches, blocks and houses from eight to ten feet, without pause in general business.

A task similar to this was now again incumbent. The least unavailable site for the Exposition was Jackson Park, in the southeastern part of the city, where one saw at the water's

edge dreary ridges of sand, in the background a swamp with flags, marsh-grass and clumps of willow and wild-oak. Paris had taken nearly three years to prepare for the Exposition of 1889; twenty months were allowed Chicago. The site to be gotten in readiness was four times as large as that for the Paris Exposition. A dozen palaces and ten score other edifices were to be located, raised and adorned; the waters to be gathered in canals, basins and lagoons, and spanned by bridges. Underground



PLAN OF THE WORLD'S FAIR GROUNDS AT JACKSON PARK

- A, Administration Building; B, MacMonnies Fountain; C, Casino; D, Music Hall; E, Central Railroad Station; F, Manufactures and Liberal Arts; G, Agriculture Building; H, Machinery Hall; I, Stock Pavilion; J, French Agriculture; K, Forestry Building; L, Transportation Building; M, Mines and Mining Building; N, Electricity Building; O, Choral Building; P, Horticultural Building; Q, Women's Building; R, Government Building; S, Fisheries Building; T, Art Galleries; U, Naval Exhibit; V, Illinois Building.

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

conduits had to be provided for electric wires. Endless grading, planting, turfing, paving and road-making must be accomplished. Thousands of workmen of all nationalities and trades, also fire, police, ambulance and hospital service—a superb industrial army—had to be mustered in and controlled. The growth of the colossal structures seemed magical. Sections of an immense arch would silently meet high in air “like shadows fitting across the sky.” Some giant pillar would hang as by a thread a hundred feet above ground till a couple of men appeared aloft and set it in place. Workmen in all sorts of impossible postures and positions were swarming, climbing and gesticulating like Palmer Cox’s Brownies.

On Wednesday, October 21, 1892, the hive was stilled, in honor of Columbus’s immortal deed. Just four hundred years before, for the first time so far as we certainly know or ever shall know, European eyes saw American land. This climacteric event in human history was by Old Style dated October 12th. The addition of nine days to translate it into New Style made the date October 21st. On that day occurred a reception in the Auditorium, 3,500 persons responding to the invitation. President Harrison was unable to attend because of what proved to be the last illness of his wife. Under the circumstances Mr. Cleveland won much praise by considerably declining the invitation sent him. The presidential campaign of 1892 was already in progress, Harrison and Cleveland being matched for the second time. Mr. Cleveland wrote: “I should be very glad to be present on this interesting occasion and thus show my appreciation of its importance, if I could do so solely as an ex-President of the United States. I am sure, however, that this is impossible, and I am unwilling to take a trip which, from beginning to end, despite all efforts on my part, would be regarded as a political tour made by a candidate for the presidency.

“My general aversion to such a trip is overwhelmingly increased in this particular instance, when I recall the afflictive

COLUMBUS DAY

dispensation which detains at the bedside of his sick wife another candidate for the presidency.”

The post of honor, Columbus Day, was occupied by Vice-President Morton. On Thursday he reviewed a civic parade three hours long, marshalled by General Miles. On Friday the special exercises in dedication of the buildings and grounds brought to Jackson Park over 250,000 people. High officials reviewed imposing military columns in Washington Park, and proceeded thence to the Manufactures Building on the Exposition grounds. Here a chorus sang the Columbus hymn, by John Knowles Payne, and Bishop Fowler offered prayer. The buildings were then formally handed over to the National Commission and by it to the Nation, through Vice-President Morton. Medals were awarded to artists and architects. Several addresses were made. Beethoven's anthem, and the prayer of benediction by Rev. H. C. McCook, D.D., of Philadelphia, concluded the ceremonies. In the evening were fireworks, among them a hundred fire-balloons armed with rockets.

The Columbus anniversary was observed in many other cities. New York celebrated October 12th. Fifty thousand troops passed the reviewing stand, millions lined the sidewalks. On April 27, 1893, occurred a notable naval parade, embracing thirty-five vessels and more than 10,000 men. The ships were splendid specimens of naval architecture. The Russian *Dimitri Donskoi* was the largest. Its com-



D. H. BURNHAM
Director of Works at World's Fair

pany numbered 570. Next in size was the British *Blake*. The Argentine *Nueve de Julio* was the swiftest ship present. The *Kaiserin Augusta*, the prognathous *Jean Bart*, of France, and the ill-starred *Reina Regente* were of the fleet. The marines' land muster was even more brilliant than the parade of the 12th. Curious among its features was the "mascot" of the *Tartar's* crew, a goat decked in scarlet silk and gold lace, like an Egyptian or a Siamese deity.

Work was resumed at Chicago October 22d, and pushed day and night, rain or shine, to make ready for the opening, May 1, 1893. When that date arrived, the chief magistracy of the nation had changed hands. The contest for the presidency had been exceptionally good-humored, each candidate being treated by his political opponents with studied respect. "My desire," said Harrison, "is to have a Republican campaign, and not a personal one." In spite of the "snap" New York Convention, which sent Hill delegates to the national Democratic Convention, Cleveland had won the nomination on the first ballot by a trifle over the required two-thirds. For the nonce his enemies were thoroughly subdued. Harrison, too, had overcome Platt, Hill's Republican counterpart in New York. He had also divested himself of Quay in Pennsylvania, and of certain other influential party men much criticised for their political methods. Many such now turned against him, declaring him a craven, willing to benefit by services of any sort, but ready to repudiate his agents so soon as there was outcry against them. Mr. Harrison's personal manner was cold, repelling rather than attracting those with whom he came in contact. The same circumstances connected with the civil service which told against Cleveland in 1888, now told with equal force against Harrison. Though sincerely favoring the Reform and doing much to extend the scope of the Reform Law, Harrison had gone quite as far as his predecessor in "turning the rascals out." Advertisement of the 1888 corruption and the subse-



THE HOMESTEAD STRIKERS BURNING THE BARGES FROM WHICH THE PINKERTON
MEN HAD BEEN TAKEN

Drawn by Orson Lowell from photographs taken during and just after the trouble

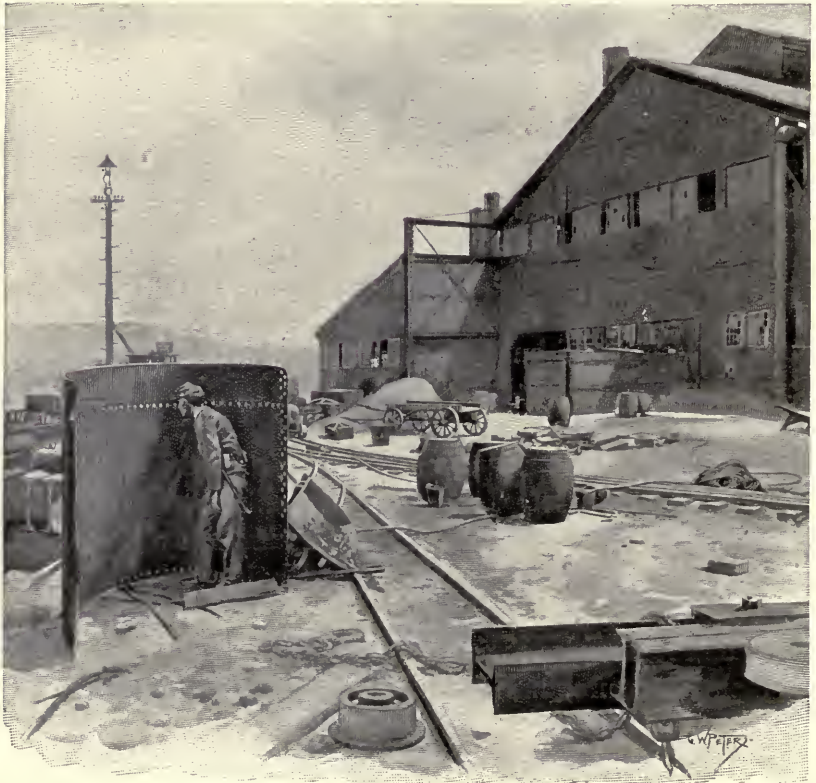
FIERCE CONFLICT AT HOMESTEAD

quent adoption by many States of the "Australian" ballot law to prevent vote-buying and similar evils, rendered the election of 1892 much purer than the preceding one. Vice still lurked about the polls, but it was now more closely watched and more severely reprobated.

Harrison's chances had been lessened by the strike at Homestead, Pa., against the Carnegie Steel Company, which broke out in the summer of 1892, because of a reduction in wages. The Amalgamated Steel and Iron Workers sought to intercede against the reduction, but were refused recognition by the company. H. C. Frick, President of the company, was burned in effigy. A shut-down was ordered. Preparing to start up again with non-union men, the company arranged to introduce a force of Pinkerton detectives to protect these new employés. The Pinkertons came in barges by the river, and when they approached the mills the strikers met them with a volley of bullets, beginning a regular battle which raged two days. The barges, armored inside, were impervious to bullets; therefore on the second day cannons were used, bombarding the boats for hours. Effort was also made to fire them by means of burning oil floated down against them. Seven detectives were killed and twenty or thirty wounded. On the workmen's side eleven were killed. The wretches in the boats again and again hoisted a flag of truce, but it was shot down each time. Later, however, officers of the Amalgamated Association interfered and a committee was sent on board to arrange terms of surrender. Having no alternative, the Pinkerton police agreed to give up their arms and ammunition and retire from the scene. Strikers were to guard them on their departure, and effort was made to do this; yet, as they marched through Homestead streets, the mob element, always on hand at such times, brutally attacked them with clubs, stones and bullets. After cruel delay the Second Brigade of the Pennsylvania National Guard, from Pittsburg, the Third Brigade from Lebanon, and the First Troop of Phila-

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

delphia City Cavalry arrived on the 12th, and quickly restored order. Good-will it was harder to reinstate. Several workmen were arrested on charge of murder, which led to counter arrests and charges against Carnegie officers, the Pinkertons and some of their subordinates. During most of the disturbances public sympathy was with the strikers, as the employment by great corporations of armed men, not officers of the law, to defend property, was very unpopular. Sentiment turned the other way when, in the latter part of July, Mr. Frick was brutally shot and stabbed in his own office by Alex-



THE CARNEGIE STEEL WORKS

(Showing the shield used by the strikers when firing the cannon and when watching the Pinkerton men; also the chain by which the cannon was anchored, and a wheelbarrow full of bolts and nuts used as ammunition)

Drawn by G. W. Peters from photographs made after the militia had taken possession of the works

INVESTIGATING THE CAUSES OF THE TROUBLE



THE MILITIA BEHIND THE BARRICADE INSIDE THE CARNEGIE WORKS

From a photograph

ander Bergmann, an anarchist from New York. The man fired two shots, one of which passed through Mr. Frick's head, the other through his neck, then grappled with him, inflicting three stab wounds in the chest, the abdomen and the leg. Mr. Frick displayed utmost courage. Though seeming to be fatally wounded, he succeeded in holding his foe until help arrived. After being kept in bed for thirteen days Mr. Frick resumed his active duties, and in a few weeks had wholly regained his strength and color. Disclaim and reprobate this deed as they might, the displaced laborers could not, in the public mind, disconnect it from their own doings. October 11th a Grand Jury returned against thirty-one strikers true bills for high treason; and against several Carnegie officials and their detectives for murder.

This strike drew public attention to the evils and dangers of the private militia system. On May 12th, before the strike, the House of Representatives had ordered its Judiciary Committee to investigate that system. On August 2d the Senate raised a select committee to do the same. Addressing the

Senate on July 7th, Senator Palmer, of Illinois, roundly scored the Pinkerton "mercenaries," who had "shed the blood of citizens" in many States. He declared the attempts by the Carnegie Company "to maintain their rights by the aid of this organized force a contempt of the authority of the State of Pennsylvania." He avowed the conviction that the strikers had a right to be in the mill yard and "a right to employment there." "I maintain," said he, "that these laborers,



From Cornell's Building, looking South

THE FLOOD AND FIRE

From photographs

having been in that service, having spent their lives in this particular line of service, have a right to insist upon the permanency of their employment, and they have a right to insist, too, on a reasonable compensation."

The loss of life at Homestead seemed the more sad as following so soon the unique disaster which befell Titusville and Oil City on June 5th. Oil Creek, already high, was swollen by a cloud-burst and had flooded the lower part of Titusville, when several oil-tanks, probably struck by light-

FLOOD AND FIRE AT TITUSVILLE

ning, gave way, the oil flowing out, ignited, over the water, forming an immense sheet of moving flame. Scores of buildings in Titusville were soon on fire, and about a third of the city was destroyed. The flaming flood swept down to Oil City, eighteen miles below, overwhelming or burning such persons and property as could not be gotten out of its track. Nearly two hundred perished, and between \$1,000,000 and \$2,000,000 worth of property was destroyed.



From foot of Monroe Street, looking South, at 11 A.M., Sunday, June 5, 1892

AT TITUSVILLE, P.A.

by Matber

As Democrats saw political capital in the Homestead disturbance, so Republicans pointed to labor troubles in a Democratic State. The bad system of farming out convicts to labor in competition with deserving citizens led, in Tennessee, during 1891 and 1892, to riots and loss of life. For three years previously the State's prisoners had been farmed to a large coal and iron company. This company worked most of them at Tracy City and Inman, subletting the rest, partly to colliers at Coal Creek and Oliver Springs, partly to contractors who

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME



NON-COMBATANTS—A TENNESSEE MOUNTAIN HOME

used them in Nashville making bricks and harness and building sewers. The contractors fed and clothed the convicts and provided guard-houses for such as wrought at a distance from the main prison; but the State appointed the guards and pretended, through inspectors, to see that the prisoners were de-



THE CONVICT STOCKADE AND MILITARY CAMP AT OLIVER SPRINGS
From a photograph

CONVICT-LABOR TROUBLES IN TENNESSEE



DR. BETTS, "THE COWBOY PREACHER," INCITING THE MINERS TO
ATTACK FORT ANDERSON

From a photograph taken at The Grove, between Briceville and Coal Creek

cently used. All went well till work grew slack. Then many free miners had to go on short time, though the convicts still wrought full time. August 13, 1892, miners attacked Tracy City and removed the convicts, of whom several escaped. This was repeated at Inman and Oliver Springs. The process was easy, since, popular sympathy favoring the miners so that a sheriff could not muster a posse, the authorities made little effort to defend the contract gangs. At Coal Creek, however, the rioters were resisted by the garrison, consisting of Colonel Anderson with a hundred and fifty men. Being beaten, the mob raised a flag of truce, answering which in person Colonel Anderson fell into their power, and was commanded, on threat of death, to order a surrender. He refused. Meantime the militia, which had been called out, arrived and briskly attacked the rioters, killing several, routing the residue and rescuing Colonel Anderson. Five hundred miners were arrested and all disturbance soon ended.

The Force Bill was remembered in the presidential cam-

paign of 1892, in many parts of the land where, but for it, its authors might now have hoped for gains. They made no effort to raise the corpse to life, but left it "unwept, unhonored and unsung" where it fell two years before. Veteran Democrats suspected a piece of shrewd shamming, and circled the remains, crying, "No Force Bill! No Negro Domination!" till sure that it was a case of death. While not attacking the Dependent Pensions Act, for which they were too shrewd, the Democrats may have gained somewhat by their loud demands for honesty in administering this. The other expenditures of the Fifty-first Congress they placed under searching review, with scant results as to details, though the aggregate sum impressed the public unfavorably.

The Republicans' centre in the battle was McKinley Protection, but many of their best fighting men thought that McKinley had led them too far to the front and wished to fall back upon "reciprocity" as a stronger position. Thus there was wavering in the ranks. The tin schedule of the new tariff was lauded as sure to transfer the tin industry from Wales to this country. "Free sugar" was also made prominent. Upon the tariff question the Democrats wavered too. Their Convention had displaced a resolution squinting toward protection, and put in the platform a plain tariff-for-revenue plank. Most of their Western speakers took the stump, crying: "Republican protection is a fraud!" and denouncing the McKinley Act as the "culminating atrocity of class legislation." Republicans charged that the Democracy stood committed to "British Free Trade." There was some justice in the statement, yet Cleveland's letter of acceptance was not in this tone. "We wage," said he, "no exterminating warfare against American industries." And in all the Eastern centres Democratic orators and papers declined to attack the principle of protection, only urging that manufacturing interests would be advanced by "freer raw materials."

The Populists, heirs of the Grangers and Farmers'

CLEVELAND ELECTED AGAIN

Alliance, scored a triumph now. In Colorado, Idaho, Kansas and Wyoming the Democrats voted for Weaver, the Populist candidate. In North Dakota, Nevada, Minnesota and Oregon also there was a partial Democratic-Populist fusion. In those States, subtracting Oregon and Minnesota, Weaver obtained a majority. In Louisiana and Alabama, on the contrary, it was Republicans who fused with Populists. The Tillman movement in South Carolina, nominally Democratic, was akin to Populism, but was complicated with the color question and later with novel liquor legislation. In its essence it was a revolt of the ordinary white population from the traditional dominance of the aristocracy. In Alabama a similar movement, led by Reuben F. Kolb, was defeated, fraudulently, as he thought, by vicious manipulation of votes in the Black Belt. Spite of these diversions the election was a second tidal wave in favor of the democracy. Of the total 444 votes in the electoral college Cleveland received 277, Harrison 145, and Weaver 22—giving Cleveland a plurality of 132. Cleveland received 5,556,000 votes, Harrison 5,175,000 and Weaver something over a million. The Senate held fourty-four Democrats, thirty-seven Republicans and four Populists; the House two hundred and sixteen Democrats, one hundred and twenty-five Republicans and eleven Populists.

Mr. Cleveland's first prominent appearance before the public after his inauguration was upon the Opening Day of the Columbian Exposition, May 1, 1893. It was a legal holiday. In spite of the mist, rain and mud of its early hours, patient multitudes waited outside for the gates of Jackson Park to open. The inevitable procession, dramatically welcomed by the uncouth aliens of the Midway Plaisance, stopped at the temporary platform in front of the Administration Building, where, among many others, sat President Cleveland side by side with Columbus's descendant, the Duke of Veragua. Inspiring music and poetry led up to the climax of the occasion. After recounting the steps by which the Expo-

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

sition had originated, the Director-General said: "It only remains for you, Mr. President, if, in your opinion the Exposition here presented is commensurate in dignity with what the world should expect of our great country, to direct that it shall be opened to the public; and when you touch this magic key the ponderous machinery will start in its revolutions and the activity of the Exposition will begin."

"I am here," responded Mr. Cleveland, "to join my fellow-citizens in the congratulations which befit the occasion. Surrounded by the stupendous results of American enterprise and activity, and in view of the magnificent evidences of American skill and intelligence, we need not fear that these congratulations will be exaggerated. We stand to-day in the presence of the oldest nations of the world, and point to the great achievements we here exhibit, asking no allowance on the score of youth. It is an exalted mission in which we and our guests from other lands are engaged as we co-operate in the

inauguration of an enterprise devoted to human enlightenment; and in the undertaking we here enter upon we exemplify in the noblest sense the brotherhood of nations. Let us hold fast to the meaning that underlies this ceremony, and let us not lose the impressiveness of this moment. As by a touch the machinery that gives life to this vast exposition



OPENING OF THE EXPOSITION



THE ENTRANCE TO THE GERMAN BUILDING*

is now set in motion, so at the same instant let our hopes and aspirations awaken forces which in all times to come shall influence the welfare, the dignity and the freedom of mankind.”

“As the President touched the button there arose from all sides a wild outburst of sound, the people and orchestra uniting in the triumphant strains of Handel’s ‘Hallelujah Chorus,’ while the wheels of the great Allis engine in the Machinery Hall began to revolve and the electric fountains in the lagoons to play. Torrents of water gushed from the great MacMonnies fountain, the artillery thundered salutes and the chimes of the Factories Hall and German Building rang merry peals, while conspicuous in the Court of Honor

*The World’s Fair views in this chapter are, with two exceptions, from photographs by T. S. Johnson.

the golden beauty of the 'Republic' stood discovered. At the same moment the flags in front of the platform parted, revealing the gilded models of the Columbian caravels. The flags of all nations were simultaneously unfurled on all the buildings of the Exhibition. The roof of the Factories Building became gorgeous with red gonfalons, while the Agricultural Building was dressed in ensigns of orange and white. It was a magnificent transformation scene. Amid all, the cannon continued to boom and the people to cheer, while the band played the national anthem."

At the Woman's Building the opening exercises included addresses by Mrs. Potter Palmer, the Duchess of Veragua for Spain, the Countess di Brazza for Italy, Mrs. Bedford Fenwick for England, the Duchess of Aberdeen for Scotland-Ireland, and the Princess Schechoffsky for Russia. Mrs. Potter Palmer drove home the nail which completed the Woman's Building. It was of gold, silver and copper, with a Montana sapphire set in the shield attached to the nail near the head.

Many of the festal days which followed were chosen by States and nations for their own in particular. Every State had its day, which it brightened with music and pageantry, not omitting the eloquence and hospitality suited to such occasions. On her day California dispensed freely to all comers of her abundant fruit. New York did not sulk over her loss of the opportunity to entertain the Fair, but vigorously and with splendid success celebrated the day set apart for her. "The great day of the feast" was "Chicago Day," October 9th, the twenty-second anniversary of the awful fire. All the night before houseless thousands had sheltered themselves in doorways and under the elevated railroad, while 15,000 awaited at the gates the opening of the grounds. During the day 716,881 persons paid their way into the grounds, the largest number for any one day, exceeding the maximum at Philadelphia—217,526, and that at Paris in 1889—397,150. Orig-

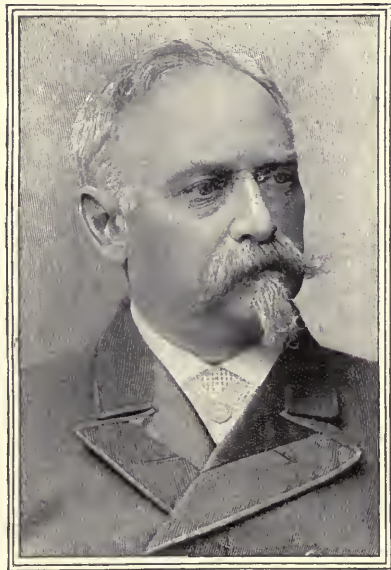


THE ADMINISTRATION BUILDING SEEN FROM THE AGRICULTURAL BUILDING

CHICAGO'S ORIGINAL NAMERS PRESENT

inal and interesting exercises marked the hours. Two aged Pottawottomi chiefs, pathetic types of the vanished red man, who stood side by side near the Columbian Bell, received much homage. One was in white man's attire, the other in feathered head-dress and breeching and moccasins of beaded buckskin, all supplemented by a liberal paint coat of many colors. The white man's proselyte was Simon Po-ka-gon, whose father, Leopold, once owned the site of Chicago; the unconventionalized warrior was Chief John Young, son of a chief of the same name. Leopold gave the inland metropolis a local habitation, John Young, Sr., gave her a name, "Chicago"—meaning "thunder," according to some; "onion," in the belief of others, and "skunk's home," as maintained by a third school of interpreters. Fireworks, the finest ever seen, lighted up the evening. Some of the designs were, "Old Fort Dearborn," "Chicago Welcoming the World," "Old Glory" and "Niagara Falls." Four scenes, each covering 14,000 square feet, illustrated the burning of the city in 1871. Conspicuous among the representations was Mrs. O'Leary's incendiary cow, said to have started the fire by kicking over a lamp.

In magnitude and splendor the grounds and buildings constituting the White City far surpassed any ever before laid out for Exposition purposes. The original sketch of the grounds was drawn with pencil on brown paper by the late Mr. John W. Root. It projected an effective contrast of land and water



RICHARD M. HUNT
Architect of Administration Building



GENERAL VIEW OF

as well as of art and nature, which subsequent elaboration, mainly under the invaluable advice and guidance of the late Richard M. Hunt, nobly filled out. The North Pond communicated with the lake by the North Inlet and with the Grand Basin by the North Canal, opposite which was the South Canal. South of the Basin was South Inlet, leading from Lake Michigan into South Pond. In one corner was the isolated Northwest Pond. Approaching the park by water one landed at a long pier, on which was the moving sidewalk—the Power House, where alone steam-power was allowed, standing to the south. At another pier was moored the *facsimile* battleship *Illinois*. Almost at the lips of her cannon the nations of the world had tabernacled, England nearest. Beyond these, at the north was the neighborhood of States,



THE WORLD'S FAIR GROUNDS

each represented by a house. Some of the houses were castles, some were cottages. Some provided only comforts, others held displays. Not one but offered points of great interest. Iowa, Washington, California and Illinois advertised their prospects; Florida, Virginia, Pennsylvania, New York and Massachusetts their history. Mutual visits among these families and mutual admiration were the order of each day.

Upon the Wooded Island, under the protectorate of Horticultural Hall, consummate art had made a refuge for wild nature. Stunted trees were masked by -shrubbery and the water planted with aquatic vegetation. Nearly every variety of American tree and shrub was represented upon these acres. Here as well as elsewhere landscape gardeners had created effective backgrounds of willows and of flowers, and stretches of lawn set off by statuary and fountains. Distances were too great to be traversed always on foot, but other modes of locomotion were ample. A good if somewhat noisy

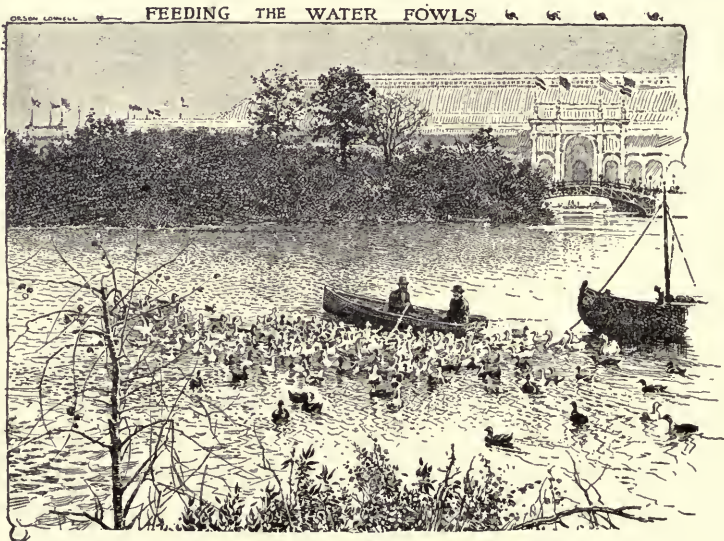


TOTEM POLES

servant was the Intramural Railway, which conducted one by the rear of the grounds, the back way, as it were, from one end of the enclosure to the other. But the beauty of the place more impressed you if you boarded a gondola or an electric launch, sweeping under arches, around islands, and past balustrades, terraces and flowered lawns. Easy transit through the larger buildings, or from one to

another, was furnished by wheeled chairs.

Notwithstanding the charge of materialism so often brought against America, and against Chicago in particular,



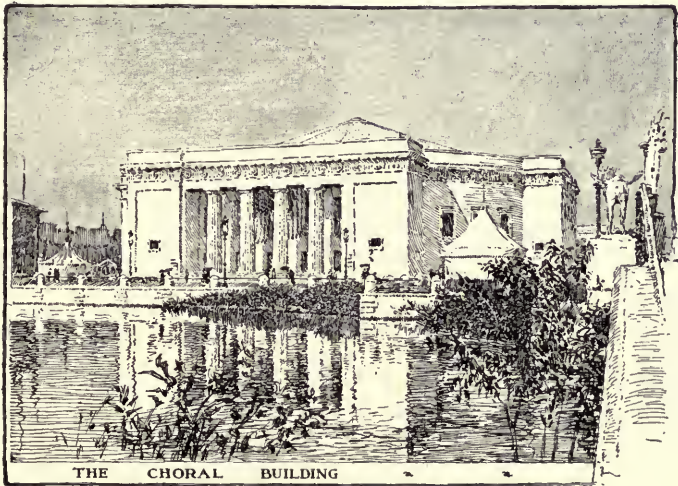
FEEDING THE WATER FOWLS

PUBLIC SPIRIT MANIFESTED

foreigners visiting the Fair found that we had not provided mere utilitarian housings for the exhibits. We came near falling into another fault, that of vain lavishness. Financial backers of the undertaking did not withhold or stint their contributions, while they calculated dividends likely to accrue. Others, executing the work, were

equally public-spirited. The architects especially wrought together with mutual interest and affection, free from selfish

FROM THE ART BUILDING STEPS WEST



THE CHORAL BUILDING

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

rivalry. They sacrificed pecuniary considerations to love of art, working with a zeal which money alone could never have called forth. Great as was the expenditure, it would have been inadequate to the results had it not been possible to employ a material at once cheap, sufficiently durable, and very ductile in architects' hands. This was a mixture of plaster of Paris with certain fibres, commonly known as "staff." "It permitted the architects to indulge in an architectural spree." It made possible "a group of buildings which might have been a vision of an ancient monarch, but which no autocrat and no government could have carried out in permanent form." It allowed modern masters to reproduce "the best details of ancient architecture—to erect temples, colonnades, towers and domes of surpassing beauty and noble proportions—making an object lesson of practical educational value equal to its impressive character."

Near the centre of the grounds was the Government Building, with a ready-made, conventional look, out of keeping with the other architecture. Critics declared it the only discordant note in the symphony, but the Illinois Building, conspicuously situated, topped by a dome looking like a cartridge upright upon a box, was not exactly pleasing, at least in comparison with edifices near by. Looking away from it across the North Pond, one saw the Art Palace, of pure Ionic style, perfectly proportioned, restful to view, contesting with the Administration Building the architectural laurels of the Fair. To the south of the Illinois Building rose the Woman's Building, and next Horticultural Hall, with dome high enough to shelter the tallest palms. So overrun was this depart-



W. L. B. JENNEY
Architect of the Horticultural Building

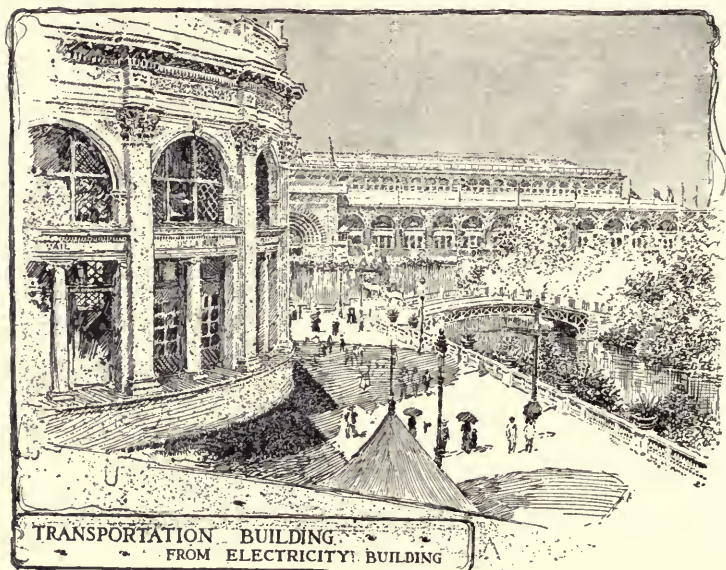


THE HORTICULTURAL AND TRANSPORTATION BUILDINGS VIEWED FROM THE LAGOON

THE COURT OF HONOR

ment with applications that only the choicest exhibits could be accepted. Among these Australia, land of anomalies, planted her giant tree-fern and giant stag-horn fern. Here experimenting was carried on in a cave illuminated only by electricity, for the purpose of determining whether plants can be made to thrive under such light alone. In connection with Horticultural Hall may be mentioned the rustic Forestry Building. Supreme architectural victory was realized in the fact that even the Manufactures and Liberal Arts Building, almost awful in its proportions, did not tyrannize over its neighbors. This structure was thrice the size of St. Peter's at Rome, and would easily have roofed the Vendome Column. It was severely classical, with a long perspective of arches, broken only at the corners and in the centre by portals fit to immortalize Alexander's triumphs.

The name of the "Court of Honor" awoke in one a throb of anticipation before seeing its chaste beauty, which must to his dying day haunt the memory of every visitor who beheld it. Its majestic unity was mainly due to the genius of R. M. Hunt, already mentioned for his masterly agency in rendering the Fair so picturesque and so perfect as an architectural *ensemble*. Down the Grand Basin you looked upon the golden statue of the Republic, with its noble proportions, beyond it the peristyle, a forest of columns surmounted by the Columbian quadriga. On the right hand stood the Agricultural Building, upon whose summit the "Diana" of Augustus St. Gaudens had alighted. To the left stood the enormous Hall of Manufactures just mentioned. Looking from the peristyle the eye met the Administration Building, admired by critics and laymen alike. Its architect was Mr. Hunt. He was a devotee of the French school, and here presented to the American people its best exemplification. The dome resembled that of the Hotel des Invalides in Paris. In this Court originality was happily sacrificed to harmony. It was well that specimens of the best architecture should be set before the



public, rather than novel departures from standard types; for the Fair not only showed the vast growth of art in America since 1876, but served as an educator in the canons of taste. The American art displayed at the Fair disappointed Europe by imitating hers so well. Yet it was clear that we were not mere imitators.

One of the most unique conceptions presented at the Fair was that of the Cold Storage Building, just south of the Sixty-fourth Street entrance, where a hundred tons of ice to supply the Exposition were daily made. Its architecture was handsome and suitable; the walls unbroken save on the ground floor, where the large, tunnel-like entrance was flanked by a row of neat windows, and on the fifth floor, which was designed for an ice skating rink. Four corner towers relieved the steeple effect of a fifth one in the centre, which resembled the tower on Madison Square Garden in New York City. This central pinnacle rose sheer to the dizzy height of 225 feet. Through it went the smoke-stack. The cheering coolness of this building was destined not to

BURNING OF COLD STORAGE BUILDING

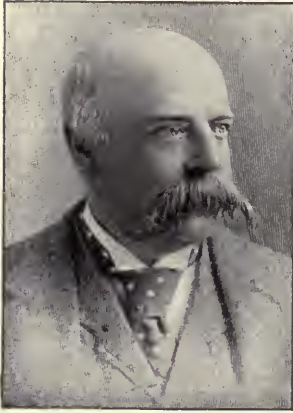


A Detail of the Golden Doorway at the Entrance to the Transportation Building

last. Early in the afternoon of July 10th its occupants were startled by the cry of "Fire!" Flames had been discovered at the top of the central tower, which had caught from the smoke-stack, owing, apparently, to neglect of the architect's precautions and of the fire marshal's repeated warnings. Delaying his departure till he had provided against explosion, the brave engineer barely saved his life. Before his escape, the firemen were on hand and a band of sixteen at once climbed to the balcony near the blazing summit. At this juncture, suddenly, to the horror of all, fire burst from the lower part of the tower. The rope and hose were burnt in two, precipitating a number in their attempt to slide back to the roof. Others leaped recklessly from the colossal torch. In less than two minutes, it seemed, the whole pyre was swathed in flames, and, as it top-



LOUIS H. SULLIVAN
Architect of the Transportation Building



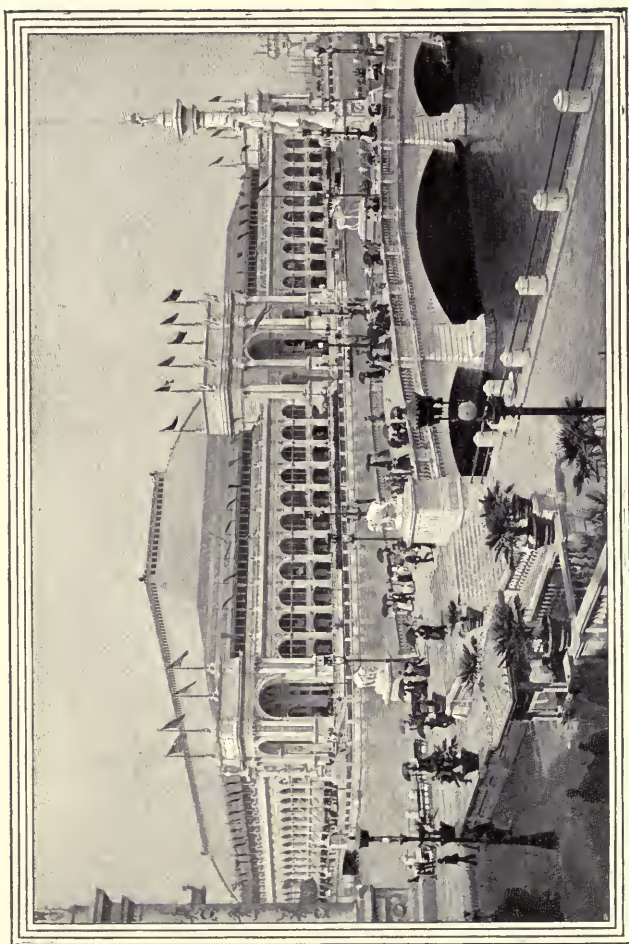
GEORGE B. POST
*Architect of Manufactures and Liberal
 Arts Building*

pled, the last wretched form was seen to poise and plunge with it into the now blazing abyss.

Another unique fabric stood by the waters of the North Pond. It was the Fisheries Building, having a curved arcade at each end, leading to a circular aquarium. Visitors were agreeably startled at seeing the pillars twined with aquatic creatures—frogs, tortoises, eels and star-fish. The capitals, similarly, were architectural puns—here a fantastic mass of marine life, there a lobster-pot.

Even the balustrades were supported by small fishy caryatids. The Electricity and Transportation Buildings were equally original, each in its way, the former with sky-line broken as if traced by lightning, the latter with its forcefulness of contour and rich archaic decoration. The Mining Building, hard by the Electricity Building, suggested monumental strength, as the Transportation Building intimated ruthless force. Machinery Hall, with its shapely dome, colonnade and arcades, was much admired.

Amid a muster of earth's choicest rarities, a multitude of wonders stupefying in its vastness, to specify individual marvels as pre-eminent seemed wild. One feature would specially impress you, another your friend. Our Government's display deserved and received incessant attention. The State Department gave to the light for the moment some rich treasures from its archives. The War Office exhibit showed our superiority in heavy ordnance and ammunition, and at the same time our failure to rival Europe in small-arms. Among the cannon was the famous Long Tom, formerly aboard the privateer *General Armstrong*, which kept at bay a British squadron till sunk to avoid capture by a line-of-battle ship. A



THE MANUFACTURES AND LIBERAL ARTS BUILDING, SEEN FROM THE SOUTHWEST

TRANSPORTATION EXHIBITS

thrilling Arctic tableau represented Major Greely greeting the brave Lieutenant Lockwood on his return from "farthest North." A first-class post-office was operated on the grounds. A combination postal-car, sixty feet in length, manned by the most expert sorters and operators, interested vast crowds. Close by was an ancient mail-coach, once actually captured by Indians, with effigies of the pony express, formerly so familiar on the Western plains, of a mail-sledge drawn by dogs, and of a mail carrier mounted on a bicycle. Models of a quaint little Mississippi mail steamer and of the modern steamer Paris stood side by side. Weapons, stuffed birds, and bottled reptiles from the dead-letter office were displayed.

A rich assemblage of jewelry and gems adorned a section of the Fair, one cabinet being rightly styled "the million-dollar-case." Self-winding and self-regulating clocks were a feature. So were the transportation exhibits. Locomotives of all styles and ages were presented, from Sir Isaac Newton's, of 1680, based on an invention of 130 B.C., to the famous "999." Some fully equipped railroad trains were shown. One had bath-room, barber-shop, writing-desk and library—accommodations for railway travel then novel, though now familiar.

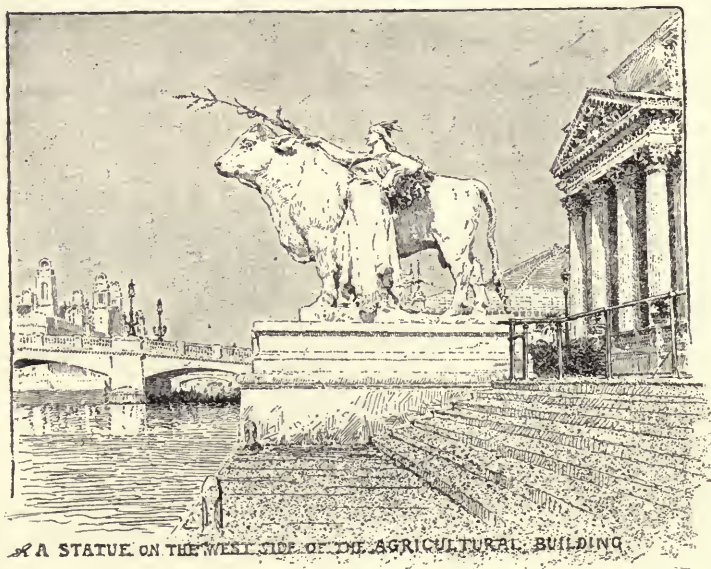
THE CARAVELS IN FRONT OF THE CASINO BUILDING.



THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

The apartment sleeping-car and the observation-car were then quite new. Another train was vestibuled the entire width of the cars, and from the tender to the rear lights. Many such are now seen, improved, since, by "burglar-proof" doors to the cars. The locomotive "Queen Empress," of the London & Northwestern line, was exhibited, heading a train of English railway carriages beautifully complete to the uttermost detail. The caravels *Santa Maria*, *Niña* and *Pinta* were reproduced at the Spanish port where the original craft had been built, and sent by water thence, manned by Spaniards, to the American shore, and, without portage, to the White City's waterfront.

From the serious side of the Fair one turned for relaxation to the Midway Plaisance. The Midway was the delightful Limbo of the Exposition. Here were realistic bits of Dahomey, Samoa, the far Orient, the Levant, the frozen North, Europe, Ireland. The "natives" felt perfectly at home, even to marrying and giving in marriage, one infatuated Kabyle going so far as to attempt to steal a bride, according



OF A STATUE ON THE WEST SIDE OF THE AGRICULTURAL BUILDING

THE MIDWAY PLAISANCE

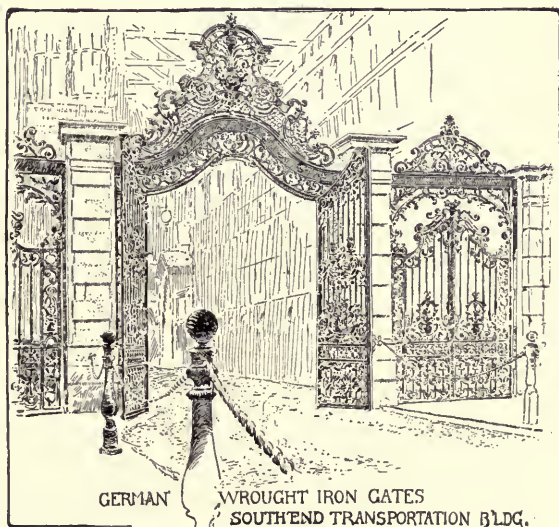
to tribal custom. His romance terminated in a police station. The Plaisance was a library of human documents. Not the least interesting was "far-away Moses," immortalized by Mark Twain. In spite of frowning battlements and formidable watchmen with lanterns and battle-axes, hordes besieged and overran old Vienna. On this populous avenue were the Libby glass works, artificers of the Infanta's glass dress, the ice-railway, the Hagenbeck animal show of equestrian lions and rope-walking bears, the ostrich farm, theatres, and bazaars galore. There abode all "fakirs," making short work of your small change, while they delighted you with the ingenuity and despatch of the operation. Immensely popular was Cairo Street, travelled by 2,250,000 visitors. Hagenbeck

entertained more than 2,000,000. Between 650,000 and 800,000 entered the villages of Java, Germany and Vienna. Lady Aberdeen's Irish village admitted more than 550,000.

Those of weak nerves shunned the chief feature of the Midway,



CHARLES F. MCKIM,
of McKim, Mead & White,
Architects of the Agricultural Building



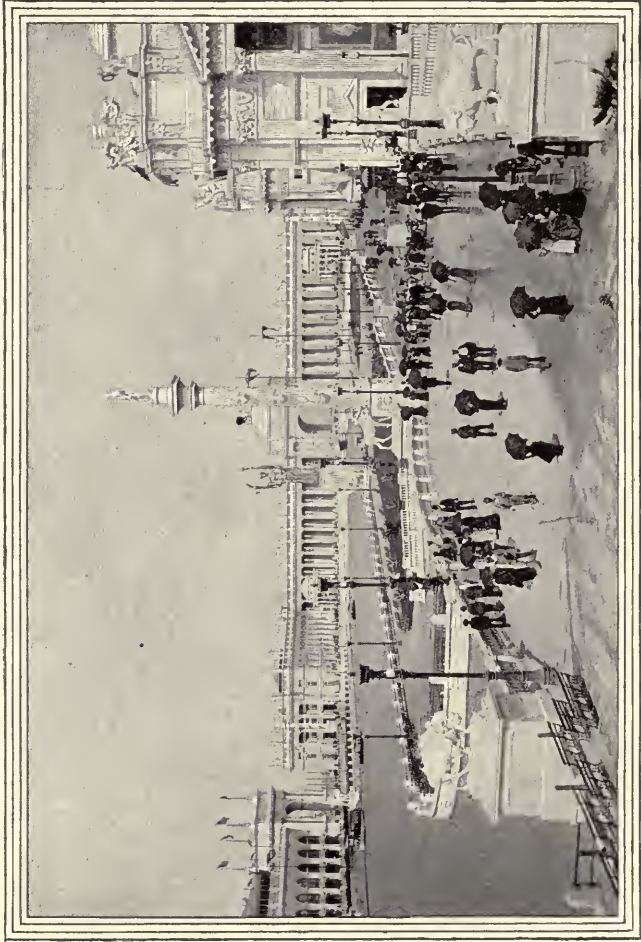
From a photograph by Rau



Detail, Main Entrance of Horticultural Building

the Ferris Wheel, the most novel mechanism in existence. It is said that at a banquet, more than a year before the opening day, the director, while praising the architects, complained that the engineers of this country had suggested for the Fair nothing original like the Eiffel Tower at Paris. Mr. George W. G. Ferris, of Pittsburg, took this as a reflection on his calling, and excogitated his remarkable invention, literally in an hour, over a mutton-chop. In principle it resembled the Eiffel tower. The tower was, in effect, a cantilever bridge set on end; the wheel was such a bridge bent around a pair of Brobdignagian bicycle wheels. These were geared on an axle weighing more than the average locomotive, which in turn was supported by two skeleton pyramids. The spokes were of wire, two and a half inches thick. Unpre-

pared for a project so startlingly original, the authorities withheld, till within six months of the opening, a concession for placing it, allowing Mr. Ferris for the construction and erection of his monster less than a sixth of the time consumed

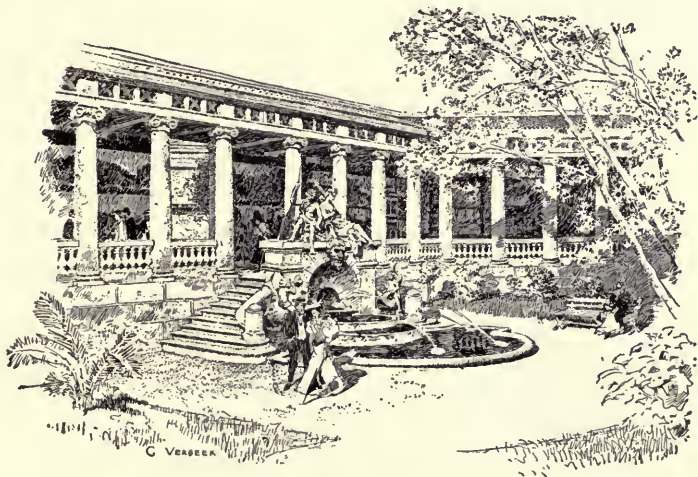


A VIEW TOWARD THE PERISTYLE FROM MACHINERY HALL

TRANSPORTATION PROBLEMS AND ACHIEVEMENTS

in building the Eiffel Tower. Yet the wheel was completed in the time required, and is said to have varied from a true circle less than the most delicate pivot wheel of a watch.

Pilgrims to the Chicago spectacle, of course, required extensive preparations for their convenience and safety both *en route* and after arrival. The Exposition managers early appointed a Committee on Transportation. This chanced to consist largely of railroad men whose lines converged in Chicago. As committeemen these gentlemen were not supposed to know the temper of the roads. They therefore wrote asking reduced rates. On receiving, next morning, their own requests, they were better informed, and wrote themselves answers unanimously refusing to reduce. This was the worse policy in that, later, the roads did lower rates, thus aggravating the inevitable congestion of traffic toward the end of the season and increasing the number of railroad accidents. Yet the railway achievements evoked by the Fair were admirable. A New York Central & Lake Shore train daily covered in twenty hours the almost 1,000 miles from New York to Chicago, a rate of 48.4 miles an hour, including stops. Permanent improvements were made in some roads, such as long



The French Building



OLON S. BEEMAN
Architect of Mines and Mining Building



HENRY IVES COBB
Architect of Fisheries Building

watering-troughs, from which the locomotives scooped their water, like Gideon's warriors, as they bounded along. For excursions to the Exposition Pittsburg seemed to be the banner city. Thence, on October 21st, a single excursion train, in eight sections, bore to Chicago 3,575 passengers. The Fair increased the passenger traffic of the Illinois Central over two hundred per cent. That road spent over \$2,000,000 in preparation, raising its tracks for 2½ miles over 13 city streets, building 300 special cars and erecting many new stations.

The number of paid admissions to the Columbian Fair was 21,477,218, a daily average of 119,984½. The gross attendance was 27,529,400, exceeding by nearly a million the number at the Paris Exposition for the six months ending with October, though rather over half a million less than the total attendance at Paris, where the gates were open a considerably longer time than at

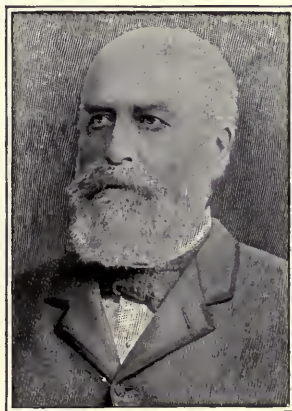
Chicago. The monthly average of visitors increased steadily from about 1,000,000 in May to nearly 7,000,000 in October. It was estimated that in all 12,000,000 different individuals saw the Fair. Notwithstanding the presence of such multitudes, the grounds were always clean and there was no ruffianism—two creditable features on which English visitors remarked. The most interesting sight was the sight-seers. It was a typical American crowd, orderly, good-natured, intelligent. At

THE END OF THE "WHITE CITY"

points where more than could do so wished to see the same sight at the same time, no greedy elbowing occurred. A careful and constant visitor failed "to observe on the grounds by day or night a single drunken or disorderly person, or any emergency at any time when a guard or policeman was required." The police, and particularly the secret service, were efficient. Of \$32,988 worth of property reported stolen, \$31,875 was recovered and restored.

Two days before the Exposition closed an assassin's bullet felled at his own threshold Carter Harrison, Mayor of Chicago. This accomplished gentleman had been prominent in originating and installing the Fair, and its closing ceremonies in Festival Hall were deeply shadowed by his death. Only prayer, resolutions of condolence, and a benediction preceded the sharp click of President Higginbotham's gavel. As the assembly dispersed the organ pealed out Chopin's and Beethoven's funeral marches. At sunset the shore battery fired a last salute, the half-masted flags of all nations dropped simultaneously, and the mighty parade was over.

The only structure intended to be permanent was the Art Building. The others were superfluous so soon as the occasion which called them into existence had passed. The question of their disposition was summarily solved. One day some boys playing near the Terminal Station saw a sinister leer of flame inside. They tried to stamp it out, but a high wind was blowing, and soon Chicago's old discomfited foe rose with a roar to wreak vengeance upon the deserted and helpless White City, Chicago's child. The flames quickly enveloped the beautiful Administration Building, and in a few minutes the Mining and Electricity



CARTER H. HARRISON
By permission of Place & Coover

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

Buildings as well. Meanwhile, from the Terminal Station the fierce contagion had spread to the Machinery and Agricultural Buildings. Next moment it fastened upon the Transportation Building and the lordly Hall of Manufactures. Witnesses will never forget the burning of this mammoth. Hardly had it caught fire when the roof collapsed, while from hundreds of windows shot out derisive tongues of flame. The lagoons and the lake were lurid with a glare visible long leagues away. The walls tottered, the vistas fell in with a deafening roar, and at last the fire demon subsided among the ruins, leaving ashes, heaps of *débris*, tortured iron work, and here and there an arch to tell of his orgy.



The Electricity Building

The Mines and Mining Building

THE BURNING OF THE WHITE CITY

CHAPTER XXII

WORLD'S EXPOSITION HINTS UPON THE PROGRESS OF CIVILIZATION IN THE UNITED STATES

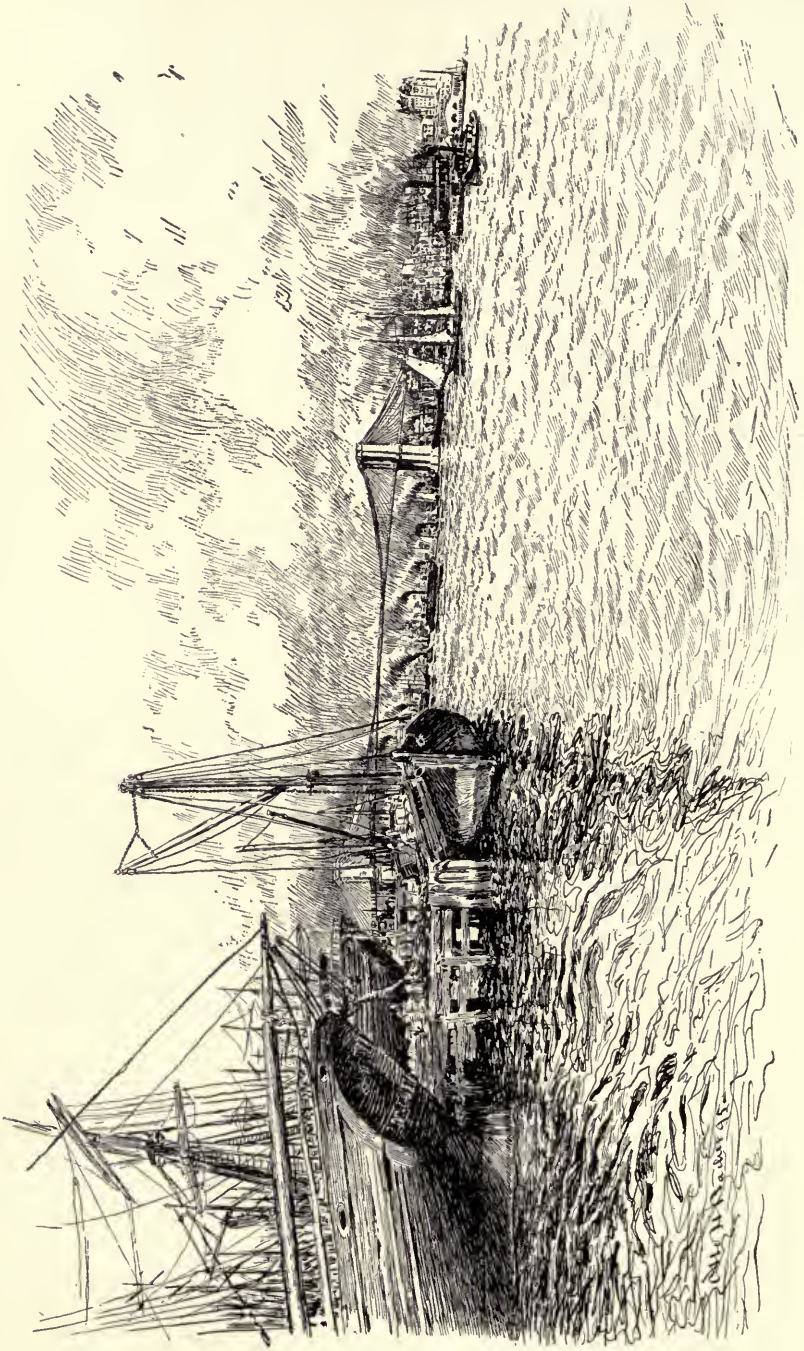
DATA FROM THE ELEVENTH CENSUS.—PROGRESS IN BRIDGE CONSTRUCTION.—THE BROOKLYN BRIDGE.—THE CANTILEVER MODEL.—ELEVATED RAILWAYS.—STEEL STRUCTURE IN BUILDINGS.—ADVANCE IN TELEGRAPHY.—THE EARTH TWICE CIRCLED IN FIFTY MINUTES.—TIME AND THE TELEGRAPH.—THE WEATHER BUREAU.—THE TELEPHONE.—ELECTRIC LIGHTING.—TRANSMISSION OF ELECTRICAL POWER.—ELECTRIC RAILWAYS.—EDISON.—HIS CAREER.—HIS INVENTIONS.—THE PHONOGRAPH AT A FUNERAL.—TESLA.—COMPARED WITH EDISON.—TESLA'S AIM.—ASTOUNDING PERFORMANCES WITH ELECTRICITY.—NIAGARA'S POWER TURNED INTO ELECTRICITY.—ELECTRIC TRANSMISSION AT LAUFEN.—AT FOLSOM, CAL.—THE ORIGINAL BICYCLE.—THE "SAFETY."—THE BICYCLE "CRAZE."—NEW METHODS FOR THE CULTURE AND THE CAPTURE OF FISH.—THE ROSE TRAP.—THE FYKE NET.—THE PURSE SEINE.—STEAM IN MENHADEN FISHING.—THE WORLD'S CONGRESS AUXILIARY.—PARLIAMENT OF RELIGIONS.—THE WOMAN'S BUILDING AT THE EXPOSITION.—WOMAN'S INFLUENCE IN AMERICAN LIFE.—THE WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION.—THE CRUSADE OF 1873-74.—VICTORY AT WASHINGTON COURT HOUSE.—LUDICROUS SIDE OF THE CRUSADE.—ITS SPREAD.—THE TEMPERANCE UNION GROWS OUT OF THE CRUSADE.—WOMAN IN THE SALVATION ARMY.—RISE OF THE ARMY.—IT INVADES AMERICA.—GOOD WORK.—THE ARMY'S DISCIPLINE.—WOMEN MADE "CAPTAINS," ETC., THE SAME AS MEN.

WHEN the World's Fair was conceived, when it was born, and during the brief, bright period of its existence, the returns of the Eleventh Census were undergoing compilation. That the Exposition and the census returns awakened public attention together was fortunate, as each made more impressive the other's testimony to our unparalleled national growth. The Census of 1790 had been a mere count of the people, quickly and easily despatched. Five years after the enumeration for the Eleventh Census, the returns, des-

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tined to fill twenty-five volumes and to cost \$11,000,000, were not fully compiled. In 1790 the population of the United States numbered 3,929,214. In 1890 there were 62,622,250, nearly sixteen times the earlier sum. The relatively small percentage of increase to 1890 from 1880, when the count footed up but 50,155,783, disappointed even conservative estimates. It was exceeded by that of every decade down to 1860, and rose above that of the war decade by little over two per cent.

Increase in the proportion of city population, observable in 1880, was more so now. Only in the West had rural development stood comparison with urban. In 1880 our cities contained 22½ per cent. of the population; in 1890, 29 per cent. New York still held her primacy, containing 1,515,301 souls. Chicago had grown to be the second city of the Union, with a population of 1,099,850. Philadelphia, Brooklyn and St. Louis followed, in this order. St. Paul, Omaha and Denver had tripled or quadrupled their size since 1880. Kansas no longer possessed any unoccupied land. Nebraska owned scarcely any. Among Western States Nevada alone languished. The State of Washington had nearly quintupled her citizens. Though only a few counties in the whole country absolutely lost in population, many parts of the East and South had grown little. The 1890 census revealed the centre of population twenty miles east of Columbus, Ind., it having since 1880 moved nearly fifty miles west and nine miles north. In 1890 the country had 163,000 miles of railroad, nearly double that in existence ten years before. Our national wealth in 1890 was valued at \$65,037,091,197, an increase for the decade of \$21,395,091,197. The per capita wealth had multiplied from \$870 to \$1,039, an increase of 49.02 per cent. The output of minerals, measured in dollars, had gone up more than half. Farming alone seemed to have lagged. The improved acreage of the country had increased less than a third, the number of farms a little over an eighth. The proportion of school enrollment to total population had



THE BROOKLYN BRIDGE

Drawn from nature by Otto H. Bachter

SUSPENSION AND CANTILEVER BRIDGES

advanced from twelve per cent. in 1840 to twenty-three per cent. in 1890. The religious bodies of the United States embraced 20,612,806 communicants, not far from a third of the population. About one-tenth of the population were Catholics.

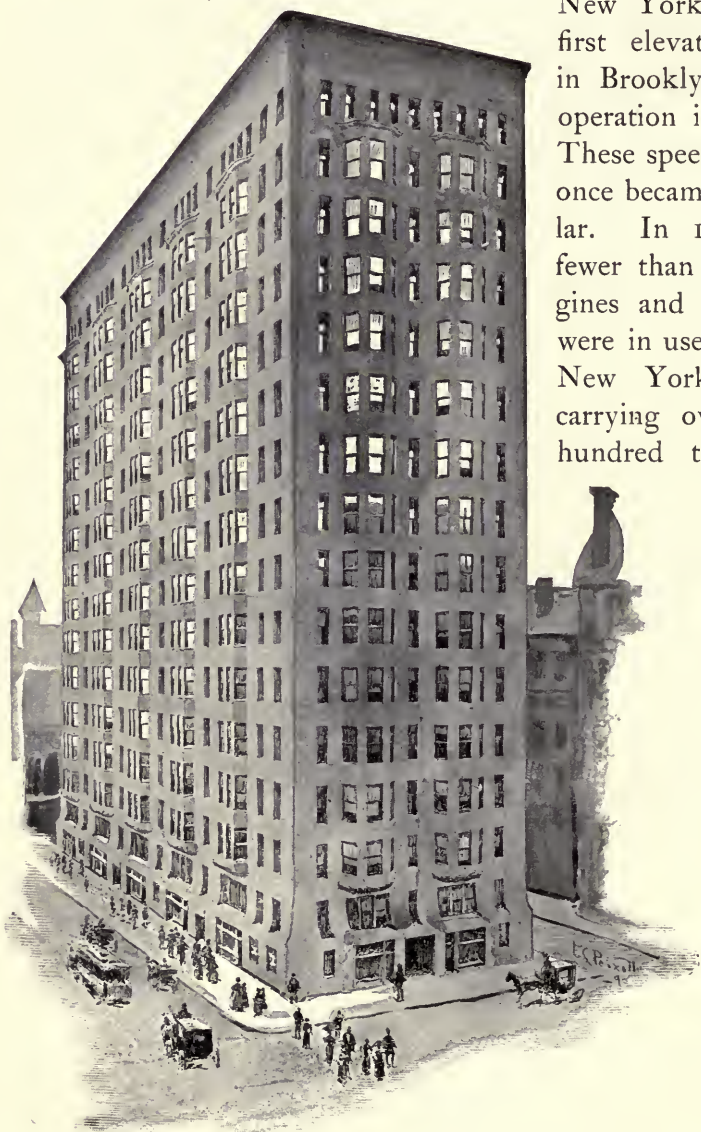
In respect to the nation's scientific progress, what the Fair hinted at was immensely more than what it immediately revealed. The Eiffel Tower might be styled the badge of the Paris Exposition; the Ferris Wheel bore the same relation to ours. Tower and wheel alike uniquely exemplified the fact that in thirty years bridge construction had become almost an exact science. Many remembered the days of wooden bridges and massive wooden trestles, to compose one of which a forest had to be felled. Improvement in iron and steel manufacture changed this. The suspension bridge marked the new era, its most noted exemplar being the East River Bridge between New York and Brooklyn. John A. Roebling designed this, but died before work upon it was fairly commenced. It was continued by his son, Washington A. Roebling, even after he was stricken with paralysis, his wife becoming his lieutenant. The towers rose, then strand by strand the sixteen-inch cables were woven. The length of the bridge was nearly six thousand feet, and each foot weighed more than a ton. The rise and fall winter and summer was three feet. A still larger suspension bridge was proposed in 1896 to cross the North River.

The suspension bridge did not meet the demand of our railroad builders for speed in construction. Accordingly, the autumn of 1883, the year when the Brooklyn Bridge was completed, witnessed the advent of a pioneer of another type, the cantilever bridge, consisting of truss-work beams poised upon stone piers and meeting each other, a design of wonderful capabilities. The Niagara Suspension Bridge, built by Roebling in the fifties, was in 1896 about to be replaced by a cantilever structure, to occupy precisely the place of the original bridge. The change was to be consummated without an hour's interruption of traffic.

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Extension in the use of iron and steel also made elevated railways possible. A project in this direction dated from 1868. Exactly ten years later two sections of railway were open in

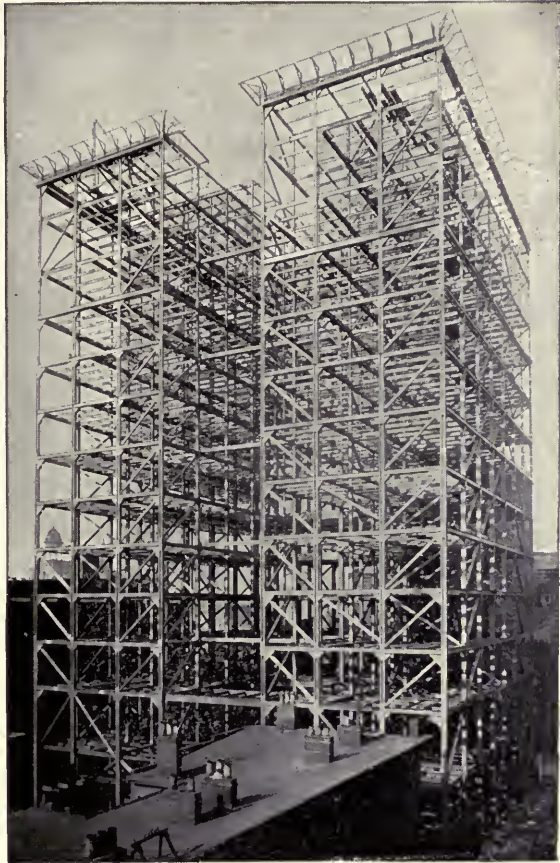
New York. The first elevated road in Brooklyn began operation in 1885. These speedways at once became popular. In 1890 no fewer than 291 engines and 921 cars were in use by the New York lines, carrying over five hundred thousand



A TYPICAL HIGH BUILDING—MONADNOCK BUILDING, CHICAGO

STEEL FRAME HIGH BUILDINGS

passengers daily, or about one hundred and three millions for the year. Chicago followed with the "Alley L" line, so-called from the lanes to which it was relegated. Boston preferred provision for rapid transit by means of an underground railway system like London's. Spite of the freest possible lateral vent, population and business in our largest cities exerted greater and greater vertical



*STEEL FRAME OF THE CARNEGIE BUILDING,
PITTSBURG, PA.*

pressure. High buildings resulted, in which, again, steel played a vital part, affording lightness, strength and fire-proof quality and permitting rapidity of construction. The walls simply served as a covering and were not made to sustain the floors, the weight being all carried by iron posts and girders.

In 1876 the telegraph constituted almost the sole practical application of electricity. Twenty years later even that invention owed its chief efficiency to improvements made meantime, while the new uses of electricity were almost infinitely numerous. Edison prophesied that some day man-

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kind's sole work would consist in "pushing the button." When Morse's bill for a telegraph line between Washington and Baltimore first reached Congress, he was ridiculed much as rain-makers have since been. One legislator moved to amend by providing for a line to the moon, the House entertaining the amendment because it entertained the House. Morse, however, got his appropriation. The first day of its public operation that telegraph, it is said, yielded the Government one cent; in 1890 a single telegraph company had a yearly revenue of nearly \$20,000,000. Stearns and Edison compelled the single wire to carry several messages at once, and that in different directions.

During the great electrical exposition in New York City in May, 1896, a message was transmitted round the world and back in fifty minutes. It was dictated by Hon. Chauncey M. Depew, and read: "God creates, nature treasures, science utilizes electrical power for the grandeur of nations and the peace of the world."

Starting at 8.35, these words sped over the land lines to San Francisco, thence back to Canso, Nova Scotia, where they plunged under the sea to London. A click of the key four minutes later announced the completion of this part of the journey. Cannon were fired in honor of the achievement, while the dense throng on the floor of the exhibition building cheered. Meantime the General Manager of the Western Union Company had despatched the same message over his lines to Los Angeles, Galveston, City of Mexico, Valparaiso, Buenos Ayres, Pernambuco, across the Atlantic to Lisbon, and back to New York by way of London, a journey of ten thousand miles in eleven and a half minutes. At 9.25, just fifty minutes from the start, the receiving instrument clicked, and Mr. Edison, for the nonce again a simple telegraph operator as of yore, copied from it the Depew message. It had travelled from London to Lisbon, thence to Suez, Aden, Bombay, Madras, Singapore, Hong Kong, Shanghai, Naga-

TELEGRAPHIC FEATS

saki and Tokio, returning by the same route to New York, having traversed a distance of over 27,500 miles, and reading not a comma the worse for the vast and speedy trip. While the messages were on their way a glass arrow over each of the instruments flashed notice of their direction and of their arrival at important points. When their return was announced cannon boomed again and thousands of voices rent the air with applause.

At noon each day the Western Union lines were left open for the transmission over the country of the correct time from the national observatory. From about 1884 an arrangement prevailed, started by the railway authorities, dividing the country into time-strips running north and south, the clocks over any given strip being just an hour behind those upon the strip next to the east. The territory east of the meridian passing Buffalo and Pittsburg had Eastern Time. The Central Time belt came next, reaching to the meridian of North Platte, Nebraska. Thence to the line of Ogden, Utah, was Mountain Time; and from there westward, Pacific Time. This arrangement was a convenience to the people as a whole, but begot rank confusion of time along the line of each divisional meridian. Another invaluable use of the telegraph was its service to the Weather Bureau, established in 1870. European bureaus had covered each too small a territory to effect large results. Our Bureau was able to command simultaneous reports of atmospheric conditions from nearly every part of our country, from a tract 3,000 miles long by 1,500 wide. Besides its prized advice to farmers and to land travelers, the American Weather Bureau, aided by the telegraph, on more than one occasion saved, by its predictions, millions of dollars worth of shipping. After its establishment no ship-captain would leave port without fullest consultation of official weather probabilities.

The telephone, the electric light and the electric motor were the three great *fin de siècle* inventions. In 1876 Mr. Bell

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exhibited to the curious an electric transmitter of the human voice, a contrivance on which, after years of experiment, he had stumbled almost simultaneously with other men. Testing



The Switchboard of a Telephone Exchange

the possibility of sending mere sound-waves over a wire, he accidentally found that articulate speech could be so carried. The same year Edison added a carbon transmitter, whereupon the novelty went forth conquering and to conquer. In 1893 the Bell Telephone Company owned 307,748 miles of wire, an amount increased by rival companies' property to 444,750. There were that year nearly 14,000 "exchanges," 10,000 employés, 250,000 subscribers, and 2,000,000 daily conversations. This device promised to rival the telegraph, being able to transmit the human voice 1,400 miles. New York and Chicago were placed on speaking terms only three or four days before "Columbus Day." Telephone service connected New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Chicago, and other cities each to each, and was soon found indispensable.

ELECTRICITY IN MAN'S SERVICE

Arc-lamps shown at the Philadelphia Exposition drew sightseers as candles attract moths. They had originated shortly before, when Charles F. Brush, of Cleveland, O., perfected his dynamo. Men of science still viewed incandescent lighting as an elusive will-o'-the-wisp; but in 1878 Edison, after stupendous labor, mastered the secret and rendered it practically available. At the White City the arc light literally turned night into day. Palaces were radiant with countless incandescent bulbs, while many-colored electric fountains coruscated outside.

In the Centennial year the thought of transmitting power by electricity was considered chimerical. In the Columbian year it was no longer even a novelty, and electricity was far and wide beginning to supplant forms of power familiar before. Street-car traction soon passed to its control, the few horses still for a time in this service coming to be looked upon as curious survivals. Whereas in 1889, out of 3,150 miles of street railway in fifty-eight of the leading American cities, only 260 were operated by electricity, the proportion in the intervening six years was almost reversed, and the electric car had become an established feature of our civilization. Where a city business man or laborer living in the suburbs formerly required an hour to reach home, the trolley-car now transported him in twenty minutes. A vast addition was thus made to the leisure at men's disposal for uses which enrich life. Rapid transit blessedly relieved the crowded sections of cities, placing the country with its invigorating air within reach of the poor. Electricity was used to move trains upon great railways and bade fair to supplant steam there. The use of it by a few roads proved its perfect availability, and its full employment seemed to be postponed solely by disinclination to invest in a given mode for its application when a cheaper and better one might be invented any day. Horseless carriages and pedalless bicycles were clearly in prospect.

Among those deserving the world's gratitude for har-

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nessing electricity to humanity's uses, Thomas Alva Edison, "the Wizard of Menlo Park," was famous—less for strict originality than for dogged patience and subtle insight enabling him to fructify others' devices. Thrown upon the world at fifteen, with little book learning but with a wonderful craving for knowledge, he placed himself among the world's most famous men. While a newsboy on the Grand Trunk Railway he found time to read Newton's "Principia," to edit and print a small weekly paper, and to conduct experiments. He became a telegraph operator. One of his inventions was an automatic device for answering the central office when it called, proving himself awake, though in fact he was quietly dozing. He also contrived an automatic repeater to transfer messages from one wire to another. Interesting some capitalists in a machine by which votes in legislative bodies could be automatically recorded, he learned that expedition in legislation was what legislators, at least if in the minority, did not desire. His first profitable invention was an improved stock printer, for which he received \$40,000. From this time he wrought miracles on notification—useful ones, that have modified men's life in important regards. Incandescent lighting early became familiar to all; the phonograph also to most. This instrument was employed by a coroner to pronounce a funeral service. He had procured a phonograph for the purpose and gotten a clergyman to utter to it the proper scriptures, hymns and prayers. When occasion arose for its use the friends gathered at the obsequies were astonished to hear the words "Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord" sonorously rolled forth. Combined with the kinoscope the phonograph formed the "kineto-phonograph." Edison declared that the time was near "when grand opera could be given at the Metropolitan Opera House at New York without any material change from the original and with artists and musicians long dead."

A more original genius than Edison, veritably a wizard,

EDISON AND TESLA



THOMAS A. EDISON IN HIS LABORATORY AT ORANGE, N. J.

From a photograph taken for this work

(The photographer found the great inventor temporarily discomfited—"stuck," as he himself expressed it.)

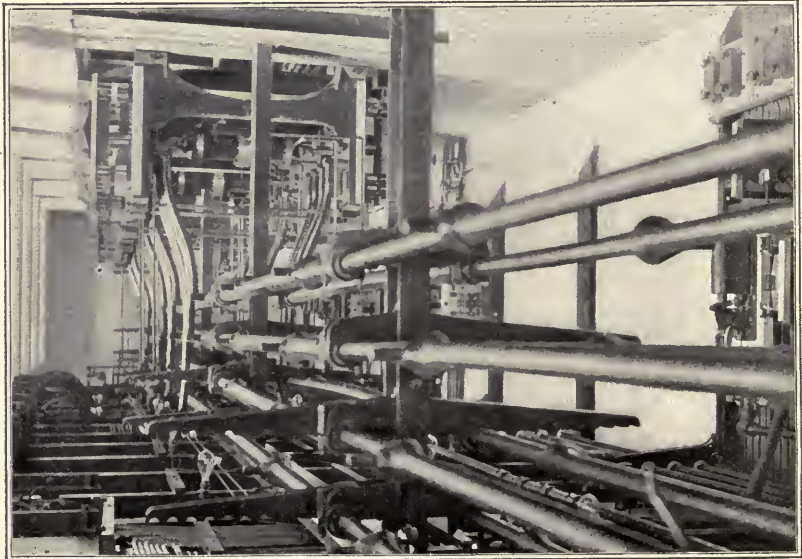
was Nikola Tesla, who came to the United States from Servia, and happened to find temporary employment with Edison on landing. The men were wholly unlike. At times both seemed to be somewhat given to telling the public through the reporters of the wonders they had wrought; but Tesla, at least, subsequently went to the other extreme in this respect. Before coming to this country, Tesla was highly educated, a fully equipped scientist, which Edison never was.

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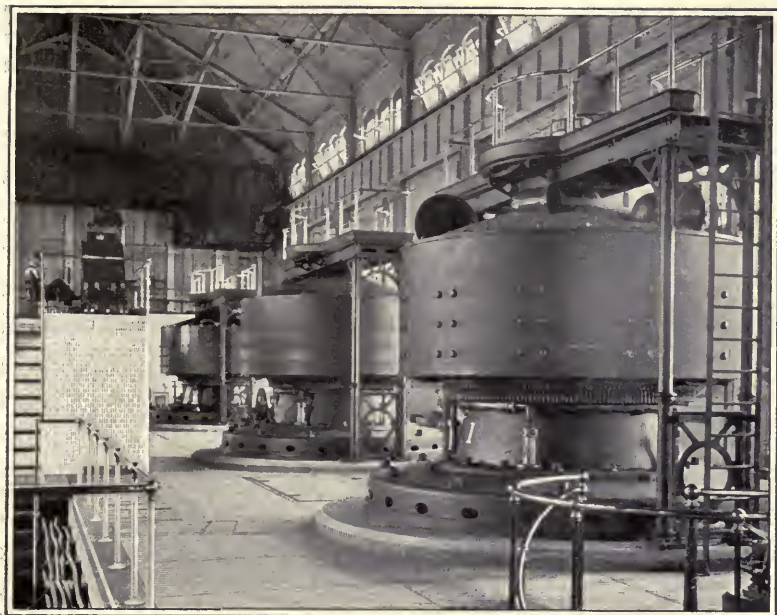
The Exterior of the Power House at Niagara Falls

Their ambitions or leading ideas were also wholly different. Edison was the champion of low tension direct current apparatus, bitterly opposing the advent of high tension alternating current distribution, in pushing which Tesla made himself



Under the Switchboard of the Niagara Power House

SCIENTIFIC MAGIC



Interior of the Power House at Niagara Falls

famous. This attitude of Edison's continued for years. Not till he had withdrawn from active service therewith did the Edison Manufacturing Company yield to its customers' demand for alternating current machinery.

Tesla's aim was to hook man's machinery directly to nature's, pressing the ether waves straight into our service without the intervention or the generation of heat, in which such an enormous proportion of the energy went to waste. For small electric lights he dispensed with the filaments inside the bulbs and made rarefied air do their work. He sent currents of high tension through space without any visible conductor, at a voltage many times greater than that employed in electrocution. He received in his person currents vibrating a million times a second, of two hundred times greater voltage than needed to produce death. He surrounded himself with a halo of electric light and called purple streams from the soil. He expected that by his "rotating magnetic field" and the

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employment of currents of great frequency and high potential, power could be economically transmitted to a much greater distance than before.

Tesla's very high tension and high frequency experiments did not at once result in practical applications. His polyphase motors were, however, adopted for converting into electricity the power of Niagara Falls. In 1873 a canal was opened there with a fall furnishing 6,000 horse-power. After 1890 another canal was built, conveying a vast weight of water to the wheel-pit through ten separate channels. This mighty volume of descending water drove three turbines, each equipped with one of Tesla's 2-phase alternating generators of 5,000 horse-power, developing about 2,000 volts with a frequency of 25 cycles a second. It was thought that the Niagara Falls Power Company could, before very long, furnish Chicago with energy at a cost less than that of steam made on the spot by coal. Presaging such a result, electricity created at Laufen, Germany, was carried to Frankfort with a loss of only four per cent. Electricity created at the falls of the American River at Folsom, Cal., where four turbine water-wheels developed over 5,000 horse-power, was carried by overhead copper wires to Sacramento, twenty-four miles away, with a loss of not over twenty per cent. At first it was used to propel street cars, but it was also to be employed for lighting streets and operating factories.

A species of clumsy bicycle obtained considerable popularity in the United States in 1868. The fad proved temporary, but was the forerunner of an abiding national habit. The first bicycle proper was brought to this country in 1876, being exhibited at the Centennial. Two years later "wheels" began to be manufactured here. Each instrument consisted of one large wheel, to which were attached cranks and pedals, and one small one connected with the first by a curved "backbone," this being surmounted by a saddle. The danger of riding the high wheel led to many variations of its design, none of which

UBIQUITY OF THE BICYCLE

were successful, and bicycling continued to be experts' work until 1889, when the "safety" became prominent. In this machine the two wheels were made of the same size, the saddle placed above and between them upon a suitable frame, while the crank axle was connected with the rear or driving wheel by means of a chain geared upon sprockets. The popularity of this form of bicycle was amazingly enhanced by the adoption of inflated or pneumatic tires, an invention half a century old but now finding its first successful application.

Bicycle makers multiplied and prospered despite the panic of 1893. Sewing machine and arms companies turned to the manufacture of bicycles. Agitation and legislation for good roads became a phenomenon of the times. Railroads were in some States compelled to take bicycles as baggage. The "safety" pattern was so modified as to enable ladies to ride it with little change in their attire, and the exercise was welcomed by many. While makers and sellers of wheels and wheel



Bicyclists in Central Park, New York

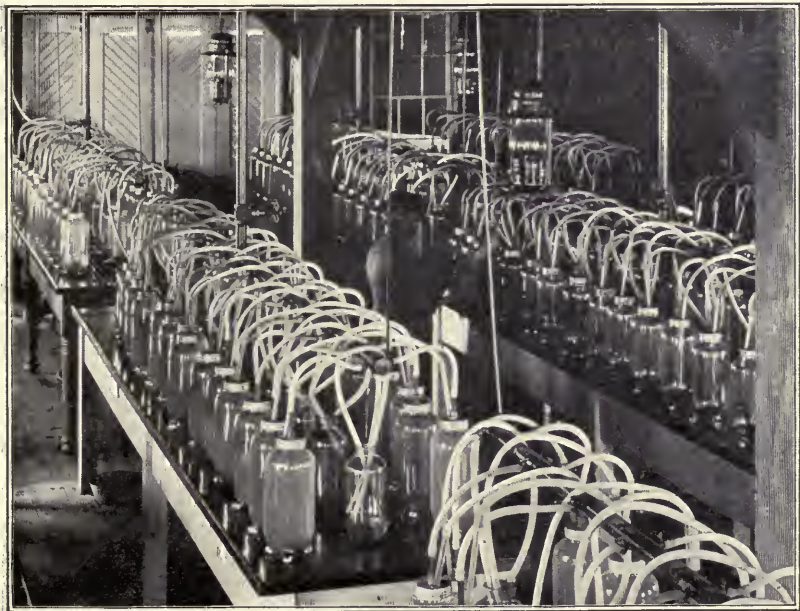
equipments throve, liverymen and horse dealers did less business. Clothiers complained that only cycling suits could be sold. Liquor dealers in some sections could not vend their wares in intoxicating quantities even among young men who had formerly indulged freely. People in the most moderate circumstances would rigidly economize in other directions for the sake of purchasing cycles. It was estimated in 1896 that no less than \$100,000,000 had been spent in the United States upon this sport. When comfortable and hygienic saddles came into use, physicians endorsed the exercise. One prominent New York practitioner believed that no other invention for 200 years had, from a physical point of view, done so much for the human family.

People who had time and curiosity to study the Fisheries Exhibit at the World's Columbian Exposition were impressed with the progress there revealed in the arts of fish culture and fish capture. Less obtrusive than other aspects of the nation's advance, mastery of the fisherman's craft could by no means be deemed unimportant. In 1870 our Government created a Commission whose province was to collect statistics of fish and fisheries, to experiment concerning the best methods for the capture, preservation and propagation of fish, and to investigate the habits and qualities of the various species of fish, as well as the foods suitable to each.

The business of catching fish received attention and development in a way less scientific but no less thorough. The State of Rhode Island here held a unique place of honor. Till about 1840 the old barbed hook and shore seine were in use in that State as elsewhere. A great stride forward was made by the invention of the trap. This contrivance was in the form of a sugar box with top and one end removed. It was anchored in the water, and a fence of twine made from one side of it to the shore. The fish swam to the fence, then turned to swim around it, thus making their way into the trap. The original trap was a crude affair, for the fish could swim

IMPROVEMENTS IN FISHING METHODS

out as well as in, making constant attention necessary to capture them before their exit. In 1883 William R. Rose used for the first time the famous Rose trap, a marked improvement over the old instrument. It held all the fish that entered it, and could be set in the open sea as well as near land. Another clever invention for catching fish was the fyke net, consisting of a series of tunnels placed in line with each other, and held in position by stakes, with a twine fence to inveigle the fish, just as in the case of the trap. To Captain James B. Church was due the credit of introducing steamers for menhaden fishing, which soon revolutionized that business. But the greatest labor-saver ever invented for reaping the harvests



The Hatchery Room of the Fish Commission Building at Washington, D. C., showing the hatchery jars in operation

of the sea was the purse seine, devised by the Tallmans, of Portsmouth, R. I.

Outwardly composed of materialities, the Exposition was a colossal manifestation of mentality, "an unspoken but sub-

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lime protest against materialism." To emphasize that fact, to bring together the leaders of human progress, to review this, make clear statements of living problems and ascertain practical means by which further advancement might be effected, a series of World's Congresses was held at Chicago, constituting a World's Congress Auxiliary. Its motto was, "Not matter but mind, not things but men." In all there were 160 congresses, covering the entire six months of the Fair. Philosophy, Religion, Moral and Social Reform, Woman's Progress, the Press, Commerce and Finance, Music, Literature, Art, Jurisprudence, Education, Agriculture, Horticulture, Engineering, Medical and Dental Science were all learnedly discussed, several congresses apiece being devoted to some of them. The Evangelical Alliance held its congress, as did the Women's Christian Temperance Union. There were also a congress on Public Health and a World's Real Estate congress. The Congress Auxiliary employed 210 working committees, who sent out over 1,000,000 circulars. Its membership exceeded 15,000, its attendance exceeded 700,000. There were 1,245 sessions, addressed by 5,974 speakers. Most interesting was the World's Parliament of Religions, which held three sessions a day for seventeen days, each session being thronged. Representatives of the leading Christian sects and of the world's leading religions presented their views. The Parliament was an index of the tolerance of the time and nation, and had an effect not unlike that of the crusades in broadening and strengthening men's sympathies.

The Chicago Exposition proved that the ideals of the Republic, if far from being attained, had not been surrendered. The building just north of Horticultural Hall, tastefully designed by Miss Sophia Hayden, of Boston, was not only the first of the World's Fair edifices to be completed, but the first building of its kind to be anywhere reared. It typified that note of our life most striking to foreigners, the high position of woman, which Professor Bryce declared "If not a complete test, one:

A GREAT TEMPERANCE CRUSADE

of the best tests of the progress a nation has made in civilization." For the excellence of its contents the Woman's Building was finally made an "exhibit" building, occupying a creditable place. Other departments of the Exposition gathered obvious refinement from feminine influence. This was especially true of the art set forth at the Fair, which ought, perhaps, to be pronounced strictly "American" in hardly any other particular but this. The principal thoroughly national painting presented, "Breaking Home Ties," sensibly betrayed the motive here referred to. Raised to practical equality with her brothers, the American woman's influence had shown to excellent advantage. Universities and colleges one after another opened their doors to her. Occupations of honor and profit more and more as the years passed welcomed her, and she did well in whichever she chose. In fields of philanthropy and moral reform, woman's talent for organization and her persistence in work for good ends were conspicuous.

There have been few more remarkable examples of efficient organization on a large scale than was presented by the Women's Christian Temperance Union. It had origin in the Women's Temperance Crusade of 1873-74, which at the time attracted wide attention. The crusade was due primarily to Dr. Dio Lewis, the lecturer. On December 14, 1873, nearly one hundred women at Fredonia, N. Y., stirred by Dr. Lewis's words, set forth upon a mission among the saloons. At Jamestown, N. Y., and Hillsboro, O., Mr. Lewis formed similar bands. December 24, 1873, he lectured at Washington Court House with powerful effect. Forty-seven women straightway organized themselves into a "visitation committee," invading every one of the fourteen places in town where liquor was sold, to sing and pray, and to plead with the proprietors to close. When doors were locked against them, the gentle crusaders knelt in the snow on the pavement and prayed for those within. On the third day one liquor dealer gave up, permitting the women to stave in his kegs and casks with axes. On the

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eighth day the strain became too great and the last saloon in the place surrendered unconditionally. Soon cries for help came from neighboring towns, and many were visited by delegations from Washington Court House.



MRS. ANNA WITTENMEYER
From a photograph by Gutekunst

Returning from one of these apostolic tours the Washington Court House ladies found that a new man had opened a saloon. A cargo of liquor being unloaded there next day, about forty women appeared and followed the liquor in, remaining all day and until eleven o'clock at night. On the morrow they returned and were for a time locked in. Next day locked out, they built fires in the street, and had a little plank tabernacle put up to shelter them from the cold. This liquor-dealer also "surrendered." He

had been a milkman, but changed his trade when promised \$5,000 "if he would hold out against the women."

Crusading was not without its ludicrous side. One of the Washington Court House liquor establishments was a German beer-garden just outside the corporation. Expecting a siege, the proprietor locked the doors and kept anxiously running from window to window. "I dells you," he wailed, while a motley group of customers, absorbed in absorbing beer and pigs' feet, applauded, "I dells you, dem vimins is shoost awful. By shinks, dey pild a house right in de street, and stay mit a man all day a singin' and oder foolishness. But dey don't get in here once agin already." Seeing no signs of the enemy "mein host" gradually became calm. He too soon flattered himself upon his immunity. Two ladies, the van-guard, were seen driving from the village, and recognized as crusaders. Next moment the host was making all speed toward town. "Ach, mein Gott," he shouted, "dey gooms; dey gooms. I

THE WOMEN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION

tole you dey gooms agin to-day already. I shoost go and see my gounsel, to see ven I no got a right to my own property." The crusaders were warned from the premises, but took position upon friendly territory adjacent, where their tabernacle was erected with strong reflectors focussed upon those paths of the wicked which led to any of the saloon doors. This species of illegal annoyance was stopped by injunction, but soon the proprietor found himself defendant in embarrassing suits under the liquor law. So unanimous and extreme was public opinion that all of both sexes who had not been enjoined formed in column and marched upon the redoubtable German, who cried in consternation: "Mein Gott! vat is dat? So many peebles! So many peebles!!" After a little parley with the leaders, he took off his hat and announced to the multitude:

"Shentlemens, I quits."

The crusade spread through all southern Ohio and gained much attention and interest outside. February 24, 1874, a convention in Columbus of all those interested in the "Washington Court House Movement" formed a State Temperance Association. Larger conventions at Cincinnati and Springfield evolved the "Ohio Women's Christian Temperance Union." This grew into the National Women's Christian Temperance Union when, on November 18th and 19th of the same year, a convention of those interested gathered from all the States at Cleveland. Mrs. Anna Wittenmeyer, of Philadelphia, was elected the first president, and Miss Frances E. Willard, of Chicago, the corresponding secretary.

Another movement, world-famous, in which women evinced unsuspected powers of organization, administration



MISS FRANCES E. WILLARD



WILLIAM BOOTH

and leadership, was the campaign of the Salvation Army. In 1861 William Booth, an English Methodist preacher, resigned his charge and began earnest and direct efforts for the poor, speaking in the open country, in market-places, in the slums, in stables, beer-houses, low theatres and penny-gaffs, some of them places of grossest immorality. The East End of London became Mr. Booth's favorite field. His wife and all his children added their voices to his in the preaching,

which, spite of persecution or partly because of it, became wonderfully effective. As the converts could not be induced to join or even to attend churches, where they believed themselves "not wanted," it became necessary to set up, what was not at first contemplated, a separate organization. In 1878 this assumed the title of the Salvation Army, and ere long it had its legions, its camps, and its trophies as well, in nearly every land under the sun. In 1879 the Army invaded America, landing at Philadelphia. The City of Homes and of Brotherly Love revealed low humanity grovelling in wretchedness and squalor to an appalling extent. In New York were found cases of want and sin as pitiable, and as large a proportion of pitiable cases, as in East London itself.

The Salvation Army had phenomenal success and growth. In 1894 there were in the United States 539 corps and 1,953 officers, and in the whole world 3,200 corps and 10,788 officers. The painful schism which in 1896 rent the American ranks did little, if any, visible mischief. Not only was the Army able to lift hordes of the fallen, but, as no other agency had ever succeeded in doing, it drew downward to the lowliest the attention, sympathy and help of the middle classes and even of the rich. Proposing no programme of political or



A SALVATION ARMY OPEN-AIR MEETING

SALVATION ARMY DISCIPLINE AND WORK

social amendment or experiment, ministering, out of its slender stores, to men's bodily as well as to their spiritual needs, above the suspicion either of sentimentalism—for the soldiers were mostly from the lower classes—or of selfishness, the army disarmed antagonism and compelled kind feelings from all. A Cleveland police officer declared that Salvationists could go where he dared not go, for "they never squealed." Yet at the penitent benches darkest crimes, even murder, were confessed, the converts voluntarily surrendering to the authorities.

Army discipline pervaded the organization and was firmly maintained. The soldiers were sworn to wear the uniform, to obey their officers, to abstain from drink, tobacco and worldly amusements, to live in simplicity and economy, to earn their living, and of their earnings always to give a little something to advance the Kingdom of God. The officers could not marry or become engaged without the consent of the Army authorities, for their spouses must be capable of co-operating with them. They could not receive presents for themselves, not even food, except in cases of necessity. To be made an officer a Salvationist must have received "full salvation," and must profess to be living free from every known sin. Officers' pay varied with the country in which they served, also somewhat according to sex, estate, a married or single, and number of children. Compensation for Army Service was not guaranteed. Except as to pay, the Army placed women on an absolute equality with men, a policy which greatly furthered its usefulness.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE DEMOCRACY SUPREME

PANIC OF 1893.—EXTRA SESSION OF CONGRESS.—DEMOCRACY CONTROLS ALL BRANCHES OF THE GOVERNMENT.—RESULT.—CLEVELAND'S SECOND ADMINISTRATION.—HIS CIVIL SERVICE RECORD.—REPEAL OF THE SILVER PURCHASE ACT.—GOLD OUTFLOW.—THE TARIFF TO BE REVISED.—THE WILSON BILL.—DEMOCRATIC PROTECTIONISTS.—THE SUGAR SCHEDULE.—SENATE AMENDMENTS.—“PARTY PERFIDY.”—THE BILL IN CONFERENCE.—SENATE WILL NOT RECEDE.—THE BILL PASSED.—CLEVELAND'S DILEMMA.—NO ONE SATISFIED.—OPPOSITION TO THE INCOME TAX PROVISION.—DECLARED UNCONSTITUTIONAL.—UNCLE SAM FORCED TO BORROW.—TREASURY METHODS CRITICISED.—TRUSTS.—ANTI-LOTTERY BILL PASSED.—A TAME FOREIGN POLICY.—HAWAII.—THE MISSIONARY PARTY.—LILIUOKALANI'S *COUP D'ÉTAT*.—U. S. TROOPS IN HONOLULU.—A REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT.—DESIRES ANNEXATION TO U. S.—TREATY OF ANNEXATION SENT TO SENATE.—CLEVELAND'S REACTIONARY POLICY.—“PARAMOUNT” BLOUNT.—STARS AND STRIPES HAULED DOWN.—EFFORT TO RESTORE THE QUEEN.—UNPOPULARITY OF THIS.—THE DOLE GOVERNMENT SAFE.—OLNEY SUCCEEDS GRESHAM IN THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE.—FIRM STAND AGAINST GREAT BRITAIN IN VENEZUELA MATTER.—STARTLING MESSAGE OF DECEMBER, 1895.—THE VENEZUELA BOUNDARY COMMISSION.—PANIC IN WALL STREET.—SAVAGE ATTACKS ON THE PRESIDENT.—THE LEXOW INVESTIGATION.—CHARLES H. PARKHURST.—THE PUBLIC AND THE “FORCE.”—INVESTIGATING COMMITTEE.—JOHN W. GOFF.—FACTS ELICITED.—“REFORM” VICTORIOUS IN THE MUNICIPAL ELECTION.—THE “A. P. A.”—ITS ORIGIN.—IT'S *RAISONS D'ÊTRE*.—CIRCUMSTANCES OCCASIONING THE MOVEMENT.—MEMBERS AND INFLUENCE.—UNPOPULARITY.—THE SECRET OATH.—“PERJUROR AND TRAITOR.”

THE success of the Columbian Exposition was the more remarkable in view of the terrible commercial panic occurring the same summer. On June 26, 1893, the Government of British India suspended the free coinage of silver in that vast dominion. The decree seemed somehow to take effect on our side of the globe. A monetary panic ensued, in some respects the most distressing on record, closing mines,

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

depriving laborers of work, breaking banks, and convulsing trade. Vast sums of gold were hoarded; much left the country. The Treasury reserve fell far below the traditional \$100,000,000. Banks called in outstanding credits and refused new ones. Values shrank phenomenally, and innumerable failures took place. Deeming the disorders due to Treasury purchases of silver under a clause of the Sherman law, to secure, if possible, the repeal of that clause, President Cleveland convoked the Fifty-third Congress in special session. This began on August 7th. Both Houses being Democratic, the whole legislative, as well as the executive authority of the government, was now in Democratic hands. It was an epoch in our history. At no time before, since March, 1859, in Buchanan's time, when the Thirty-fifth Congress ended its labors, had the Democracy been thus exalted. The country eagerly watched to see what action it would take on the various important measures awaiting legislation. The outcome was not what patriots hoped. In its responsible situation the Democratic Party showed little leadership, cohesion or wisdom. Rapidly, and at last almost entirely, it lost public confidence, preparing the Republican tidal wave of 1894. President Cleveland suffered as well as his political associates; his friends and his enemies—and he had many of both—agreeing that his second administration was far less successful than his first.

In one particular this was untrue. Mr. Cleveland's civil service record during his second term was in the highest degree commendable, excelling that of any of his predecessors, and doing much to redeem the promises in this respect with which he took office at first. While public thought was turned to other matters, he silently and persistently extended the range of the merit system in appointments to office. The first day of 1896 found approximately 55,736 Government employes in the classified service, 12,807 more than on March 4, 1893. A still greater gain than this occurred during the same period, in the transfer to the competitive list of 2,955 offices previ-

SILVER PURCHASE LAW REPEALED

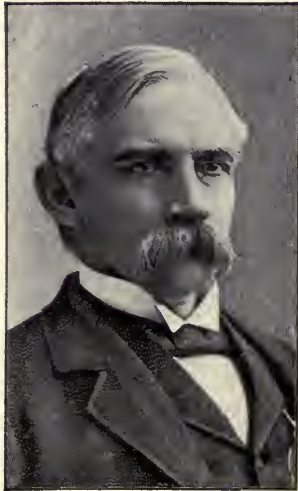
ously excepted therefrom. These exceptions had covered the highest and most important positions in the classified service. The theory was that the places were excepted in order that they might be filled by persons of qualifications too high to be gauged by the ordinary tests; but they had in fact nearly always been filled for political reasons. Numerous exceptions in any branch of the classified service had the most evil effect, going far to nullify the beneficial influence of examinations. The reduction in the number of such exceptions was therefore a noteworthy step in advance. Progress was not confined to the classified service. For the first time in our history examinations—non-competitive indeed—were now made prerequisite to the appointment of consuls.

After a long fight, especially acrimonious in the Senate, the silver purchase law was repealed on November 1st. The result did not fulfill expectations. The gold flow from the Treasury was not stanchd. February 1, 1894, the reserve stood at \$65,438,377. Though it was replenished meantime by the sale of \$50,000,000 in bonds, June saw it again down to \$64,873,025, \$42,000,000 going out in five months. November 24, 1894, the reserve was \$57,669,701; February 1, 1895, \$41,340,181. Following precedent, the Secretary of the Treasury paid in gold every Treasury note that was presented. Whenever, therefore, in the struggle for gold, exchangers wished to send gold abroad, the government hoard was at their mercy. By collecting greenbacks and Sherman notes from banks and Trust Companies and presenting these at the Sub-Treasury, the gold they wished for, however great the sum, was paid into their hands. None could tell when it would all be gone and the country forced to a silver basis. In consequence, whatever revival of business occurred after the repeal was slight, gradual, hardly perceptible.

This unsatisfactory result most Democrats ascribed to the continuing exactions of the McKinley tariff; most Republicans to the fear of freer trade. It was a fear rather than

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a certainty, since none knew whether the President would have the temerity to urge a revision of the tariff when the country's business was already so unsettled. Should he insist on doing so, many Democrats were likely not to act with him. But Mr. Cleveland did not flinch; the tariff must be revised at whatever cost. The controversy did not begin till the regular session, but then it came in earnest, with shocks opening wide seams in the party. On December 19th Chairman Wilson, of the Ways and Means Committee, reported to the House "An Act to reduce taxation, to provide revenue for the government, and for other purposes." Besides cutting down duties on many articles, the bill placed sugar, wool, coal, lumber and iron ore on the free list. A vote of 182 to 48 carried an amendment providing for a tax upon incomes exceeding \$4,000.



WILLIAM L. WILSON

The whole was then passed, 204 to 41. In the House the chief theme of discussion on the bill was its purpose "to reduce taxation." In the Senate, to which body it was reported with amendments from the Finance Committee, March 20, 1894, other phases of it were considered, and all perceived that it could not become law without large modifications. Its ability "to provide revenue for the government" was denied. "Protection" was contended for not by Republicans alone. It was publicly charged and widely believed that corrupt influences to preserve extortionate duties were at work upon Democrats. Hottest conflict raged over the sugar schedule. Consistency with the nature of the legislation required a heavy duty on raw sugar, a light one on refined; while the sugar refiners sought, at last successfully, to have the heavier tariff laid on refined sugar.

BITTER CONTROVERSY OVER THE TARIFF

Prospects of their triumph in this changed from day to day, and therewith the value of Sugar Trust certificates. It being alleged that Senators were speculating in these, one admitted that he was doing so, but boldly defended his course. The Sugar Trust was accused of bribing the Democracy by large contributions to its campaign funds. The allegations touching Senatorial corruption were investigated, but little pertinent evidence was elicited.

When, in July, the Senate amendments came up in the House, Chairman Wilson moved not to concur in them. His reasons were that except in the case of wool and lumber the principle of free raw materials had been abandoned, that many specific duties had been substituted for *ad valorem* ones, and that most of the Senate changes were in the direction of higher taxes. In a letter read before the House, President Cleveland upbraided the Senate Democrats who had abandoned the principle of free raw materials as guilty of "party perfidy and party dishonor." He pronounced sugar a legitimate subject for taxation, in spite of the "fear, quite likely exaggerated," that carrying out this principle might "indirectly and inordinately encourage a combination of sugar refining interests." The motion against concurrence passed the House.



A. P. GORMAN

In conference the chief controversy was upon sugar, coal, wool, iron ore, pig and structural iron, and steel rails. The Senate proposed a forty per cent. duty on all grades of sugar, with a differential of one-eighth of a cent per pound in favor of refined sugar, adding one-tenth of a cent more if it came from countries paying an exorbitant bounty. The Republicans

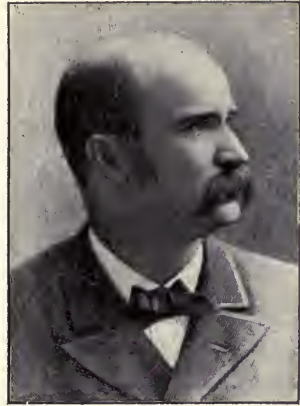
THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

contended that free coal and iron ore would mean a gift of \$10,000,000 to a Nova Scotia corporation and its Boston promoters. Mr. Gorman indignantly flung back the aspersions of the President's letter read in the House, showing, by the testimony of three Senators, that when consulted about the compromise the President had declared himself "willing to do or say anything that would pass the bill." Voting upon iron ore and coal, the Senate emphatically refused to recede from its wish as uttered in the bill. That indicated its attitude touching the other disputed rates. In this conflict the Senate had great advantage over the House. Acquaintance among members, general and often close, was supplemented "by senatorial courtesy" in reference to executive appointments, so that an affront to one was the concern of all. The Senate's self-esteem had been incurably wounded, while the stock of effective White House influence had been depleted during the silver debate. Instead, therefore, of crushing the senatorial will, presidential hammering rendered it solid as a drop forging. When this became clear panic seized the House leaders, and they hastened to enact the Senate draft, covering their retreat as best they could with "pop-gun bills" for free coal, iron ore, barbed wire and sugar. Rarely has an executive been in so merciless a dilemma as now tormented the Chief Magistrate. By signing the bill he would give his official approval to a measure which he had denounced in the severest language at his command. His veto, on the other hand, leaving the McKinley act in force, would be a confession of Democratic hypocrisy and incompetency. Mr. Cleveland, therefore, neither signed nor vetoed the bill, but let it become a law without bearing his name.

Like the tariff of abominations in 1828, this new law, agitation over which had so long impeded business, was an economic monstrosity. It pleased nobody. It violated the Democrats' plighted word, and it did this to enhance the profits of great corporations and by votes believed to have been

INCOME TAX UNCONSTITUTIONAL

purchased. Its best friends could only say that, as its rates averaged perhaps a quarter lower, it was on the whole preferable to the McKinley act. When it was under debate in the Senate, Senator Hill had declared the proposed income-tax unconstitutional, unnecessary and populist. It was a direct tax, he said, and could therefore be constitutionally levied only State by State and according to population. He decried it as sectional, and also odious, being a war tax. He complained that its high under-limit of \$4,000 made it an offensive species of class legislation, that it discriminated against small investments in favor of government bonds, was retroactive upon incomes realized after January 1, 1894, inquisitorial in its administrative provisions, a step toward socialism, and unwise in every point of political expediency. Nevertheless, as in the House so in the Senate, the income-tax amendment proved stronger than the main bill.



DAVID B. HILL

When the Supreme Court decided its income-tax provisions unconstitutional, disgust at the legislation became general and complete. It was now clear that the law must fail as a revenue measure, necessitating either additional enactments or the issue of more bonds to eke out current expenses. The latter alternative was adopted. Between February 1, 1894, and the beginning of 1896, the Treasury sold \$162,315,400 in bonds for about \$182,000,000 in gold. On January 6, 1895, a new bond issue of \$100,000,000 was offered. Apologists for the tariff sought to make it appear that the necessity for these bond issues lay not in deficient revenue, but solely in the existence of the greenback debt, but it gradually became evident that this was an error. During the twenty-three months between the two bond sales named, the Government's

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

receipts fell short of its expenditures by some \$90,000,000. To this extent at least borrowing would have been necessary had no greenbacks existed. As for the remainder, men urged, it should not have been borrowed at all. Had an insignificant percentage of a payment made in redemption of Treasury notes occasionally been in silver, according to the French policy, exporters would have drawn their gold from banks, leaving the Treasury gold piles and the government credit intact. Many insisted that borrowing gold abroad largely defeated its own end. It inflated prices here, stimulating imports and checking exports, thus increasing the demand for gold for export, necessitating fresh drafts from the Treasury stock, and so on in ceaseless round. The manner of effecting the loan of 1895, as well as the loan itself, was severely criticised. Instead of borrowing from any and all who might wish to lend, the bonds were placed with a syndicate of bankers, partly foreign, at a rate, it was charged, much under what they might have brought. The inordinate gain was declared necessary to remunerate the syndicate for its good offices in preventing for some months serious exportations of gold. This was a confession that, under this policy, the Treasury was at the mercy of gold-mongers. If they could keep gold here for a given consideration, for a higher reward they could presently send it abroad and place us on a silver basis.

The last five sections of the tariff act declared combinations in restraint of competition illegal and void, property belonging to them liable to forfeiture, and persons injured by them entitled to threefold damages plus cost and attorney fees. These provisions did not render the legislation any more popular. They enraged monopolists, yet were too tame, too obviously ineffectual to please others. Such anti-trust utterances were, however, of interest, as calling special attention to that peculiar growth of modern industry, the "combine." Officers of the American Sugar Refining Company admitted before the Senate Investigating Committee that this Trust,

DOWNFALL OF THE LOUISIANA LOTTERY

when formed, raised the price of sugar to consumers, and that it was constantly making efforts to control legislation. Though conspicuous, the Sugar Trust was no unique phenomenon in the United States, nor was this country the sole field where the institution flourished. Though these "com-bines" were a normal product of modern industry, they needed keen legislative attention. The crimes to which some of them resorted to crush out competition were unworthy of civilization, making it not strange that legislation against them should be constantly urged and attempted. Laws passed for this purpose were, however, usually of little avail.

President Cleveland displayed commendable independence of a great moneyed interest in unhesitatingly signing the Anti-Lottery Bill, which the indomitable energy and persistence of Professor S. H. Woodbridge, of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, had carried through Congress in spite of perhaps the most powerful and enterprising lobby influence ever organized. When it was learned that the lottery company was operating from Honduras throughout the United States by means of the express companies, a bill was introduced in Congress making this illegal. It soon got through the Senate, but the House passed it only two days before the dissolution of the Fifty-third Congress. Having been slightly amended, it returned to the Senate, where it barely escaped strangulation. The amendments were concurred in, but a motion was at once entered to reconsider the vote to concur. This stopped the bill from going to the engrossing clerk to be prepared for the official signatures. Many thought further effort useless, but it proved otherwise. A motion to take up the motion to reconsider was met by a threat that, owing to the brevity of Congress's remaining life, the appropriation bills would completely fail if any other matter were brought before the Senate. The motion to take up reconsideration was lost. It was now eleven o'clock, night. But

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thirteen hours remained for action. At three in the morning the lost motion was made again, followed instantly by one to table the motion to reconsider. This could not be debated and was at once carried. The Anti-Lottery Bill had passed, and it was speedily enrolled. The question now was how to secure the signatures which should make it law. The Vice-President signed at 10.50 in the forenoon, but it took some time yet for the document to reach the Executive Mansion. The Chief Magistrate's signature was affixed to it barely five minutes before twelve, the moment when that Congress expired.

With his party and the people at large Mr. Cleveland's foreign policy was for a long time even less popular than his procedure touching tariff and finance. His ratification of an extradition treaty with Russia was violently criticised, as also his refusal to press Turkey for the humane treatment of Christians in that empire. When, wholly without warrant, a Spanish gunboat fired on the *Alliança*, a United States passenger steamer, off Cuba, many thought our Government indecently dilatory in demanding reparation. When Great Britain occupied Corinto, in Nicaragua, to compel the payment of \$75,000 in reparation for Nicaragua's expulsion of Consul Hatch, an influential paper bitterly assailed the President for permitting this affront to the Monroe Doctrine. Not a few felt that we meanly deferred to Great Britain and even to Nicaragua in dealing with the Bluefields incident in 1894. Republican insurgents in Cuba might control half the island for a year; no hint of recognizing their belligerency emanated from our Executive. These complaints were not wholly partisan; Democrats joined Republicans in viewing Mr. Cleveland's foreign policy, at least till the middle of 1895, as spiritless and "un-American." The severest reprobation met his dealings with Hawaii.

Hawaii consists of twelve islands situated in the Pacific, southwest of California. The influence there of European

HAWAII AND THE MISSIONARIES



THE QUEEN'S BUNGALO AT HONOLULU

Drawn by Otto H. Bacher from a photograph

navigators made the way easy for missionaries, who landed upon the islands in 1820. Through the unselfish labors of these men civilization expanded rapidly. "The missionary in such a land is something besides a minister of religion. He represents civilization. He is condemned to be an organ of reform. He could scarce evade, even if he desired, a certain influence in political affairs." The sons of the missionaries, more selfish than their sires, but at first equally influential, roughened Hawaii's upward path by taking the chief offices of state and a rich portion of the land. In 1875 a reciprocity treaty with the United States enormously increased sugar planting, when practically all the sugar land went to foreigners. The new proprietors imported Asiatic and Portuguese labor on the contract system, largely superseding the Kanakas. Seeing wealth spring from the islands as by magic, while his native subjects were excluded from even a dribble of it, filled the King of Hawaii with hatred of foreigners. The native majority in the legislature raised the cry of "Hawaii for the Hawaiians," and rallied to the king, who found himself in the power of a reactionary clique as unprincipled as any of the "missionary party."

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

In 1887, after secret preparations, the progressists marched to the palace under arms and extorted a new constitution, which reduced royal authority to a mere shadow. It made the ministry responsible to the legislature, the House of Nobles elective under a high property qualification; and it gave foreign whites the right to vote. The state's relations with the United States were made more intimate by a renewed reciprocity treaty along with the concession of Pearl Harbor in the Island of Oahu, one of the finest naval stations in the Pacific.

Figuratively as well as literally, the islands were now volcanic. The thin political crust above the molten native element was ruptured when Liliuokalani succeeded her brother Kalakaua as shadow-monarch. Biding her time, this shrewd and unscrupulous woman took advantage of a split in the dominant party to effect a *coup d'état*. Having on January 14, 1893, prorogued the Legislature, she proposed a new constitution, disfranchising non-naturalized whites, and retransferring to the crown the power of making nobles. Under persuasion she modified her purpose, giving out a proclamation that "any changes in the fundamental law would be sought only by methods provided in the (old) Constitution." Much excitement attended these events and none knew what might happen next. American residents appointed a Committee of Safety, which, on consultation with Minister Stevens, petitioned the United States man-of-war *Boston*, lying at Honolulu, for protection. The troops landed sooner than most of the committee expected or desired, giving some color to the allegation that this act really caused the revolution. The Queen's Minister of Foreign Affairs and the Governor of the island protested, solemnly assuring all that the old Constitution would be upheld and no changes made save by the method therein provided. Later the same day the Cabinet called upon the American Minister for the aid of the United States in suppressing the revolt. On the afternoon of January 17th the "citizens and residents of the Hawaiian Islands organized and

U. S. PROTECTORATE DISAVOWED

acting for the public safety and common good," declared the monarchy abrogated and a provisional government established, "until terms of union with the United States of America have been negotiated and agreed upon." The Committee organized as a Provisional Government, which the United States Minister at once recognized as the *de facto* government of the country. Sanford B. Dole, the new President, requested the immediate support of United States forces in preserving order. The Queen, assured by members of the Provisional Government that her case would be strengthened by peaceful submission, though under protest, surrendered "to the superior forces of the United States of America."

Opposed by certain of the white inhabitants, also, naturally, by the bulk of the natives, the Government, on February 1st, formally placed itself under the protectorate of the United States. Early in the morning a force of our marines was drawn up before the Government building, and the Stars and Stripes were hoisted. Minister Stevens sent home a despatch, saying: "The

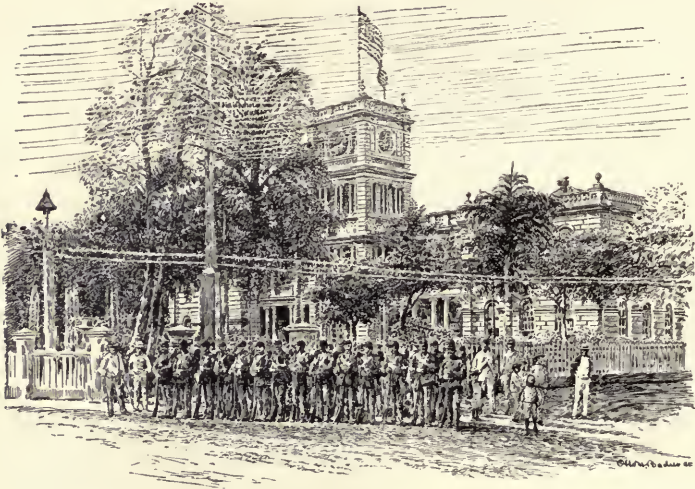
Hawaiian pear is now fully ripe, and this is the golden hour for the United States to pluck it." On February 11th President Harrison disavowed the protectorate, though authorizing the presence on land of such marine force as



PRINCESS (AFTERWARDS QUEEN)
LILIUOKALANI

*From a photograph made at Honolulu; in the possession of
Mrs. Isobel Strong*

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME



THE GOVERNMENT BUILDING AT HONOLULU
Drawn by Otto H. Bacher from a photograph

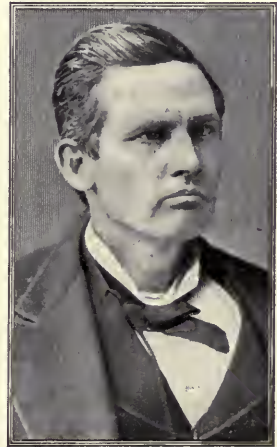
might be necessary to secure the lives and property of American citizens. The flag, nevertheless, still floated, and the American garrison was maintained until after the Democratic Administration came into power, March 4th, the marines of the *Boston* parading through the Honolulu streets thrice each day. A steamer was hastily chartered to carry commissioners to negotiate annexation. A treaty was soon concluded. It provided for the continuance of the existing government and laws of Hawaii, subject to the paramount authority of the United States, to be vested in the person of a commissioner, with power to veto any acts of the local government. The United States was to take over the public debt of \$2,250,000, paying an annual allowance of \$20,000 to Liliuokalani and a lump sum of \$150,000 to her daughter. In his message submitting the treaty President Harrison declared that the United States had in no way promoted the overthrow of the monarchy, that it was evidently effete and should not be restored even if it could be. He declared it "essential that none of the other great powers should secure the islands."

On succeeding Harrison, Cleveland entirely changed this

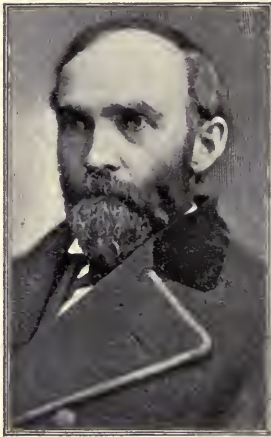
VAIN EFFORTS TO RESTORE LILIUOKALANI

policy. Withdrawing the treaty from the Senate, he sent to Hawaii Hon. James H. Blount, of Georgia, as Special Commissioner bearing paramount authority, to make investigations touching all our relations with the Hawaiian Government. On April 1st, by Blount's direction, the protectorate was formally terminated, the American flag hauled down, and the garrison of marines withdrawn. In May, Mr. Blount was appointed Minister Plenipotentiary, Stevens being recalled. But during its days under the American ægis the Provisional Government had much strengthened its hands. It had mustered a force of 1,200 soldiers, acquired control of all arms and explosives in the islands, enacted alien and sedition laws, suppressed disloyal newspapers, and decreed that anyone speaking against the Provisional Government should be liable to a fine of \$100 and to imprisonment for thirty days.

Complete as was the Dole government's *de facto* status, Mr. Cleveland, viewing the revolution as due to improper United States influence, sent Albert S. Willis as Minister to the Islands, with instructions looking to a restoration of the Queen. But for her stubbornness this would probably have occurred. Quite long enough to show her spirit, she refused her consent to amnesty, insisting on the execution of the chief conspirators and the banishment of their families. Moreover, the Provisional Government declined Willis's request that they "relinquish to the Queen her constitutional authority." President Dole denied that the Queen owed her downfall to the interference of American forces. "The revolution," he said, "was carried through by the representatives, now largely reinforced, of the same public sentiment which forced the monarchy to



JAMES H. BLOUNT



ALBERT S. WILLIS

its knees in 1887, which suppressed the insurrection of 1889, and which for twenty years had been battling for representative government in this country." Without the sanction of Congress Mr. Cleveland could not use force, and such sanction he could not obtain. On the contrary, that body, like the country at large, bitterly opposed the Administration's Hawaiian policy. The progressive element in Hawaii was therefore safe. An insurrection was attempted, resulting in loss of life, but it proved abortive, almost farcical. Being arrested, the ex-Queen, for herself and her heirs, forever renounced the throne, gave allegiance to the republic, counselled her former subjects to do likewise, and besought clemency for her co-conspirators. Of these the chief were sentenced to death, but their sentence was commuted to a fine of \$10,000 each with thirty-five years imprisonment. On December 27, 1893, Prince Kunniakea wrote to the *Hawaiian Star*: "Permit me as the last representative of the Kamehameha line to say that I am with you heart and soul for annexation. My name will be added to the roll of the Annexation Club at once, and in case of trouble I will join your forces with a rifle." The numerous Portuguese in Honolulu were a unit in favor of the republic and of annexation. Minister Willis himself declared "an analysis of the list of the Queen's special advisers not encouraging to the friends of good government or American interests." "The Americans," he said, "were ignored, and other nationalities, English especially, placed in charge." He further remarked that the Provisional Government and its supporters consisted of men of "high character" and "large commercial interests."

A firmer spirit pervaded the State Department after Sec-

THE VENEZUELA MESSAGE

retary Gresham's death, in May, 1895, and the promotion of Attorney-General Richard Olney to his portfolio. The vigor shown by Mr. Olney when Attorney-General, in enforcing law and order during the Chicago strike, he now displayed in conducting foreign affairs. With a boldness going to the extreme limit of diplomacy he insisted, on the ground of the Monroe Doctrine and of our essential sovereignty upon this continent, that Great Britain should submit to arbitration a long-standing boundary dispute with Venezuela. This being refused, Mr. Cleveland on December 17, 1895, sent to Congress a startlingly bold message on the subject, which rent the air like a thunderbolt. A declaration of war could hardly have produced more commotion. After recommending the creation of a commission to determine and report upon "the true divisional line between Venezuela and British Guiana," he said: "When such report is made and accepted, it will, in my opinion, be the duty of the United States to resist, by every means in its power, as a willful aggression upon its rights and interest, the appropriation by Great Britain of any lands, or the exercise of governmental jurisdiction over any territory which, after investigation, we have determined of right belong to Venezuela."

The two branches of Congress vied with each other in rallying to the President's support. The Commission was provided for at once, by an act unanimously passed in both houses, neither pausing to refer it to a committee. Wall street, however, took the other side. It was estimated that American securities fell in value from \$300,000,000 to \$500,000,000, in consequence of the message. The Treasury's gold reserve lessened ominously. In three days the war message



RICHARD OLNEY

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

had to be followed by another begging for legislation to preserve the national credit. While the President's belligerency met with immense popular applause, it was fiercely criticised in influential quarters. Papers and persons hitherto always friendly to the President now denounced him. Some thought his act a bid for a third term in the presidency; others said he was aping President Jackson and seeking to atone for his record in the Hawaii affair. Not a few, wishing "peace at any price," argued in effect that such a message would be a



CHARLES H. PARKHURST
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crime no matter what Great Britain might do. Sober persons in great numbers believed that, while the time and the tone of the message might perhaps leave something to be desired, its deliverance would be found, when all the facts and diplomacy concerning the case became known, to have been patriotic and wise.

The reader has by this time no difficulty in accounting for the vast political changes which rendered the Fifty-fourth Congress overwhelmingly Republican. Yet the account would be defective were we to omit the revelations made through the famous Lexow Committee in 1894, showing that New-York City, under Tammany Hall, was ruled by "a compact of free-booters." The New York City Society for the Prevention of Crime was organized in October, 1878, to remove "the causes and sources of crime by enforcement of the laws and arousing public opinion, especially in regard to the excise laws, gambling and public nuisances." Dr. Howard Crosby and the venerable Peter Cooper were among the incorporators. In 1892, six months after joining the Society, Rev. Charles H. Parkhurst, D.D., became its second president. Co-operating with the New York Police Department,



Lexow
Parkhurst

Goff

Creeden

Reppenhagen

THE LEXOW INVESTIGATION

Scene in the Court Room after Creeden's Confession, December 15, 1894

(As Captain Creeden left the witness stand, after making a full confession of the corrupt practices in vogue among the police, all the spectators crowded forward to shake his hand and congratulate him.)

Drawn by W. R. Leigh from photographs

PARKHURST AND THE LEXOW COMMITTEE

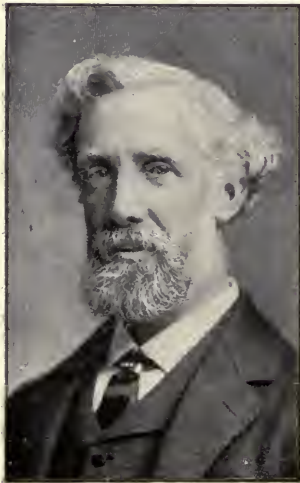
the society had hitherto failed of flattering achievements. Before accepting the office the new leader insisted that his associates should deal with the Force "as its arch-antagonist." The New York press had long teemed with charges against the department, but the community, half credulous, indifferent, or resigned and hopeless, only stirred uneasily. It was the crisis of a grave disease. Nearly a year later Dr. Parkhurst delivered from his pulpit an unsparing philippic against the administration of the city police force. Others at once took up the criticism. People awoke to hear the city officials, particularly those of the Police Department, fiercely attacked as "a damnable set of administrative bloodhounds." Newspapers dilated upon the startling prevalence of gambling and prostitution. As usual, the police called for "proof." This Dr. Parkhurst and agents of his society supplied in abundance by personal visits to dives and dens in various precincts. Such a bold course at first brought upon Parkhurst the bitterest denunciation. Some of his detectives suffered personal violence. But the opposition soon combined with the exposures to bring the brave clergyman the resistless support of public opinion and of a nearly unanimous press. On January 25, 1894, the New York City Chamber of Commerce, concerning itself with municipal politics for the first time in its history, asked for the appointment of a legislative committee to investigate the government of New York City. On January 30th the Senate unanimously appointed the Lexow Committee. The Committee sat most of the time from February till December.

The metropolis inclined to scout the competency of "hayseed legislators" to deal with her problems, while the up-country looked across the Harlem with more sorrow and jealousy than pride, longing to redeem the *imperium in imperio* from its wickedness and its Democracy—both, to the prevailing mind, embodied in the Tammany tiger. Though there was an exodus of criminals from the city, and though many of those remaining were intimidated and cajoled to prevent

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their testifying, the Committee obtained ample evidence of deplorable misgovernment. Their success was largely due to the skill and boldness of their counsel, John W. Goff. Like Charles O'Connor, who did so much to crush the Tweed ring, Mr. Goff was an Irish Catholic. Once, as a green immigrant, he had handled packing-boxes in the day time, while studying law at Cooper Union in the evening. As Assistant District Attorney he had thoroughly learned how to trace the devious ways of criminals. He threw himself into the Committee's work with heart and soul, devoting to it each day and much of each night, and showed wonderful astuteness and pertinacity in marshalling and presenting his evidence.

It was but natural that Mr. Goff should at times be unfair in his treatment of witnesses. Many no doubt suffered in consequence. In some cases ignorant and vicious witnesses, impelled by love of publicity, gave testimony to suit the demand, having scant regard for facts. Some people thought that this vitiated the entire inquest. They were mistaken, however, as was shown by the obvious reluctance with which the majority of the witnesses testified. The worst facts



JOHN W. GOFF

elicited came out in spite of manifest effort at concealment, forced by relentless cross-examination. Under Goff's artful coercion, creatures curious, ugly, pitiable, were drawn squirming from the depths of their abandonment to unwonted daylight, and compelled to relate what they had seen and done in darkness. Not a few high officials were compromised. In all sixty-seven men were accused of crime, on evidence sufficient in most cases to warrant indictments. Of these, two were Commissioners, two ex-Commis-

STARTLING CORRUPTION EXPOSED

sioners, three inspectors, one an ex-inspector, twenty captains, two ex-captains, seven sergeants, six detective-sergeants and detectives, twelve ward men and ex-ward men, and twelve patrolmen.

Bohemian saloon-keepers had organized a special society for the business of collecting and paying to the police on behalf of the members, bribes for protection, perhaps at wholesale rates. It appeared that some six hundred policy shops were running in the city without police interference. One keeper of a disorderly house had paid the police \$25,000 to be let alone. Liquor-saloon and opium-joint keepers, harlots, green-goods men, bunco-steerers, thieves and abortionists, regularly paid the police to overlook their offences. While criminals were sedulously protected, honest business people had to pay roundly to secure any police service at all. One steamship line had paid thousands of dollars extortion money. Merchants must either give blackmail or be persecuted out of business. Restaurant keepers, fruit venders, newspaper peddlers—none were too humble to have to suffer in the same way. Between virtue and vice, riches and poverty, the police force was as impartial as death itself. Police brutality was exposed by trembling victims. A poor Russian woman who had opened a cigar store was pounced upon for \$100 of "protection money," under the pretext that she meant to open a disorderly house. She gave her persecutors all the money she had, but it was not enough, and she was locked up. When discharged she sought in vain for her babes, who had been torn from her. A fortnight later three bright-looking children were brought before the committee. Being led forward to see if she recognized them, the agonized mother caught them in her arms and smothered them with kisses, alternately laughing, weeping and making vain efforts to express her gratitude. Many policemen confessed that they had been forced to pay for promotion, and were regularly taxed for the satrapies farmed out to them. It was shown how this wealth mounted

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higher and still higher, till it disappeared in the clouds, above which the "Grand Pantata" was suppose to dwell.

Such revelations, astonishing in themselves and brought out with dramatic and telling force by the skillful cross-examiner, aroused indignation the like of which New York had never seen before, even in Tweed's days. Innumerable dinners and receptions were given in Dr. Parkhurst's honor. The Union League Club elected him to its circle. A large fund was raised for a suitable memorial of his fidelity to reform. For the autumn municipal election of 1894, a Committee of Seventy citizens nominated an able reform ticket. Supported by the Republican Party, the State Democracy, the Independent County Organization, the Anti-Tammany Democracy, the German-American Reform Union, and the confederated Good Government Clubs, this ticket swept the city electing William L. Strong to the mayoralty.

The politics of the year considered in this chapter were in many parts of the country influenced, in some quarters determined by an organization which reminded mature persons of old Knownothing days, particularly of the ancient cry, "Put none but Americans on guard."

A letter from one Foster to J. G. Blaine in 1875 was published, declaring that a "potent faction" in the next Republican convention would be the "secret anti-Catholic order," the United American Mechanics, which Blaine ought to join, as "Grant was a member" and "no doubt relied upon it to promote his aims." Whether this order had aught to do with the rise of that about to be named is not apparent. In 1887, at Clinton, Iowa, was born a secret society commonly known as the



WILLIAM L. STRONG

RISE OF THE A. P. A.

“A. P. A.,” its full name being “The American Protective Association.” The reasons which its supporters as signed for its origination were :

“1. That the spirit of the Constitution was being violated in various ways by certain persons and bodies in the United States.

“2. That certain members and sections of the national Government were in connivance with the said violators.

“3. That the conditions governing our national immigration were such as to weaken our Democratic institutions and form of government and to substitute therefor a system of government not in harmony therewith.

“4. That the immigrant vote, under the direction of certain ecclesiastical institutions, had become so dominant a factor in politics as virtually to control it.

“5. That this domination had resulted in political prostitution, corruption and favoritism of the worst kind.

“6. That the great majority of the American people, while painfully cognizant of the sinister and debasing results of these conditions and desirous of mending them, were either ignorant of any efficient means of counter-organization, or fearful of injury to their personal interests at the hands of their powerful and organized opponents.”

In their public declarations they said : “We attack no man’s religion so long as he does not attempt to make his religion an element of political power. We are in favor of preserving constitutional liberty and maintaining the government of the United States. We regard all religio-political organizations as the enemies of civil and religious liberty.”

The order drew inspiration from the inveterate hostility of many Protestants to the Roman Catholic Church, based partly on pure bigotry, partly upon facts, more or less imperfectly understood, in the history of that Church. The belief that the Roman policy never underwent change led many to suppose that the enormities of barbarous ages would be re-enacted

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here surely as Catholicism obtained power. There was no doubt that the Catholic clergy as a body disliked the American common school system. Many of their number had said the most bitter things against it. Romanists who could not in conscience avail themselves of the public schools complained of their share of school taxes. In places efforts were made to support Catholic parochial schools out of the public treasury. Elsewhere Catholics demanded a division of school funds between Catholics and Protestants, such as prevailed in



CARDINAL SATOLLI

provinces of Canada. The autocratic and foreign control of the Church was disliked as un-American and anti-American. The appointment of Cardinal Satolli as papal delegate hither, with headquarters at Washington, impressed many as an effort to constitute the United States a papal satrapy. Some minds were distressed that the State of New York should be made a District in Catholic geography.

Causes apart from the Church and its doing were also active in recruiting the Association. Most American Catholics were Irish, a race naturally prone to politics, often clan-

nish and bumptious, sometimes belligerent, evoking strong ill-will. It was remembered how, until Mayor Hewitt's time, the Irish flag floated from New York City Hall on St. Patrick's Day, and how Mayor A. Oakey Hall in a green coat on that day reviewed a Hibernian parade. Many undesirable immigrants of various nationalities were Catholics, and the aversion felt toward them was not unnaturally transferred to the account of their Church. Again, most Catholics were Democrats, though by no means all, whence uncompromising Republicans hated the Church as the ally of a political foe. Catholics alleged that railroad managers encouraged the A. P. A. movement as

OPPOSITION TO ANTI-CATHOLICISM

a means of dividing the forces of labor. Severe treatment here and there, as always happens in such cases, greatly assisted to advance the cause. It was said that newsboys hawking A. P. A. papers in Chicago were beaten by thugs from the saloons and for a long time were not protected by the police. At length, however, aroused public sentiment forced the roundsmen to see justice done. Subterranean methods, so distasteful to most, drew to the A. P. A. politicians and other supporters of a certain class.

In 1894, seven years from its foundation, the American Protective Association pretended to control 2,000,000 votes, though no data were given by which the assumption could be tested. The Association's power in many western cities was as undoubted as Catholic domination in many eastern cities. The actual membership was acknowledged to be small. While, it was said, hundreds of thousands sympathized with its aim, according to their passive or, where they could, their active support, only a small percentage dared brave the storm of disaster that, owing to opposition by the Catholics, inevitably followed actual membership.

Catholic abuse, however, could not have been the sole cause for the slenderness of the Association's avowed support. A. P. A. methods deserved severe reprobation; and they received this even from many who certainly had little enough love for the Catholics. The allegations made by A. P. A. lecturers were usually immoderate, sometimes scandalously false. Their references to history were often sordidly garbled. A. P. A. newspapers, or newspapers in that interest—for the Order denied having any organs—were sedulous in disseminating forgeries and falsehoods about the Catholics, so clumsy and transparent that it was surprising they gained credence anywhere. The secret oath of the Order, which soon transpired, also set people in a hostile frame of mind. It consisted of a promise (1) never to favor or aid the nomination, election or appointment of a Roman Catholic to any political office, and



*Statue of Marquette in Statuary Hall,
Washington, D. C.*

(2) never to employ a Roman Catholic in any capacity if the services of a Protestant could be obtained. The Order was thus founded upon proscription and the boycott. It sounded strange when its President, as a reason for the secrecy of the Association, pleaded that, owing to Catholic boycotting, "nearly every member who made himself prominent in the movement retired absolutely ruined in politics and purse." Soon as the A. P. A. acquired power in any locality, or bade fair to acquire it, a class of politicians sought to convert it into a machine auxiliary to the Republican party. Such efforts uniformly brought the cause additional discredit. An endeavor being made to have a statue of Père Marquette, the Jesuit explorer, placed in Statuary Hall in the Capitol at Wash-

ington, the A. P. A. was mean enough to use its influence against the granting of permission. Fortunately its effort was unsuccessful. The Mayor of Denver having, it was said, sworn the A. P. A. oath under a misapprehension, afterward appointed a Roman Catholic chief of police. For that act his photograph, draped in black and labeled "Perjurer and Traitor," was hung in the A. P. A. council chamber. It was furthermore resolved, "That wherever his carcass repose in the arms of mother earth, in whatsoever land, an unknown committee, duly appointed, shall perform its last rite in the name of this council by marking the place, that all may know, 'Here Lies a Traitor.'"

CHAPTER XXIV

THE CHICAGO STRIKE—THE CALIFORNIA “OCTOPUS”—INDIANS’ LAND IN SEVERALTY

CLEVELAND NO POPULIST.—“INDUSTRIALS” AND “GENERAL” COXEY.—THEIR MARCH.—ARRIVAL IN WASHINGTON.—ARRESTS AND PROSECUTIONS.—THE REMNANT DISBAND.—THE TOWN OF PULLMAN.—THE PULLMAN COMPANY.—WEALTH AND BUSINESS.—THE AMERICAN RAILWAY UNION.—THE GENERAL MANAGERS’ ASSOCIATION.—A. R. U. FIGHT WITH THE GREAT NORTHERN RAILWAY.—THE PULLMAN STRIKE.—“NOTHING TO ARBITRATE.”—PULLMAN CARS BOYCOTTED.—EUGENE V. DEBS.—STRIKERS AND HOODLUMS.—PROPERTY LOOTED.—WORKMEN “PERSUADED” NOT TO REPLACE STRIKERS.—BLOOD DRAWN AT HAMMOND.—PARTIAL SYMPATHETIC STRIKE OF THE KNIGHTS OF LABOR.—DEBS AND OTHER OFFICERS ARRESTED.—COLLAPSE OF THE STRIKE.—THE COSTS.—ALTGELD *vs.* CLEVELAND ON THE PRESENCE OF FEDERAL SOLDIERS IN CHICAGO.—A SNUB TO THE NATIONAL GUARD.—THIS A POWERFUL FORCE.—IMPROVEMENTS IN IT AFTER 1877.—NEW AND DANGEROUS APPLICATIONS OF COURT INJUNCTIONS.—COULD THERE BE A LEGAL STRIKE?—THE STRIKE COMMISSION.—FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS.—STRIKE OF 1894 IN CALIFORNIA.—RAILWAY MONOPOLY.—CONSEQUENCES.—ARGUMENTS IN EXTENUATION.—PER CONTRA.—THE REILLY BILL.—EFFORTS FOR RELIEF.—THE PROJECTED SAN JOAQUIN VALLEY ROAD.—INDIANS’ LANDS IN SEVERALTY.—BREAKING UP THE TRIBAL SYSTEM.—HISTORY OF THE RISE AND MARCH OF THE SEVERALTY IDEA IN THE UNITED STATES FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES.—COMMISSIONERS E. P. SMITH, J. Q. SMITH, E. A. HAYT.—THE ENACTMENT OF 1887.—AMENDED IN 1891.

IF the income tax and anti-trust enactments of 1894 betrayed a Democratic leaning toward populism, events occurring the same year proved that the President, for his part, still stood quite erect.

Discontent had prevailed in the labor world since early in the season. In March, bands of “Commonwealers” or “Industrials,” as they were called, were formed in various Western States, with the purpose of marching to Washington

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Kelly Addressing the Men at the Transfer. (Eugene V. Debs had just entered the car to welcome Kelly.)

to show Congress and the President the desperateness of the labor situation and to demand relief. From first to last fourteen States and two Territories were in more or less commotion from this movement. "General" Coxey led the advance; "General" Kelly followed with a larger force. At Des Moines Kelly had 1,250 in his train. At St. Louis many deserted him; the rest took boats for Cairo, where they disembarked and resumed their pilgrimage on foot. Though most of the tramps meant well, their mission was so novel and their destitution so complete that they spread terror all along their line of march. For food they depended on the country traversed. Many fed them from sympathy, others from fear. At best they suffered much from hunger and from cold. When not



The Head of the Column Crossing the Northwestern Railway Tracks on their way to Camp Chautauqua

THE KELLY "ARMY" AT

THE COMMONWEALERS



Company H—Men who joined at the Bluffs on the March

supplied with gifts, they stole, and arrests for theft much thinned their ranks as they advanced. At points they were violent, and the militia had to be called out to deal with them. In California a Commonweal general was killed by a town marshal. In a fight with Commonwealers at Fappenish, State of Washington, where the Commonwealers were very lawless, Deputy Marshals Jolly and Chidister were shot, though not fatally. Most of the Washington Commonwealers were tramping simply to get back to their eastern homes, having been drawn to Puget Sound by extensive railway building and been thrown out of work. Here and there they captured freight trains and forced them into their service. Having suffered much from desertion in Ohio, Coxey's band reached Pittsburg April 2d, and Homestead April 5th, only 500 strong. On the 15th, with still dwindling numbers, it was at Cumberland, Md.; on the 28th at Washington, where it went into camp. On May 1st, in the presence of wondering multi-

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THE TOWN OF PULLMAN
Looking East from the Depot along the Boulevard
From a photograph by J. W. Taylor

tudes, the Industrials attempted their meditated demonstration on the grounds and steps of the Capitol. The instant they set foot upon the Capitol grounds, the leaders, Coxey, Browne and Jones, after being somewhat roughly handled, were arrested and jailed under local laws which forbade treading on the grass or displaying banners within the Capitol precincts. Coxey was released on June 10th, having meantime been nominated for Congress in Ohio. His followers early began to desert, yet a camp of them remained in Washington till July 13th, when the remnant was shipped West.

Meanwhile disturbances far more formidable and unexpected were brewing in the West. Chicago, the city of the World's Fair, was destined soon to become the scene of the greatest strike in history. The very soldier who marshalled the civic parade in 1893, next year, in the same locality, was to array the military against angry citizens. The trouble originated at Pullman, Ill., the town whose miniature was so much admired at the Fair. Pullman had been founded in 1880, 14 miles from the heart of Chicago, but by 1894 it was included within the elastic limits of that city. Its real estate was owned by the Pullman Palace Car Company. Economy,

PULLMAN AND THE PULLMANITES

beauty, cleanliness and symmetry marked the buildings, which were pleasantly set off by lakelets, parks and wide streets. The sale of liquor was not permitted in the town, except to guests at the hotel, but there seem to have been no other municipal regulations. Nevertheless, careful observers early noted in the population a sense of restraint, leading to frequent removals, also a disposition to speak of the company in an undertone, as a Russian might mention the Czar. "It is like living in a hotel, is it not?" was asked a Pullmanite once. "We call it camping out," he answered. Residents believed that they were watched by the company's "spotters." One visitor denominated the system a "benevolent feudalism." Such paternalism offended the American spirit of independence, and herein was a potent cause of the troubles.

Wholly aside from its landlordship of the town of Pullman, the company's business was immense. Its paid-up capital stock had increased from \$1,000,000 to \$36,000,000, whereon, for the year ending with June, 1893, the dividends had amounted to \$2,520,000. In addition, it had accumulated of undivided surplus profits \$25,000,000. It ran cars over 125,000 miles of railroad, or about three-fourths the total mileage of the country. It manufactured and repaired its own cars, besides building cars for the general market. Strikes had been few, small and short till June, 1893, when hard times had set in and the brisk demand for cars in preparation for travel to and from the World's Fair had ceased.

The Palace Car Company therefore at first laid off most of its workmen for a time, then cut their wages from twenty to twenty-five per cent. and employed them less than full time. Other circumstances aggra-



GEORGE M. PULLMAN

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vated the discontent thus occasioned. There were petty shop tyrannies, rents were not reduced, though leniency was shown such as were in debt for rent, the salaries of officers continued as before, and Pullman stock was still quoted far above par. In the months of March and April, 1894, great numbers of the employés took refuge in the American Railway Union, better known by its initials as the "A. R. U."

This body, claiming 100,000 members, aimed to include all the 850,000 workers in any way connected with railroads in the United States, Canada and Mexico. It had been formed in 1893, indirectly consequent upon railway consolidation, whereby forty-two corporations controlled nearly 100,000 miles, and more directly answering to a combination among railway employers known as the General Managers' Association. This association originated in 1886, and embraced the twenty-four railroads entering Chicago. These had an aggregate mileage of 40,933, a capitalization of considerably over \$2,000,000,000, and employed 220,000 or more men. Though this voluntary unincorporated body "had no more standing in law than the old Trunk Line Pool—but was a usurpation of power," it determined the policy of the roads toward their workmen and the public. A comparative table of wages enabled the associated roads to equalize wages, and cuts here and there showed a tendency to do this. All the time that Pullman employés were enlisting in its ranks the union was engaged in a struggle with the Great Northern Railway. No attempt was made to supply strikers' places and no violence was wrought. Arbitration was proposed, but, sanguine of success, union leaders, until persuaded by St. Paul and Minneapolis business men, "had nothing to arbitrate." A settlement was arrived at, which gave the union nearly all it demanded, and it was elated with the triumph.

Upon May 7th and 9th a committee of forty-six employés called upon Messrs. Pullman and Wickes, urging that the wages schedule of June, 1893, be restored. This was

“NOTHING TO ARBITRATE”

refused, but those gentlemen promised to investigate the shop abuses complained of, and declared that no one should be prejudiced with the company for serving on the committee. The next day, however, three members of the committee were laid off, and five-sixths of the Pullman employes, apparently against the counsel of A. R. U. leaders, determined upon a strike. The company then laid off the remainder of the workmen. The Pullman management would entertain no communication from the union. Mr.



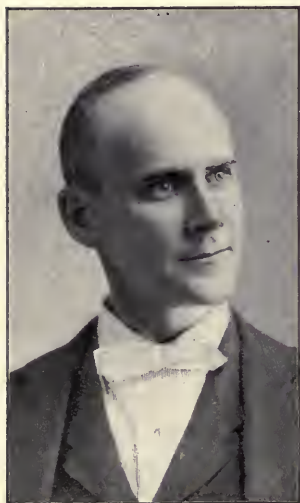
HAZEN S. PINGREE

Wickes, the second vice-president, testified later: "If we were to receive these men as representatives of the union they could probably force us to pay any wages which they saw fit, and get the Pullman company in the same shape that some of the railroads are, by making concessions which ought not to be made." "The best of our men don't give us any trouble with unions or anything else. It is only the inferior men—that is, the least competent—that give us the trouble, as a general thing." A committee of employes, the Civic Federation of Chicago, Mayor Pingree, of Detroit, endorsed by the mayors of over fifty cities, urged the company to submit the dispute to arbitration. The steadfast answer was, "The company has nothing to arbitrate." Nor would it debate this proposition before arbitrators. At the bar of public opinion the company did appear, seeking to justify itself by alleging the unprofitableness of its manufacturing business. The union, too, was resolute. The young giant, flushed with recent victory, eager to redress new wrongs, used to magnanimous dealing, deemed arbitration certain to be granted when due pressure was brought to bear. A national convention of the union unanimously voted that unless the Pullman Company sooner

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JAMES R. SOVEREIGN



EUGENE V. DEBS

consented to arbitration members of the union should, on June 26th, everywhere cease handling Pullman cars. This boycott was sympathetic in origin, while yet it could be traced to wages reductions, blacklisting, and the ominous growth and attitude of the Managers' Association. Once begun, it assumed portentous dimensions, far beyond the expectations or control of its leaders, paralyzing nearly every railway west of Ohio.

On June 29th, Eugene V. Debs, the president of the union, addressed the railroad employes of the country. "The struggle," he wrote, "with the Pullman Company has developed into a contest between the producing classes and the money power of the country. . . . The contest is now on between the railway corporations united solidly upon the one hand, and the labor forces upon the other. . . . I appeal to the strikers everywhere to refrain from any act of violence. . . . A man who will destroy property or violate law

is an enemy and not a friend to the cause of labor."

From June 26th to July 3d, the date when troops arrived, there was, indeed, no uncontrolled violence in the city. Turbulent scenes followed an injunction issued July 2d, to prevent Railway Union men from "inducing" employes to strike. Spite of Federal and State troops, deputy marshals and city police, thousands of angry men and women now fell to burning

VIOLENCE AT CHICAGO

and looting property. Over two thousand cars were demolished or robbed and miles of track torn up. Workmen replacing strikers continued to be "persuaded" by fair means and foul. Interlocking systems of track, also switches and engines were deftly rendered useless. The Managers' Association was widely believed to be hiring men to do these things in order to pervert public opinion.

Organized labor was at fault in not having done its utmost to purge its ranks of those who in a strike resorted to violent measures. Nor were the wealthy and respectable blameless, as they had brought contempt upon law and government by corruptly promoting or defeating legislation, and evading or violating law with impunity, through bribery and otherwise. It was wholly labor's misfortune that its blows must be struck in presence of an irresponsible and highly explosive element, usually quite distinct from the strikers themselves, which social conditions have developed in our cities. In 1894 the tide ebbing after the World's Fair had left stranded in Chicago many representatives of this semi-criminal class.



FREIGHT CARS OVERTURNED BY THE STRIKERS

From a photograph by R. D. Cleveland

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME



CAMP OF THE U. S. TROOPS ON THE LAKE FRONT, CHICAGO
(From the roof of the Auditorium Hotel)

From a photograph by R. D. Cleveland

On July 7th the soldiers received orders, in case of any act like firing upon railroad trains, or assaulting trainmen, marshals or soldiers, to repel these assaults by the use of fire-arms. Next day a bloody conflict occurred at Hammond, Ind., one employé being killed by the mob and four wounded. At the Monon depot thirty-five regulars, amid ugly hoots and hisses, long kept a vast crowd at bay. Several passenger trains were successfully pulled out, which frenzied the mob. Sticks and stones flew. The hoodlums charged, were forced back by bayonets, then rallied and made another rush, when twelve or fifteen of them were shot down.

On July 10th, Sovereign, their General Master Workman, bade the Knights of Labor "lay down the implements of toil for a short season and under the banner of peace, and with a patriotic desire to promote the public welfare, use the powers of their aggregate numbers, through peaceable assemblages, to create a healthy public sentiment in favor of an amicable settlement of the issues growing out of the strike." In the East the Knights ignored this order, but it was obeyed

COLLAPSE OF THE STRIKE



BURNED CARS IN THE C. B. & Q. YARDS AT HAWTHORNE, CHICAGO

From a photograph by R. D. Cleveland

in Chicago, where industry was half paralyzed already, and also farther west. By the 11th the strike had extended to North Dakota, Montana, Idaho, Washington, Wyoming and New Mexico, when President Cleveland issued a proclamation calculated to prevent riotous assemblages. On July 17th, Debs, Howard and Keliher, head officers of the Railway Union, were arrested and lodged in jail for contempt in disobeying injunctions of court. On the 19th indictments were found against them and thirty-nine others. The worst was now over. The excesses of lawless men had so effectually alienated public sympathy from Debs and his cause that as soon as these leaders were in durance the strike collapsed.

The number of men involved in this strike, the miles of road it tied up, and the size of the mobs it mustered was greater than in the strike of 1877, but the loss of life was probably less. The property destroyed was also less. "The cost to the State and national government of the Pullman and railroad strike was at least \$1,000,000 for troops. The 100,000 employés on the twenty-four roads centering in Chicago lost in wages \$1,389,143, according to the testimony before the Commission, while the Pullman employés

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lost \$350,000 in wages. The railroads lost in property destroyed, pay of United States Marshals and other incidental expenses, \$685,308 and \$4,673,000 in earnings, while the large loss to shippers and the traveling public, all over the vast strike district of 2,500 miles length from east to west and 1,500 from north to south, it is impossible to estimate.”* That life and capital suffered no more was in great measure due to prompt and decisive though widely unpopular action by the authorities at Washington, exhibiting, in a manner which astonished many, the strength which the central power in our government had gradually acquired. When the federal soldiers appeared in Chicago, Governor Altgeld protested against their presence, declaring his official ignorance of disorder warranting federal intervention, denying the federal authority to send troops thither except upon his request, and asking their withdrawal. Mr. Cleveland answered: “Federal troops were sent to Chicago in strict accordance with the Constitution and laws of the United States, upon the demand of the Post-office Department that obstruction of the mails should be removed, and upon the representation of the judicial officers of the United States that process of the federal courts could not be executed through the ordinary means, and upon abundant proof that conspiracies existed against commerce between the States. To meet these conditions, which are clearly within the province of federal authority, the presence of federal troops in the city of Chicago was deemed not only proper but necessary.”

Others besides Governor Altgeld disrelished the presence of regulars in Chicago. One reason was that at this time the militia, snubbed when the Federal troops marched in, had become, in Illinois as elsewhere, an object of reliance and State pride. The strike of 1877, approximating an insurrection, was followed by preparations to meet future similar disturbances with a more efficient arm than the militia had in that

* Revue d'Economie Politique.

RISE OF THE NATIONAL GUARD

crisis proved to be. The Atlantic States first, and ultimately all the States, revised all their militia laws, reorganizing, re-uniforming and disciplining anew the citizen soldiery after the pattern of the regular army. Congress mightily encouraged this movement by making for the militia federal provision of arms, ordnance and quartermaster stores and camp equipage.* After 1887 four hundred thousand dollars was yearly appropriated for this purpose, the sums varying with the size of State delegations—Senators and Representatives—in Congress. All stores obtained by this fund had to be of the regular army standard, and they remained the property of the United States, to be duly accounted for by State governors each year. Officers of the regular army could also be detailed as militia inspectors when States desired them, as most did.

In 1895 over thirty States held weekly drills, while twenty-six States held militia encampments for drill and inspection. In the percentage attending encampment, Vermont, with 96 per cent., was the banner State. Army officers were on duty in thirty-three States, inspecting, advising and giving instruction. The time required for mobilization varied from three hours in the District of Columbia to three days in Oregon, while the proportion of the commands which would probably respond to an emergency ranged from 50 per cent. in Minnesota, Mississippi, Oregon and South Dakota, to 95 per cent. in New York and Pennsylvania. New York, however, supplemented the United States appropriation by a large one of its own, amounting for many years to \$430,000. In nearly half the States the equipment was very good, or at least good. Artillery was nearly everywhere inferior. The total strength of the organized militia, officers and men, amounted in 1895 to 112,879. The term "National Guard" grew in favor as an appellation for the militia, and in that year thirty-six States employed it. Some States introduced a "Naval Reserve,"

* United States Revised Statutes, Section 1661, amended February 11, 1887.

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

which promised well as corresponding on sea to the militia on land. In addition to this active, organized volunteer force, the mass of able-bodied citizens, liable on emergency to military duty, was rated as a division of the militia. The whole number of men in the country available for military duty was, in 1895, over 10,000,000. The improvement in the militia force due to these sweeping changes was incalculable. Arms were still to some extent antiquated and diverse, and the proportions of cavalry and of artillery too small; yet the new National



THE TOWN OF HINCKLEY BEFORE THE FIRE*

Guard was a formidable army, if not comparable with the regulars, almost as little comparable with the old militia which it had displaced.

The timorous indeed saw a menace in the new National Guard and went so far, some of them, as to dub our costly new armories "Plutocracy's Bastiles." But far more alarm was felt, especially among wage-workers at the peculiar uses

* In the early days of September, 1894, destructive fires swept through the pine forests of central and eastern Minnesota. Not far from four hundred square miles were burned over. Hinckley and seven other hamlets were destroyed; some four hundred lives lost, two thousand people left destitute, and about one million dollars worth of property destroyed. (The pictures are from photographs by W. G. Hopps.)

NOVEL USE OF INJUNCTIONS

to which, after 1887, federal tribunals applied injunctions and process for contempt of court. The judges first construed the Inter-State Commerce Law as authorizing them to enjoin engineers from abandoning trains. Such an injunction being disobeyed, offending workmen and any officers under whose orders they acted were forthwith imprisoned for contempt, no jury trial being had. Early in 1894 a United States Circuit Court injunction forbade Northern Pacific employ es to strike in a



HINCKLEY AFTER THE FIRE

body, assuming that the purpose of such an act must be to cripple the road. For contempt of his injunctions issued during the Pullman strike, in December of the same year, Judge Woods sentenced Debs to six months' imprisonment, and the other leaders to three months each, under the so-called "Anti-Trust Law." These novelties aroused indignation among the radicals, and clothed with scowls faces wont to smile upon all measures for disciplining wage-workers. Even the New York *Evening Post* uttered warning against it. Said the *Springfield* (Mass.) *Republican*, after Debs had been sentenced: "This action of the judicial power cannot be allowed to go

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME



NICHOLAS E. WORTHINGTON

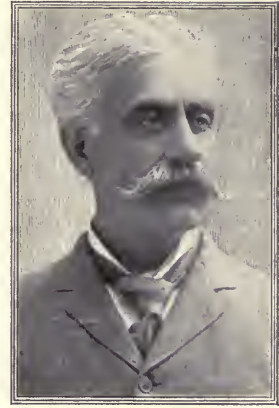
without rebuke. It makes for the subversion of the most fundamental rights of American citizens. If Debs has been violating law let him be indicted, tried by a jury and punished; let him not be made the victim of an untenable court order and deprived of his liberty entirely within the discretion of a judge. The right of trial by jury for criminal offences lies at the bed-rock of free institutions. It cannot be denied without placing the liberty of every citizen in jeopardy.

If the precedent now established is to stand, there is no limit to the power which the judiciary may establish over the citizen." In one point, indeed, laborers' rights were maintained. The United States Court of Appeals held that in the absence of an express contract a workman without the right to strike at will "is in a condition of involuntary servitude—a condition which the supreme law of the land declares shall not exist within the United States." This judgment the Supreme Court did not reverse, leaving it to be understood that railroad employes might combine to quit work in a body yet commit no illegal act. But the higher court emphatically affirmed the legitimacy of enjoining violent interference with railroads and of enforcing the injunction by punishing contempt. To be within the law, a strike must be absolutely peaceable.

Late in July, 1894, the President appointed John D. Kernan, of New York, and Nicholas E. Worthington, of Illinois, to serve with Carroll D. Wright, Commissioner of Labor, as a commission to investigate the nature and causes of the Pullman strike. The Commission spoke of the Managers' Association as "an illustration of the persistent and shrewdly devised plans of corporations to overreach their limitations and to usurp indirectly powers and rights not contemplated in their charters

A STRIKE COMMISSION APPOINTED

and not obtainable from the people or their legislators.” They announced the view that, as combination goes on, something approaching governmental control must be exercised over quasi-public corporations. The report even suggested, cautiously, that, at the proper juncture, government ownership might be undertaken. It also noted the fact that “until the railroads set the example, a general union of railroad employes was never attempted.” It recommended a permanent United States Railroad Strike Commission of three to investigate railway labor difficulties and recommend settlements enforceable by the courts. It urged that labor unions should be encouraged to incorporate, and be required to provide that all members guilty of violence, lawlessness or intimidation forfeit their rights and privileges. The licensing of railway employes was mentioned as deserving careful attention. The Commission suggested State boards of conciliation and arbitration like that of Massachusetts, with larger powers, and proposed that contracts requiring men, as conditions of employment, not to join labor organizations, or, if members, to leave them, be made illegal. Federal Judge Ricks, of Cleveland, has for the present (1896) shut the door against this last measure by pronouncing such a law in Ohio unconstitutional and void. Arbitration bills, however, were introduced in several legislatures, and a board, like that of Massachusetts, was provided for in Illinois.



J. D. KERNAN

A California public opinion nearly unanimous supported the Pullman strike. In that State any movement “against the railroad” was popular, so that there Kearneyism, treated in a previous chapter, was one scene, and the strike of 1894 another, of the same drama.

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

Nearly the entire railway system of California, together with the two railroad gateways to the East, was in the hands of the Southern Pacific monopoly. It resulted that, if water competition were also cut off, an independent California dealer could hardly with profit ship goods to or from the East.* This fact in view, the Southern Pacific Company, under the *alias* of the Pacific Mail Company, contracted with the Panama Railroad for exclusive privileges. In consideration of a subsidy varying between \$65,000 and \$110,000 per month, not more than one-sixth of the increased profits accruing to the Southern Pacific from the deal, the isthmus railroad declined to receive freight from independent carriers on the coast. This control of business with the East was enough by itself to place the railroad's hand upon every Californian's pocket, but that was not the worst. The Southern Pacific seemed bent on forcing interior districts to trade with the East, or with Asia, costly as this was, to the detriment of San Francisco. Rates between that city and other points in California were often over twice as high as from New York. Tea direct from Tokio cost inland merchants less than tea from San Francisco. However cheaply goods might reach the Golden Gate, unless they were consigned to some inland point, high freights from San Francisco prohibited them from taking this route. The effect, and obviously also the purpose, of this discrimination was to turn the entire eastern commerce of the coast to New Orleans as its seaport, whence all business to the far West was absolutely monopolized by the Southern Pacific. In most parts of California the question whether one could profitably grow fruit or wheat, or engage in manufacturing or trade, turned entirely upon freight charges. One large ranch-owner vowed that until another railroad was built he would raise nothing that could not carry itself to market on its own legs. A common sight in California, perhaps observed nowhere else in the world, was teams of horses, mules or oxen hauling merchandise in com-

* See *Harper's Weekly*, for March 2, 1895.

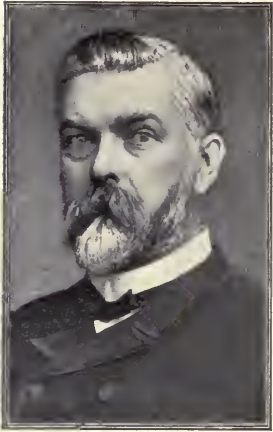
CALIFORNIANS AND THE RAILROAD

petition with railroad trains. It was true that rates were tending to fall and that some schedules seem to have been reasonable. It was urged that having to maintain long stretches of rails through deserts like those of Nevada, expensive but no more profitable than so much bridge, the railroad must charge all that the traffic would bear. It was true that some Californian manufacturers found high westward freight rates operating as a protective tariff against the East and therefore were not enthusiastic for reducing them. It was also true that the elective State Board of Equalization and the elective Railroad Commission had final authority respectively to assess railroad property and to fix railroad rates. But these Kearneyite-Granger devices had only driven the railroad more deeply into State politics. "All parties have shared in controlling the Railroad Commission, the railroad seems to have controlled all parties." * An apologist for the railroad writes as follows: "They were forced in self-defense to exert their influence in nominating conventions or at the polls, in doing which, it is not to be presumed that their course differed from that of other participants in politics who have large interests affected by the administration of the government. . . . As in Dean Richmond's time in Albany, the corporation has gone forth without the lamp of Diogenes in search of an honest man who would stay bought. That he has successfully dodged it no one believes. That the moral effect is bad no one denies. But the resident observer is impressed by the number who fear they will be missed in the dark and therefore cry out against the 'octopus' to show where they stand." †

But people had no mind to starve for the sake of corporations which had enriched their promoters with millions. The Reilly bill, introduced in Congress in 1894, to refund at two per cent. for fifty years the Southern Pacific's Central Pacific debt of some \$60,000,000, incensed all Cali-

* See *Annals of the American Academy*, Vol. vi., 109.

† See *Overland Monthly* for June, 1895.



JAMES FLOOD

fornia. A petition against it, circulated by the San Francisco *Examiner*, received over 200,000 signatures, a number nearly equal to that of all California's voters. Each mail brought Congressmen envelopes bearing red-letter legends such as "*The Grip of the Octopus!*" or "*How Congressmen are Bribed.*" Circulars were inside, many of which, for spirit and bitterness, rivaled Junius.

Numerous schemes for attaining freedom had been considered, and some of them tried. A merchant had to make an enormous shipment East. He was informed that the company "had him in the door and was going to squeeze him." He hired a steamship and sent his goods around the Horn. His rates were subsequently halved. In 1892 the Merchants' Traffic Association of San Francisco put a line of vessels on the Cape Horn route. The monopoly at once deserted its small partner in Panama. The Panama line was taken up by the San Franciscans, who raised a fund of \$300,000 for its maintenance and connected both its ends with speedy steamships. This reduced transcontinental tariffs forty per cent., saving California \$500,000 a month; but when the contract expired, in the spring of 1894, the merchants found that their work had been philanthropic rather than profitable, and they withdrew exhausted. In January, 1895, a meeting of delegates discussed bonding the central counties of California to construct railways within their limits. Next day leading men of wealth in San Francisco called for \$350,000 for a road through the rich San Joaquin Valley, ultimately to connect San Francisco with Southern California and with the Santa Fé railway system. Capitalists and financiers, notably Claus Spreckles and his sons, also James D. Phelan and James Flood, supported the

INDIAN LAND IN SEVERALTY

enterprise, which bade fair to consume millions of dollars instead of thousands. The managing committee announced that "the good, the advancement, the future, the prosperity of the State of California demanded a people's railroad, to be owned by the people, and operated in the interests of the people." The experiment was watched with deep concern, lest this young enterprise should be smothered by the "Octopus." Though a careful plan was devised to prevent this, acute students of the movement and of the events leading to it believed that nothing short of a governmental or State railway system would meet the requirements of California.

Amid the momentous events just narrated, the public for the moment lost sight of a reform set on foot in 1887 despite many unforeseen difficulties. The severalty system in Indian lands already began to bear fruit in 1893 and 1894, and promised a radical advance in the life of our national wards. As a result of this measure many friends of the red man seemed now to foresee the day when the tribal organization, with its inevitable repression of the individual, would be a thing of the past.

Up to 1887 most Indian communities had no notion of individual land tenure, and no opportunity under the law to change their primitive common occupation of the land. Moreover it was impossible for the aborigines to become citizens, except by abandoning their own race. The obvious mischief of a government policy tolerating such results had been recognized in sundry special laws and treaties which sought to amend it in one or both of its phases.

The earliest known reference to the individual ownership of land by Indians is in an Act of the General Court of Massachusetts, passed in October, 1652, as follows :*

" It is therefore ordered and enacted by this Court and the

* For the history he represented of the rise of the Indians' Land in Severalty System the author is indebted to the politeness of Hon. D. M. Browning, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and to research put forth in his office.

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INDIANS KILLING CATTLE AT STANDING ROCK, NORTH DAKOTA
From a photograph by Barry

authority thereof, that what landes any of the Indians, within this jurisdiction, have by possession or improvement, by subdueing of the same, they have just right thereunto accordinge to that Gen: 1: 28, Chap. 9: 1, Psa: 115, 16.”

It was further provided that any Indians who became civilized might acquire land by allotment in the white settlements on the same terms as the English.*

The earliest known reference to severalty holding found in any United States treaty with the Indians is in Article 8 of the treaty of July 8, 1817, with the Cherokees,† by which the United States agreed to give a reservation of 640 acres to each and every head of any Indian family residing on the east side of the Mississippi River who might wish to become a citizen

* See Senate Ex. Doc. No 95, 48th Cong., 2d Sess., p. 50.

† 7 United States Statutes, 159.

EARLIEST SEVERALTY LEGISLATION

of the United States. In such reservation holders were to have a life estate, with reversion in fee simple to their children.

The earliest legislation on the subject appears to be the Act of March 3, 1839,* which provided that the reservation of the Brotherton or Brothertown Indians, might be partitioned and divided among the different individuals of the tribe, and held by them in fee simple. The act also provided for the issuance of patents, and for Indian citizenship in terms similar to those of the "Dawes Act" mentioned later (p. 352). The act of 1839 may safely be considered the inception of the modern system of allotments in severalty. An act like it was passed for the Stockbridge Indians March 3, 1843.† A treaty similar in terms was concluded with Wyandotte Indians, April 1, 1850.‡ By the treaty of March 15, 1854, with the "Otoe and Missouri" Indians,§ and also by the treaty of March 16, 1854, with the Omahas,|| the President might parcel from the reservation lands to each single person over 18 years of age one-eighth of a section, and to each family a quantity proportioned to its size. Such allotments were practically inalienable. A number of subsequent treaties included similar provisions, some providing for alienation with consent of the President or Secretary of the Interior, others for patents in fee simple. Some also contemplated the naturalization of the allottees.

Thus far all provisions for the allotment of Indians' lands in severalty were restricted to particular tribes. The first reference to a general system of allotments was in 1873, when Edward P. Smith, then Indian Commissioner, in his Annual Report, mentioned the hindrance to the progress of the Indians "found in a want of individual property-rights among Indians. A fundamental difference between barbarians and a civilized people is the difference between a herd and an individual. All barbarous customs tend to destroy individu-

* *Ibid.*, 5, 349. † *Ibid.*, 5, 645. ‡ *Ibid.*, 9, 987.

§ *Ibid.*, 10, 1, 038. || *Ibid.*, 10, 1, 044.

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ality. Where everything is held in common, thrift and enterprise have no stimulus of reward, and thus individual progress is rendered very improbable, if not impossible. The starting-point of individualism for an Indian is the personal possession of his portion of the reservation. . . . In order to this first step, the survey and allotment in severalty of the lands belonging to the Indians must be provided for by congressional legislation."

The next year Commissioner Smith recommended providing for the Indians, first, a way into citizenship, and second, a land-tenure in severalty by allotment with an ultimate fee, but inalienable for a term of years. In 1876 Commissioner John Q. Smith repeated his predecessor's views. "It is doubtful," he said, "whether any high degree of civilization is possible without individual ownership of land. It seems to me a matter of great moment that provision should be made not only permitting, but requiring, the head of each Indian family to accept the allotment of a reasonable amount of land, to be the property of himself and his lawful heirs, in lieu of any interest in any common tribal possessions. Such allotments should be inalienable for at least twenty, perhaps fifty years, and if situated in a permanent Indian reservation, should be transferrable only among Indians."

So, too, the annual report of Commissioner E. A. Hayt, for 1877, put as fundamental to Indian civilization, "Endowment of the Indians with lands, divided into farms of convenient size, the title to which shall be vested in individuals and inalienable for twenty years; and the promotion in every feasible way of the knowledge of agriculture and a taste for agricultural pursuits among them."

The same officer a year later again urged the importance to the Indians "of a uniform and perfect title to their lands," and continued: "The constant removals incident to the former land policy of the Indian service have been freighted with evil consequences to the Indians. Even when placed upon reser-

COMMISSIONER HAYT'S REPORT



A TYPICAL INDIAN CAMP

vations they have come to consider, notwithstanding the most solemn guarantees from the United States that the same should be kept sacred and remain theirs forever, that the title to their land is without permanency, and that they are subject to be removed whenever the pressure of white settlers upon them may create a demand for their lands either before Congress or the Department. So fixed has this opinion become among the more civilized tribes, that in the main they decline to make any improvements upon their lands, even after an allotment in severalty has been made, until they have received their patents for the same. The Secretary of the Interior should be authorized by a law applicable to all the tribes to allot the lands in such reservations among the Indians belonging thereon, and to issue patents therefor without the right to sell,

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

mortgage, lease or otherwise alienate the same for the term of twenty-five years. Such an act would, I am satisfied, afford to the Indians the degree of protection necessary to their civilization and lead them gradually to a full comprehension of the rights, privileges, duties and responsibilities of American citizenship, which I shall hope to see accorded them whenever in the future they may become fully competent."

In 1879 Commissioner Hayt embodied his views in a bill introduced in the Forty-fifth Congress. Similar measures appeared in each succeeding Congress until the Forty-ninth, which in February, 1887, enacted the so-called "General Allotment," or "Dawes" Act.* This measure authorized the President, through special agents, to allot in severalty to Indians thereon located any reservation land considered fit for agriculture and grazing. Each head of a family to receive one-quarter of a section, each other adult one-eighth of a section. Orphan children and minors were also provided for. The Indians themselves were to select the land. Such Indians as lived outside the limits of a reservation or claimed no tribal relationship might also receive land under this law. To each allottee the United States was to issue a patent, pledging itself to hold the land in trust for a period of twenty-five years. Any conveyance or contract made during this period, touching the allotments, was null and void. At the end of this time the land was to be conveyed to the allottee.

The Act constituted any Indian born within the limits of the United States to whom any allotment of land was made, or who had adopted the habits of civilized life, a citizen of the United States. The rights and duties of every allottee, it was declared, were to be regulated by the civil and criminal laws of the state or territory in which he resided. Four years later, upon recommendation of the Indian Office, the law was modified so as to give each member of a tribe an equal quantity of land. By the amended law one-eighth of a section was speci-

* 24 United States Statutes, 388.

METHOD OF ALLOTMENT

fied for all allotments, though if the extent of the reservation was sufficient a larger allotment might be made. In cases approved by the Secretary of the Interior allotments might be leased. The new law also embodied regulations regarding the descent of land to the heirs of a deceased Indian.

CHAPTER XXV

THE SOUTH AND THE NEGRO IN THE LIGHT OF THE ELEVENTH CENSUS

THE "NEW SOUTH."—EVENTS DENOTING GOOD FEELING BETWEEN SOUTH AND NORTH.—DEDICATION OF THE CHICKAMAUGA MILITARY PARK.—THE GEN. LYTTLE BUTTON INCIDENT.—THE PARADE.—THE COTTON STATES AND INTERNATIONAL EXPOSITION.—OPENING.—THE ADDRESSES.—BOOKER T. WASHINGTON'S SPEECH.—PROCEEDINGS TELEGRAPHED TO PRESIDENT CLEVELAND.—HIS REPLY.—THE MACHINERY SET IN MOTION FROM GRAY GABLES.—ATLANTA'S EFFORT IN ORIGINATING THE EXPOSITION.—GROUNDS AND BUILDINGS.—SUCCESS.—THE NEGRO BUILDING.—THE EXPOSITION'S REVELATIONS OF SOUTHERN PROSPERITY.—BACKWARDNESS IN SECTIONS.—THREE BLACK BELTS.—ILL-SUCCESS OF THE NEGRO AS A FARMER.—JEWS AND NEGROES.—PROGRESS OF THE SOUTH AT LARGE.—COMPARED WITH THE WEST.—THE SOUTH IN 1860, 1870, AND 1880.—MATERIAL PROGRESS BETWEEN 1880 AND 1890.—IN AGRICULTURE.—IN MANUFACTURES.—IN MINING.—VAST UNDEVELOPED RESOURCES.—THE NEW SOUTH CREATED BY SOUTHERN MEN.—CHARACTER OF THE SOUTHERN WHITES.—THEIR RESOLUTION.—THEIR PATRIOTISM.—TREATMENT OF THE DRINK QUESTION.—SOUTH CAROLINA DISPENSARY SYSTEM.—EFFECTUAL PROHIBITION.—REACTION AGAINST LYNCHING.—DREADFUL DIFFICULTY OF THE RACE QUESTION.—WHITE SUPREMACY AT THE POLLS ATTAINED.—ACQUIESCENCE.—CODDLING OF THE NEGRO DEPRECATED.—UNDOUBTED BRIGHTNESS OF THE AFRICAN RACE.—THE DEFECTS OF THAT RACE.—IMMORALITY.—LACK OF ORIGINALITY.—LITTLE PERSISTENCE.—GOOD WORK UNDER OVERSEERS.—WHITES MULTIPLY MORE RAPIDLY THAN BLACKS.—CERTAIN DISTRICTS OFFER AN EXCEPTION.—NEGRO MORTALITY.—BLACK MIGRATION FROM THE HIGHLANDS TO THE LOWLANDS.—FROM COUNTRY TO CITY.—FUTURE OF THE RACE.—INTENSIFIED COMPETITION FROM WHITE IMMIGRANTS.—DYING OFF OF THE LAST SLAVEHOLDER GENERATION.—SIGNIFICANCE OF THIS TO THE BLACK MAN.

IN the midst of the war, while Port Royal, South Carolina, was in possession of the Northern forces, a paper called *The New South* was established there by General Adam Badeau. The name, thus originated, anticipated by a dozen dark years the happy phenomenon to which it is now applied. Events of 1895 strikingly brought before the people the sig-

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nificance of the New South, and its harmony with the rest of the Republic. The era of good feeling could perhaps be formally dated from Memorial Day, 1895, when a Confederate monument was dedicated at Chicago. It was well signaled by several almost simultaneous events: the assembling of the Grand Army of the Republic at Louisville, Ky., the encampment of the Sons of Confederate Veterans at Knoxville, Tenn., the dedication of the Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park and the opening of the Atlanta Exposition.

The National Military Park was dedicated on September 19, though the 18th and the 20th as well were filled with ceremonies. The purchase and construction of the Park had been authorized by Congress in 1890, the Government expending therefor three-quarters of a million dollars, the States of



THE CHICKAMAUGA NATIONAL MILITARY PARK

Looking East from the Widow Glenn House

THE CHICKAMAUGA MILITARY PARK



Near Widow Glenn House, Looking North Toward Bloody Pond

Georgia and Tennessee half a million more. The ground thus consecrated embraced about ten square miles, through and around which twenty miles of broad roadway had been built, and as much again projected. Five tall observation towers made possible an almost perfect view of the battlefields of Chickamauga and Missionary Ridge. An immense speakers' stand for the celebration had been erected on Snodgrass Hill, the centre of perhaps the most terrific fighting ever witnessed on this continent. Many notables were present, among them Vice-President Stevenson, who presided, Secretaries Herbert and Smith, Attorney-General Harmon and Postmaster-General Wilson. Governors Oates of Alabama, Atkinson of Georgia, Altgeld of Illinois, Matthews of Indiana, Morrill of Kansas, Greenhalge of Massachusetts, Rich of Michigan, Holcomb of Nebraska, Werts of New Jersey, Morton of New York, McKinley of Ohio, Turney of Tennessee and

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME



Group of Monuments on Knoll Southwest of Snodgrass Hill

Woodbury of Vermont were also in attendance, as were Generals Alger, Lew Wallace, Schofield, Howard, Longstreet and Gordon. To the regret of all, age and infirmity prevented General Rosecrans from being present. Speaker Crisp, of the National House of Representatives, also Senators Palmer, Manderson, Bate and Blackburn, and Congressmen Wheeler, Grosvenor and Turner, besides a long list of other eminent gentlemen, honored the occasion by attending.

On the 18th a hundred monumental tablets were dedicated, marking and describing the successive positions of troops on the field during the fighting. There were reunions of Northern and of Southern troops, and of Northern with Southern. A belt line of railroad built for the occasion accommodated the hosts of old soldiers and their friends. One of the pleasing incidents connected with the reunion occurred when General Gordon, holding up his hand, said: "I have here a button, veneered over with blood, taken from the coat of the poet-soldier, Brigadier-General William Haines Lytle, the author

of 'I am dying, Egypt, dying!'^{*} after he had fallen, September 20, 1863, leading a charge on this immortal field." General Gordon thereupon presented the precious relic to Attorney-General Harmon, like General Lytle, a resident of Cincinnati. Mr. Harmon subsequently gave it to a nephew of General Lytle, who was found to be present.

On September 20 there was a parade, led by Regular Troops, the 17th United States Infantry. Next came the 11th Regiment, Ohio National Guard, Governor McKinley riding at its head. The Tennessee forces followed, among them a company from Memphis, dressed in Confederate uniforms and bearing old-time muskets. This troop elicited more applause than any other feature of the parade.

The Cotton States and International Exposition was inaugurated at Atlanta, Ga., on September 18, 1895. It was a holiday in the city, made merry by streamers, bunting and a good-humored American crowd, to which the negroes in it imparted almost its only Southern tinge. The opening ceremonies at the auditorium were brilliant and protracted. Victor Herbert's band convulsed every one when it played a medley of "The Red, White and Blue," "Dixie," and "Yankee Doodle." Then there was another medley of rebel yells and Yankee shouts. On the platform sat the directors, President Collier occupying the place of honor, near him Mrs. Joseph Thompson, President of the Woman's Board. Distinguished visitors and guests of the Exposition were present in numbers, among them the colored educator, Booker T. Washington, President of the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute. The opening prayer, by Bishop Nelson, was followed by addresses from President Collier and Mrs. Thompson. Judge Emory Speer delivered a scholarly oration. But Mr. Washington made the speech of the day. When he arose he was greeted with applause, and each of his telling points elicited

^{*}The poem is entitled "Antony to Cleopatra," and may be found in Vol. viii. of Stedman and Hutchinson's Library of American Literature.

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME



BOOKER T. WASHINGTON

hearty recognition. He said, referring to the negroes' progress shown at the Fair: "You must not expect overmuch. Starting thirty years ago with the ownership here and there of a few quilts, pumpkins and chickens (gathered from miscellaneous sources), remember that the path which has led us from these to the invention and production of agricultural implements, buggies, steam engines, newspapers, books, statuary, carving, paintings, and the management of drug stores and banks, has not been trodden without contact with thorns and thistles. While from representations in these buildings of the products of field, of forest, of mine, of factory, of letters and art, much good will come, yet far above and beyond material benefits will be that higher good that, let us pray God, will come in a blotting out of sectional differences and racial animosities and suspicions, and in the determination in even the remotest corner to administer absolute justice, in a willing obedience among all classes to the mandates of law, and a spirit that will tolerate nothing but the highest equity in the enforcement of law. This, this, coupled with our material prosperity, will bring to our beloved South a new heaven and a new earth."

Every detail of these introductory proceedings was telegraphed to President Cleveland at Gray Gables in Buzzards Bay, Mass. Ex-Governor Bullock, Chairman of the Committee of Arrangements, sent a message thanking Mr. Cleveland for his interest, approval and aid, and assuring him that the mingling of people about to occur would "render future ill-will between the sections impossible." At 5.30 President Cleveland telegraphed reply:

"Fully appreciating the value and importance of the

THE EXPOSITION INAUGURATED

exposition inaugurated to-day, I am especially gratified to be related to its inception and progress and to participate in its opening ceremonies. I sincerely congratulate those whose enterprise and energy have accomplished such splendid results, and heartily wish that the exposition they have set on foot may be completely successful in consummating all the good results contemplated by its promoters."

The President was seated in his gun-room, with his family and his private secretary. A button communicating with Atlanta rested on a small shelf by the window. It was of black rubber with a small solid gold band around the edge, and bore the inscription "Marian Cleveland, September 18, 1895." As the President's young daughter pressed the button the gates of the Exposition at Atlanta swung open, and, amid booming cannon, shrieking whistles, buzzing machinery and cheering multitudes, its life began.

Atlanta was the only city of its size in the world which had ever undertaken so vast an enterprise. With only about



NIGHT VIEW OF THE ATLANTA EXPOSITION

From a photograph by Howe

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

100,000 inhabitants, forty per cent. of them negroes, it set on foot and carried to completion, in dull business times and soon after the World's Columbian Fair, an Exposition which outdid the California Midwinter Fair of 1893-'94, the New Orleans Exposition of 1884, and even the Centennial, being among American exhibitions second only to the World's Columbian at Chicago. The buildings and grounds were in admirable taste. Chicago had taught the world that water and green-sward are the diamonds and emeralds of a fine landscape. The Atlanta grounds proved that this lesson had been well learned. From the entrance the eye took in the whole group of buildings, not colossal, but commodious and beautiful. Only seven States—New York, Pennsylvania, Massa-



THE WOMAN'S BUILDING AT ATLANTA

From a photograph by Howe

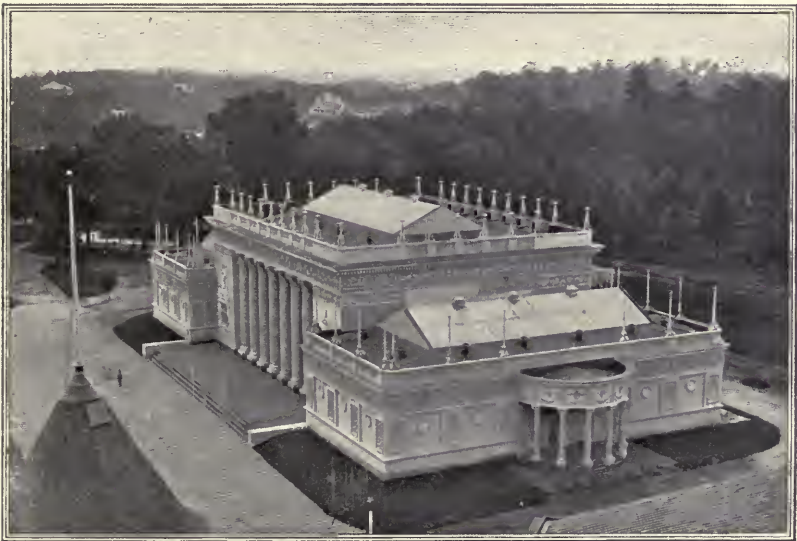
chusetts, Illinois, California, Alabama and Georgia—were represented by State buildings. The Northern attendance was good, Chicago sending one excursion 2,500 strong, yet on the whole far fewer passed the gates than had been expected; only 1,200,000 in the fifty-four days. The Atlanta managers,

EVIDENCES OF A "NEW SOUTH"

with commendable public spirit, repeatedly supplied deficiencies out of their own pockets. The negroes were given every encouragement to contribute exhibits in their department, and the "Negro Building" showed surprising and universally observed evidences of progress on the part of the colored race.

The Exposition would have been worth all its cost had it had no other effect than to assure the South itself and the rest of the world touching the rapid advance of that section in the main elements of prosperity. What the Eleventh Census had put down in figures exhibits at Atlanta propounded in impressive object lessons, not to be forgotten.

There were indeed sections where nothing as yet bespoke a New South; where unthrift and decay incessantly



THE ART BUILDING
From a photograph by Howe

reminded, not exactly, indeed, of the Old South, but of something far worse, of the darkest days succeeding the war. These sections were the black belts. One belt of black majority counties, averaging about a hundred miles wide, ran between the coast and the highlands, spotted in the northeast with

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white counties, in South Carolina and Florida touching the coast. The water-shed of the State of Mississippi, running north and south, sundered this from the second black belt. Starting just above New Orleans, this extended up the Mississippi, some one hundred and twenty-five miles wide, to Tennessee, and up the Red River, perhaps forty miles wide, to Arkansas and Texas. Fifteen counties of Texas, with 82,310 white and 126,297 black inhabitants, formed a third, small, black belt.

In the black belt plantations things were as yet very backward. The deterioration and decline which war began had hardly been stayed. The old slaves could not at once become good hirelings. Their minds were too much occupied with political cares. Also the vision of "forty acres and a government mule" had been held up before them with fatal effect. "Free negro labor" the whites soon learned to look upon as a synonym for unfaithfulness and inefficiency. To work as a wage-laborer for a white man fixed upon a negro in the black territory the badge of social inferiority among his own kith and kin. The share system of farm labor, following the wages system, was unsatisfactory and usually gave way to the practice of tenancy from year to year. The whites, more generally than the negroes, abandoned country for town, which resulted in a system of absentee landlordism, even the old plantation houses being in some cases rented to negroes. The most shiftless and wasteful methods of farming were practiced, in sharp competition, too, with skillful white farming, in Texas and on the Gulf Coast. Jews driven from Russia, not having lost their absorbent disposition, settled in the black belt, and, by supplying the negroes with drink, baubles and cheap goods on trust, slowly got mortgages on their farms, mules, cows, hogs and furniture, reducing their victims to a state no better than slavery. Thus poverty and even destitution might be found where of old there was good living for all. The black belts, therefore, were not of the New South, but the remains of the

INCREASE IN PROPERTY VALUES

Old South. The case was analogous to that of the decline in so many old New England farms.

Abstracting from these retrograde communities, the progress of the South from 1880 to 1890 was phenomenal. Its development was in some respects more remarkable and gratifying than that of the West. The enormous land grants and subsidies to western railroads were a burden upon the whole country, the South included; while many such railroads as were built in the South after the war added to the direct debt of its worn and wasted commonwealths another debt of even greater magnitude. A prominent reconstruction governor attributed most of the evils of reconstruction times to railroad legislation, more heedless than corrupt, in which the United States, which could better afford it, had led the way.

In 1860 the assessed value of property in the South was \$5,200,000,000. The census of 1870 showed a decline of \$2,100,000,000, and that of 1880 another decline of \$300,000,000. In 1870 Massachusetts assessed her property at more than half the entire valuation of the South. New York and Pennsylvania then had more than the whole South. "The South in 1880 was burdened with debts, both State and private, its railroads in bad condition physically and financially, its manufacturing business very limited, its population largely in excess of any demand that could possibly exist for labor under the conditions prevailing, with but few banks and few strong friends in the great financial centres of the country."

From 1880 to 1890 the value of property in the South at large increased \$3,800,000,000, this being only \$100,000,000 less than the increase of the New England and Middle States combined. Moreover, it was a 50 per cent. increase against one of 22 per cent. on the part of those states. Southern farm assets increased 37 per cent. against an average increase in the other states and territories of 30 per cent. Southern farm products increased 16 per cent., while those of the rest of the country increased but 9 per cent. The gross



A GROVE OF ORANGES AND PALMETTOES NEAR ORMOND, FLORIDA

From a photograph by W. H. Jackson

return on the agricultural capital invested in the South was nearly twice as great as that from the same source in the other sections. After the fall in the price of cotton consequent upon Old World competition and the vast crop of 1890, the South's grain crop came to exceed her cotton crop, Texas leading in both wheat and corn.

Fully fifty varieties of sub-tropical trees which grew nowhere else in the Union adorned Florida's keys and coasts. The State bade fair to rival Louisiana in the production of sugar, and South Carolina in that of rice, as well as one day to supply the entire American demand for cocoanuts. The mulberry was indigenous to every part of this new Eden, which may, therefore, at no late date become an immense producer of raw silk. Cattle fed and fattened everywhere with-

MANUFACTURES

out shelter, in winter as in summer. Market gardening for the North was profitable, particularly in the line of early and semi-tropical fruits. It was found that a zone across the entire South in the latitude of Atlanta produced the finest of apples in unlimited quantities. Tennessee, Kentucky, Mississippi, and Texas reared innumerable horses, cattle and sheep of the best breeds.

Manufactured products were of even greater consequence than agricultural, exceeding them in value by \$140,000,000. During the decade manufacturing investments at the South increased 156 per cent. as against 120.76 per cent. for the country at large. The products doubled, while those of the whole land increased but 69.27 per cent.

The following table shows the growth of cotton manufacturing in the Southern States between 1880 and 1894 :

| | 1880. | 1890. | 1894. |
|-------------------------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|
| Capital, | \$21,976,713 | \$61,124,096 | \$107,900,000 |
| Number of Mills, | . 180 | 254 | 425 |
| Number of Spindles, | 667,754 | 1,712,930 | 3,023,000 |
| Number of Looms, | 14,323 | 39,231 | 68,000 |
| Value of Product, | \$21,038,712 | \$46,971,503 | |

To manufacture the entire cotton crop would require many times the investment of 1894. However, a smaller and smaller proportion of cotton went away to be wrought. New England capital was extensively used to rear cotton factories at the South, and the coarser cotton fabrics from the South were in competition at Lowell with goods made at that place. In 1895 a committee of the Massachusetts Legislature went South to investigate the significance of these facts.

Cottonseed, long considered a waste product, having proved to yield a valuable oil, in 1895 between 250 and 300 mills were at work in the South reducing the seed, and they consumed annually more than a million tons of it. This industry developed valuable by-products, among them oil, meal and cakes, and ingredients used in the manufacture of paper, soap^s and gas.

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

The grist mills of Richmond were making from Southern wheat the only brand of flour sure to cross the equator without spoiling.

In 1880 the South produced 397,301 tons of pig iron; in 1893, spite of the business depression, the section put out 1,567,000 tons. Her coal crop in the year last named was nearly 28,000,000, one-sixth of the whole country's product. In 1880 it had been but 6,048,000 tons.

Iron furnaces, pipe works, rolling mills, box-car and car-wheel shops, characterized the rich northern section of Alabama. On one side of Birmingham rose a mountain of iron fifty miles long, on the other lay a vast coal field; near at hand stood another mountain of limestone suitable for fluxing. Northern Alabama and tracts immediately adjacent contained coal fields sufficient, at the present rate of consumption, to supply the world for 150 years. Alabama was next to



A LOUISIANA SUGAR-CANE PLANTATION

From a photograph by W. H. Jackson

A COUNTRY OF UNLIMITED RESOURCES



A SOUTH CAROLINA COTTON FIELD
From a photograph by W. H. Jackson

Pennsylvania in coke producing, and next to Ohio and Pennsylvania in her yield of pig iron.

The more the South produced the clearer did it become that there were unlimited productive resources behind. Vast as were the forests of the great Northwest, more than half the country's standing timber was to be found in the South, much of it of the hard-wood varieties. Yellow pine the section possessed in exhaustless stores. A tract of country reaching from West Virginia to Northern Alabama, being roughly 700 miles long by 150 or 200 wide, contained a greater concentration of mineral and timber wealth than any other equal area in America or Europe. The conditions for its profitable development were ideal. On one side of the tract named grew cotton, fruit, truck and yellow pine, ready to be exchanged for the coal, iron and hard-woods of the upper country. On the other side lay the rich and populous prairie States, affording an almost unlimited market for all the products of the timber and mineral ridge.

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Tennessee, Alabama and Texas were rich in marble and all building stones. The best of asphalt was to be mined in Alabama at a dollar a ton. South Carolina annually yielded three million dollars' worth of phosphate rock, while similar deposits lay along the coast from North Carolina to Florida, and even on the gulf. Western Virginia, eastern Tennessee, and central Kentucky were rich in limestones. First-class gypsum was found in Virginia in seams six hundred feet thick. Salt, petroleum, aluminum, mica, topaz and gold appeared here and there in paying quantities. Rain rarely failed the farmer, or water-power the manufacturer. Nearly the whole South, save the mountains, was penetrated by navigable streams, being thus potentially independent of railroads.

If it was a Northerner who so named the "New South," the New South itself was essentially the creation of Southern men. The whites of the South were a virile race. Slavery had kept them from developing or revealing their powers. The purest Saxon-Norman blood in the world probably ran in their veins. The best traits of the English stock: initiative, firmness, perseverance, patience, pride, thrift, morality, were theirs in an eminent degree. Long misunderstood and distrusted at the North, with large debt and little credit, politics about them a boiling maelstrom, a war of races on their hands, difficulties which beset in like pressure no other section of our people, they did not despair or falter, but went earnestly to work to make the South a worthy home for themselves and their posterity. The deathless resolution with which this enterprise was pushed to success added an incalculable enrichment to American history.

With the rarest exceptions, few of these being men, the Southern people had become enthusiastically loyal. A German shopkeeper in a far Southern city, one July 4th, ran up in front of his place the German and the American flag, the German uppermost. An ex-Confederate captain forthwith waited upon

SOUTHERN PATRIOTISM AND CHARACTER

the man, giving him just five minutes in which to place the Stars and Stripes on top. In another city a young school-master, educated at the North, fearing offense should he display the United States flag over his school-house on the National Anniversary, concluded not to do so. What was his chagrin when the morning came to see the emblem floating above nearly every other public building in town. Listening suspiciously to the addresses, some formal, others wholly impromptu, of Confederate veterans at their camp fires, a Northern soldier failed to mark a single sentiment to which, as a patriot, he could take exception.

Nor could you justly question the patriotism of a Southerner if you chanced to hear him praising Jefferson Davis. His thought would be that in 1861 the compact theory of the Union according to which a State might secede at its will, had never been authoritatively declared false. Then, therefore, a citizen could secede with his State and not be a traitor, believing himself to be acting under the Constitution and not contrary thereto. Only the stern arbitrament of war, he would say, set aside the compact theory, making secession under the Constitution impossible and absurd.

The morality of the Southern people came out in their serious treatment of the drink question. The South Carolina dispensary system was the most advanced liquor legislation yet seen in any country. Probably unsuited to a constituency made up largely of cities, for the agricultural States it was a model. The other Southern Commonwealths nearly all passed local option laws, under which the country counties steadfastly voted "dry." In no case was such a vote a dead letter. A man undertaking to sell liquor in a "dry" county was in the first instance admonished. This always sufficed, except with strangers. If the adventurer persisted after being warned, he was either run out or shot. In consequence of this vigorous policy prohibition was sweepingly successful. In Arkansas, in 1895, there were said to be not above six coun-

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ties—the “wet” counties—where strong drink could be found on sale. The situation elsewhere corresponded.

Healthily remembering that “the law” can have no “sacredness” which does not proceed from the will of the people, Southerners were long too prone to avenge crime by summary appeals to the popular will. Right public sentiment on this subject asserted itself, however, more and more, at last finding voice in the South Carolina Constitution of 1895. The sixth section, Article VI., of that instrument provides that, when a prisoner lawfully in charge of any officer, is taken from such officer’s hands by his negligence, permission or connivance, the officer, upon true bill found, shall be deposed from his office pending trial, and if convicted, shall forfeit his office. Unless pardoned by the Governor, he is forever ineligible to any office of trust or profit in the State. The same section lays down that in all cases of fatal lynching the county in which it occurs is liable to the legal representatives of the lynched person in exemplary damages of not less than \$2,000. This was a novelty in American law.

Far angriest among the numerous perplexities confronting the Southern people in their struggle were those presented by the presence of the colored race. Over large domains, as we have seen, and in some entire States, these formed a majority of the population. The means used to deprive of political control the majorities in such constituencies, and to keep them from regaining such, have been repeatedly referred to in the course of this History. The conflict was bitter but the victory complete, won by means whose result, unlike their nature, was never doubtful. The supremacy regained was retained partly by the same appliances as were first employed in Mississippi and South Carolina by the operation of adroitly framed Constitutions. Every Southern white, no matter how much he might in theory disapprove the methods, insisted that the end sought and attained, the maintenance of white supremacy, was patriotic and righteous in the extreme, as important for

NEGRO VIEWS OF NEGROES

blacks as for whites. Every white man in the South would die rather than submit to the horrors certain to attend negro ascendancy.

The negroes more and more became resigned to this subjection—the ordinary from lack of spirit, the knowing ones from conviction. In his Atlanta Exposition address, Booker T. Washington said, “The wisest among my race understand that the agitation of questions of social equality is the extreme folly, and that progress in the enjoyment of all the privileges that will come to us must be the result of severe and constant struggle rather than of artificial forcing.”

The brightest Afro-Americans also deprecated the williness of their race to be coddled. The *New York Age*, a paper published in the interest of the colored people, said: “We have got to stop complaining about lack of opportunity and make the most of such opportunity as presents itself. When no opportunity presents itself, turn to and turn up opportunity. . . . We complain of lack of opportunity to make money when we squander millions every year on humbugs. Dollars count, but we do not hold on to the dollars; hence we are constantly passing the mendicant hat to support our own institutions and receiving a small check and a kick at the same time. We do not support our own enterprises, and then we complain because white men who receive our patronage refuse to give honorable employment to our girls and boys. Let us stop howling and saw more wood.”

Rendering the blacks politically innocuous simply relieved the race problem of its most threatening phase. Still were left swarming everywhere the enormous caravans of blacks, indolent and the fertile source of defective population, pauperism and crime, with no promise of essential change for the better.

No argument was required, especially after the display of negroes' work at Atlanta, to show that the colored race was bright. In every art, craft, knack, trick, lesson, which could

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be mastered by imitation, plenty of negroes would be found to excel. Among them were some equal to every demand of skilled artisanship. They made capital vocalists, actors, public speakers. In book learning, too, in the classics, in mathematics, or in science, they had but to keep the beaten path to reach with firm foot quite recondite fields.

While all this was true, there were three precious elements of character, devotion to principle, initiative, whether theoretical or practical, and power of endurance, mental or physical, in purpose or in deed, wherein the colored race seemed radically deficient. In each of the particulars named the defect appeared to be a genuine racial idiosyncrasy, not explicable by the people's previous condition of servitude. Truly grand negro characters there were, men of gold, firm in every virtue, admirable, an honor to humanity; yet the drift of the race in reference to principles of conduct, left these splendid instances to appear sporadic and phenomenal. All over the South the negroes almost to a man voted for "free rum" often as the liquor question came up. A "protracted meeting" of colored Christians being in progress in one of the South Carolina Counties, the weather changed and fire was needed. Ample fuel was at hand in the neighboring woods, to be had free of cost, for the mere effort of "toting" it. Declining this chance, the brethren, apparently without the slightest compunction, raided a white neighbor's fences, laying them low for a long distance. An observant Northern Doctor of Divinity, fifteen years resident in one of the largest Southern cities, knowing the colored people of his city thoroughly, and cherishing for them the kindest feelings, gave it as his candid opinion that not more than one of the numerous colored clergymen of the city lived chastely. In the class-rooms of colored colleges one could not but sigh over the fatal ease with which pupils, even the brightest, missed the essential points of nearly every discussion. In the Lyceum whole evenings often passed away amid loud wrangling over frivolous points of order, the question

BLACKS IN THE SOUTH



CARVING THE DECORATIONS FOR THE NEGRO BUILDING AT THE ATLANTA EXPOSITION

From a photograph by Howe

given out for debate being quite forgotten. Referring to the absence of originality and serious purpose in the negro mind, one of the ablest men in the South, perfectly conversant with negro character, yet wholly free from Southerners' prejudices, uttered the emphatic judgment that an isolated community of colored people, however well civilized and educated, would be unequal to the task of self-government, and would lapse into barbarism within two generations.

Outside the three colored tracts referred to above, the blacks formed, in 1890, a minority in every county of the South. The whites also increased on the whole far more swiftly than the blacks. In the great eastern black belt where there were 1,800,000 whites to 2,700,000 blacks, the whites multiplied nearly twice as rapidly as the blacks. The Gulf Coast white belt was an exception. Both races there underwent a heavy increase, the blacks gaining about 29 per cent., the whites about a third as much. Also the Mississippi and Red River bottoms revealed a gain on the part of the Africans of over a fifth, while the whites' growth was only a seventh.

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

Alarming mortality among negroes vastly retarded their increase. Dr. Gourdin DeSaussier, of Charleston, S. C., in 1895, obtained statistics showing that in that city, from 1880 to 1887, out of an average negro population of 28,730 there were 8,932 deaths, or about 31 per cent; and from 1887 to 1894, out of an average population of 34,691, 9,604 deaths, or about 28 per cent. Syphilitic and consumptive diseases were the most fatal. For the fourteen years there were 18,536 deaths to 13,010 births. Among the whites for the first period, "with about the same population," the deaths were 3,895, the births 3,854.

The negro betrayed slight disposition to wander far from his original seat; yet the decade 1880-90 witnessed on his part a few articulate movements. He tended to drift southward and westward, and from the highlands to the lowlands. Spite of this, however, 1890 saw more blacks north of Mason and Dixon's line than were ever there before. The proportion then to total population was 8.79 per cent. as against 5.46 in 1860. Kentucky, the western half of Virginia, and north-eastern Mississippi suffered an absolute decrease of colored inhabitants. So, outside the principal cities, did Tennessee, Maryland, northern Alabama and eastern Virginia. The people of color resembled the whites in a decided *penchant* for removing from country to city. Louisville gained 8,000, and three



DECORATIONS FOR THE NEGRO
Head of Slave

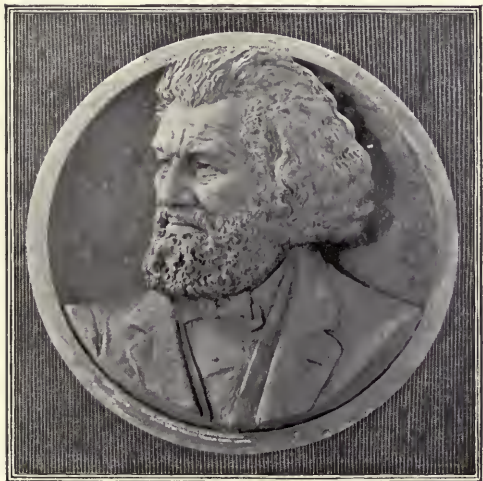
From photographs

FUTURE OF THE COLORED RACE

smaller cities of Kentucky 2,000. Chattanooga, Nashville and Knoxville, Tenn., gained 24,000—nearly twice as much as the State at large. Baltimore gained 13,000—more than twice as much as Maryland. The county containing Birmingham, Ala., received 27,089 of the 47,987 accessions to northern Alabama. So, in the first black belt, the cities generally outstripped the country in number of negro accessions. One-half the negro growth of eastern North Carolina and of Florida was in the cities. In Georgia little less than a third of the colored increase could be credited to the four principal cities.

The future of the colored race no one could predict with certainty. In 1790 Africans formed perhaps 19.3 per cent. of the United States population. The percentage in 1860 was 14.1. The census of 1870 reduced this figure to 12.7, when

many rushed to the conclusion that these people might, in no long time, vanish from our land. The census of 1880 dispelled that fancy, raising the percentage again to 13.1, while that of 1890 raised it to 13.5. African increase from 1880 to 1890 was 13.11 per cent., about half that attained by people of the other hue. Even should decrease be resumed, the



BUILDING AT ATLANTA
Head of Fred. Douglass
by Howe

colored people would be at least eight or ten per cent. of our total population in 1900. As the climatic area where they have any advantages over whites in the fight of life is less than this per cent., their success in this struggle would of

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR OWN TIME

course depend on their power to compete with the rival blood in higher callings than hand labor. Great crowds of men were pressing in from the North, while, more significant, foreigners had heard of the rare possibilities presented for acquiring homes in all parts of the South, and were coming in immense numbers to put the reports to the proof. These new comers were sure more and more to disuse sentiment in dealing with the negro. No form of labor would be left him unless he had special skill in it, nor was his tenure in all cases assured even by skill.

At the same time, the negro's best friends on earth, the conscientious men and women who had formerly owned slaves, were fast dying off. The genuine love felt by old Southerners of the better class toward their bondmen was a touching phenomenon, never appreciated at the North. Master and mistress looked upon their black people with a truly parental regard, much like that which fathers and mothers always experience toward children ill-endowed mentally. All over the South, in the old days, had lived noble men and women who stood in this tender attitude toward the colored members of their households. They sincerely and devotedly loved them. Younger white men and women who never owned slaves did not share this feeling. Friendly enough toward the negro, they cherished for him no sense of responsibility. The colored people knew this difference well. It was not to some Northern philanthropist that Pompey or Cuffy turned in desperate difficulty, nor yet to the kind-hearted young white gentleman, whom he might know to be friendly, but to Old Master and Old Mistress, if he could find them. They were sure to advise him well and to assist him if they could. The years that saw laid in their graves the last of that old slaveholder generation were thus a crisis in the future of the colored people.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE BATTLE OF THE STANDARDS AND THE REPUBLICAN RESTORATION

BOLT FROM REPUBLICAN CONVENTION.—THE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION.—POPULISTS AND DEMOCRATS.—THE CONTROVERSY OVER SILVER.—MCKINLEY'S CABINET.—THE CIVIL SERVICE.—GOLD IN ALASKA.—THE ALASKA BOUNDARY.—PELAGIC SEALING.—HAWAII ANNEXED.

NO party in power has ever won an election occurring amid hard times. That hard times prevailed in 1896 all agreed, but the agreement did not extend to causes. Most Republicans traced the evil to the Wilson tariff. A majority of the Democrats, all the Populists, and a considerable number of Republicans imputed the trouble to the Administration's financial policy, which they deemed vicious.

When the Republican Convention met at St. Louis, June 16, 1896, all saw that the coming campaign must turn upon the money question. Agitation for an ampler hard-money supply had been going on ever since the demonetization of silver in 1873. The greenback "craze," which received its quietus during the seventies, gave way to a demand that the nation increase its money volume by resuming the free coinage of legal tender silver dollars without limit to the number coined or condition that other nations adopt the policy.

The Bland Act of 1878 had assuaged this demand only for a moment. In 1892 the Populist Party, proclaiming free coinage as a cardinal tenet and denouncing the tariff controversy as a sham battle, polled a heavy vote. Comparatively

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little gold was mined. General prices continued falling. The repeal in 1893 of the Sherman Silver Purchase Clause of 1890, the difficulty Mr. Cleveland experienced in maintaining gold-redemption, the money-stringency and the commodity-glut during and after 1893 all combined at once to shape and to precipitate the issue.

In demanding free coinage the Populists were unanimous. President Cleveland sturdily championed the gold standard. As a party the Republicans had shown silver quite as much favor as their rivals, but the best-known statesmen of both parties had "wobbled" upon the question, and the recent platforms of both had worked to the utmost the art of chameleon hues, that their money planks might wear a yellow sheen by the Hudson, yet nearer the Mississippi seem white. It was the remoter West, then the land of borrowed capital and of silver mines, which most cordially believed the bimetallic doctrine. New York and New England led the gold cause. The burning question split even the Prohibitionists into a "narrow-gauge" and a "broad-gauge" faction, the latter in a rump convention incorporating a free-coinage manifesto into its creed.

The Republican platform bespoke an enlarged navy, the annexation of Hawaii, and the building, ownership, and operation of the Nicaragua Canal by the United States. It reasserted the Monroe Doctrine, even expressing hope for the eventual withdrawal of the European powers from this hemisphere and for the union of the whole English-speaking part of the continent by the free consent of its inhabitants. The good offices of the United States were invoked on behalf of peace and independence for Cuba. The platform lauded protection and reciprocity, specifically demanding encouragement for growers of sugar, hemp, and wool, and for the merchant marine.

During the reading of the money-plank the tension in the Convention was painful. "We are opposed to the free



*PRESIDENT WILLIAM MCKINLEY ON THE PORCH OF HIS HOME, CANTON, OHIO,
WHERE HE RECEIVED THE DELEGATES DURING THE CAMPAIGN OF 1896.*

BOLT FROM REPUBLICAN CONVENTION

coinage of silver," it said, "except by agreement with the leading commercial nations of the world, which we pledge ourselves to promote, and until such agreement can be obtained the existing gold standard must be preserved." Efforts to eliminate the word "gold" had been made in committee, but all had failed.

Senator Teller, of Colorado, moved a substitute for the above, favoring "the free, unrestricted, and independent coinage of gold and silver at our mints at the ratio of 16 parts of silver to one of gold." More than 800 of the 922 delegates voted to table this. There followed the first important bolt from a Republican National Council since 1872. Some of the silver delegates accepted the gold plank with a protest; others reserved the right later to reject platform and candidates. But Teller, though he had been a charter member of the party and secession cost him anguish, could not compromise. Shaking hands with the Chairman, he turned and, with streaming eyes, left the Convention, a score of his colleagues following.

On the first ballot for presidential nominee William McKinley, Jr., of Ohio, received over two-thirds of the votes. For this result, though McKinley's own long and honorable career, his affability, his devotion to protection, his leaning toward silver, and his practical conservatism, all assisted, he was largely indebted to his tireless and astute second, Marcus A. Hanna, previously known only as a capitalist, but henceforth a ruling spirit in his party.

The name of Garrett A. Hobart, of New Jersey, completed the ticket.

William McKinley, Jr., was born at Niles, O., January 29, 1843, of that Scotch-Irish stock so prolific in American presidents. In 1860 he entered Allegheny College, Meadville, Pa., leaving next year on account of ill-health. He taught school. For a time he was employed in a post-office near his parents' home. After the outbreak of the Civil War he

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enlisted in the 23d Ohio, the regiment with which William S. Rosecrans, Rutherford B. Hayes, and Stanley Matthews were connected. He was never absent on sick leave, and only once had a furlough, which was short. He participated in his regiment's every engagement, rising from a private, by well-earned promotions, until he was a major by brevet.



GARRET A. HOBART, VICE-PRESIDENT

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In 1867 Major McKinley began the practice of law in Canton, O. From 1876 to 1891 he served in the national House of Representatives. As Governor of Ohio and as a public speaker visiting every part of the country he was known personally to many, by

sight to many more, and by repute to all. The nomination of so strong a candidate did much to repair the silverite breach.

By July 1st thirty-three of the fifty State and territorial Democratic conventions had spoken for free coinage. Six days later the National Convention met at Chicago—a tumultuous assemblage, in sharp contrast with the business-like body at St. Louis. Scorning precedent, the Convention overruled the National Committee's choice of David B. Hill for temporary chairman, seating Senator Daniel, of Virginia, instead. Enough "gold" delegates were then supplanted by "silver" contestants to insure the two-thirds majority necessary to nominate for the presidency.

The platform attacked the Supreme Court for reversing precedents in order to declare unconstitutional the income tax which passed Congress as a part of the Wilson Act, and suggested the possibility of another reversal by the same court "as it might thereafter be constituted." Nearly every act or policy characterizing Mr. Cleveland's administration it

THE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION

denounced. His sending of troops to Chicago in 1894, his "surrender to holders of United States obligations of the government's legal option of redeeming in either silver or gold," his "issue of interest-bearing bonds in time of peace," and his "traffic with banking syndicates" were scored as of the nature of crimes. Gold monometallism was indicted as the mischief "which had locked fast the prosperity of an industrial people in the paralysis of hard times" and brought the United States into financial servitude to London. "Government by injunction" was assailed as a highly dangerous form of oppression. The Convention opposed "life tenure in the public service," recommending appointments based on merit, fixed terms in office, and equal opportunities to all citizens of ascertained fitness.

National bank circulation was declared derogatory to the Constitution, and rapturous applause hailed the demand for "the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1 without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation."

Hill, of New York, Vilas, of Wisconsin, and ex-Governor Russell, of Massachusetts, were the chief speakers on the conservative side. They urged that the mere threat of free silver injured business. William J. Bryan, of Nebraska, was called upon to reply. In a musical and penetrating voice that fixed the attention of all, he sketched the growth of the free-silver cause and prophesied its triumph. The gold standard, he said, not any "threat" of silver, was what disturbed business. The wage-worker, the farmer, and the miner were as truly business men as "the few financial magnates who in a dark room cornered the money of the world." "We answer the demand for the gold standard by saying, 'You shall not press down upon the brow of labor this crown of thorns. You shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold!'"

Sixteen members of the Resolutions Committee offered as a substitute for the silver plank a declaration similar to

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR TIME

that made by the Republican Convention. A further plank was moved, commending the honesty, economy, courage, and fidelity of the Administration. Both motions were lost.

Here was an *impasse* no less serious than that which had befallen the Republicans. No Chicago delegates withdrew, but, in the subsequent proceedings, New York's 72 delegates, 45 of New England's 77, 18 of New Jersey's 20, and 19 of Wisconsin's 24 abstained from all part whatever. The silver



WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN IN HIS LIBRARY,
LINCOLN, NEB.

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Republicans were like an amputated limb, the gold Democrats like a palsied one. It remained to be seen which disability would the more completely cripple its man.

Probably a majority of the silver delegates at first favored Richard P. Bland, of Missouri, father of the Bland Act, as the presidential candidate, but upon hearing Bryan's speech they swung to the young man's support. He was nominated on the fifth ballot. Arthur Sewall,

of Maine, was the nominee for vice-president.

William Jennings Bryan, then barely thirty-six, was the youngest man ever nominated for the presidency. He was born in Salem, Ill., March 19, 1860. His father served in the Illinois Senate and upon the circuit bench of that State. Young Bryan passed his youth on his father's farm. He graduated at Illinois College, Jacksonville, with oratorical honors, and studied law in Chicago. Having, in 1887, been

POPULISTS AND DEMOCRATS

admitted to the bar, he opened a law office in Lincoln, Neb. In 1890 he was elected to Congress, where he served two terms, declining a third nomination.

In Nebraska as in other Western States Republicans so outnumbered Democrats that Populists' aid was indispensable in any State or congressional contest. In 1892 their aid had been eagerly courted in Cleveland's behalf. That Bryan had assisted in consummating fusion between Populism and Democracy in Nebraska occasioned the unjust charge that he was no Democrat. The allegation gained credence when the Populist National Convention at St. Louis placed him at the head of its ticket, rejecting Sewall as vice-presidential nominee and choosing instead a typical Southern Populist, Thomas Watson, of Georgia.

Southern Populists hated Democrats worse than they hated Republicans, while Westerners of that faith were jealous of Sewall as an Eastern man and rich. Moreover, the success of radical Democracy meant that the Populists would be absorbed. It was surmised that the party leaders were planning for just such a "merger" as this. The Populist rank and file therefore insisted on nominating their vice-presidency candidate before naming a candidate for president. Bryan was thus made head of the ticket the next day after Watson. The silver Republicans, not needing to resort to any such wiles, acclaimed Sewall and Bryan together.

The Democrats had now flanked their foe in a rather formidable way, abandoning the Wilson Tariff to its fate, winning the whole force of Populists, playing havoc with the Republicans' silver wing, and upon the money issue forcing the enemy to defend the very ground occupied by Cleveland's



ARTHUR SEWALL

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR TIME

Administration. Had the election occurred early in the season these tactics might have won, but September witnessed an anti-Bryanite *ccup* which nearly redressed the balance. On the 2d and 3d of that month a group of ardent gold Democrats gathered at Indianapolis.

Like the silver Republicans, but with a wholly different thought, this convention proclaimed protection the ally of free coinage. It anathematized both. It lauded the gold standard and a non-governmental currency as historic Democratic doctrines, indorsed the Administration, assailed the Chicago income-tax plank, and cautiously pledged "resistance to every illegal trust, combination, or attempt against just rights of property." Ex-Senator Palmer, of Illinois, and Simon E. Buckner, of Kentucky, were nominated to stand upon this platform. Gold Democrats who could not in conscience vote for a Republican found here their refuge.

By this time parties were seriously mixed. Thousands of Western Republicans declared for Bryan; as many or more Eastern Democrats for McKinley. Party newspapers bolted. In Detroit the Republican *Journal* supported Bryan, the Democratic *Free Press* came out against him. Not a few voters from both sides "took to the woods," while many, to be "regular," appeared to lay their convictions on the table.

In principle both "silver loons" and "gold bugs" favored an "honest dollar," that is, a monetary unit which would fluctuate in value as little as possible. The silverites maintained that the general adoption of the gold standard had perniciously increased the demand for gold and diminished that for silver, without materially affecting the supply of either metal; that, hence, gold was constantly increasing in value, this fact expressing itself by a progressive fall in the prices of general commodities and of silver, to the sad detriment of all industries save money-lending. They argued that the free coinage of silver by even one powerful commercial nation like the United States would restore the historic value-ratio be-

THE CONTROVERSY OVER SILVER

tween the metals, compelling other nations to co-operate, and thus end the money famine and the fall in prices.

Perhaps most of those opposing independent free coinage admitted the undesirableness of gold monometallism. Some of them believed bimetallism realizable through international agreement; none of them deemed the United States able to achieve it alone. The attempt, they said, would place us upon a silver basis like Mexico and flood us with fifty-cent silver dollars, gold leaving the country or hiding within it. The resort to a "cheap" dollar would involve repudiation of our national debt and painfully lower national credit, while the wage-worker with his bisected pittance would suffer more than any other citizen.

A few went to the extreme of urging that bimetallism, national or international, was a delusion, and that gold was the only safe metal for full money, as superior to silver as this had once been to copper or wampum.

A considerable number who believed in bimetallism theoretically and had no doubt that the United States, proceeding to coin legal-tender silver, could determine for the world the parity of the two precious metals either single-handed or by compelling or inducing other nations to join, still felt that, even if temporary, such a shock to our finances and credit as was sure to follow the attempt would more than outweigh all the good which the intrinsically more rational monetary system might finally induce.

The campaign was fierce beyond parallel. Neither candidate's character could be assailed, but both candidates' motives and those of their followers were. Epithets like "gold bug" and "popocrat" were worn stale. A Western campaign song had for its refrain, "Shoot the gold bugs, every one." At a social function in Chicago some distinguished Englishmen known to sympathize with Bryan were by many present ogled and shunned like pickpockets. An Eastern man supporting Bryan was considered a freak and

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR TIME

made uncomfortable. Some Southern bankers were threatened with the loss of New York credit if they gave support to silver. For the first time, perhaps, in our history, so great, in financial circles, was the dread of a Bryan victory, corporations as such voted money to the Republican campaign fund. The other side could tap no such mine. Never before had a national campaign seen the Democratic party so abandoned by men of substance or with so slender a purse.

Save for one short trip to Cleveland the Republican candidate did not during the campaign leave Canton, though from his doorstep he spoke to hordes who came to visit him. He urged "sound money," but with no such emphasis or iteration as marked his pleas for protection.

His opponent, in the course of the most remarkable campaigning tour ever made by a candidate, preached free coinage to millions. The immense number of his addresses, their effectiveness, notwithstanding the slender preparation possible for most of them severally, the abstract nature of his subject when argued on its merits, and the strain of his incessant journeys amazed all at the man's power.

Had Mr. Bryan been able through the campaign to sustain the passionate eloquence of his Chicago speech or the lucid logic of that with which at Madison Square Garden he opened the campaign, he would still have failed to uphold the "more hard money" fervor at its midsummer pitch. His eloquence, indeed, did not desert him, but the level of his argument sank. Instead of championing the cause of producers, whether rich or poor, against mere money-changers, which he might have done with telling effect, he more and more fell to the tone of one speaking simply for the poor as such against the rich as such, an attitude which repelled multitudes who possessed neither wealth nor much sympathy with the wealthy.

As election day drew near the feeling rose that it postdated by at least two months all possibility of a Democratic victory. The Republicans' limitless resources, steady dis-



Pres. Wm. McKinley

Hon. L. J. Gage,
Sec. of Treasury

Hon. J. W. Griggs,
Att'y-General

Hon. John D. Long,
Sec. of the Navy

Hon. Jas. Wilson,
Sec. of Agriculture

Hon. Cornelius N. Bliss,
Sec. of Interior

Hon. John Sherman,
Sec. of State

Hon. Russell A. Alger,
Sec. of War

Hon. Jas. A. Gary,
Postmaster-General

PRESIDENT MCKINLEY AND CABINET, 1897

McKINLEY'S CABINET

cipline, and ceaseless work told day by day. They polled of the popular vote 7,104,244. The combined Bryan forces had 6,506,835; the Gold Democracy, 134,652; the Prohibitionists, 144,606; and the Socialists, 36,416.

By his choice of cabinet ministers the new Executive gave hostages to seasoned conservatism. The youngest was fifty years old; their average age was three-score. Their Nestor, John Sherman, was Secretary of State, having yielded his Senate seat to the swiftly rising Hanna. William R. Day, assistant secretary, succeeded him upon the outbreak of the Spanish War. In 1898 Day in turn resigned, when Ambassador John Hay was called to the place from the Court of St. James. As a recognition of the gold democracy's aid in the campaign the treasury went to Lyman J. Gage, a distinguished Illinois banker, till 1896 a Democrat. General Russell A. Alger, of Michigan, held the War Office till August 1, 1899, at which date Elihu Root, of New York, was installed. Postmaster General James A. Gary, of Maryland, resigned the same month with Sherman, giving place to Charles Emory Smith, of the *Philadelphia Press*, late Ambassador to St. Petersburg. John D. Long, of Massachusetts, assumed the Navy portfolio; Cornelius N. Bliss, of New York, that of the Interior; and James Wilson, of Iowa, that of Agriculture. In December, 1898, Ethan Allen Hitchcock, of Missouri, succeeded Bliss.

The solemn presentation to New York City of the Grant Mausoleum, April 27, 1897, the anniversary of the great hero's birthday, pleasantly introduced President McKinley to his round of general public functions.

From an eminence in Riverside Park rose a granite quadrangle, a massive pier at each corner, and a row of stately Doric columns along each side. A great circle of Ionic pillars surmounted the roof and supported the cupola, an obtuse cone, wherefrom, aloft, the eye swept "the lordly Hudson" for miles up and down. The remains of General Grant had previously, on April 17th, been laid in a red porphyry sarcophagus

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upon a square platform in the centre of the cruciform interior.

As the presentation day procession, miles in length, headed by the President, the Governor of New York State, the Mayor of the city, and the various diplomatic corps from Washington, wended its way to the sepulchre, upon the



THE GRANT MONUMENT, RIVERSIDE DRIVE, NEW YORK

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Hudson, war-ships of the Powers, Spain among them, joined our North Atlantic squadron in thunderous salutes.

The exercises at the tomb were simple. Bishop Newman offered prayer. "America" was sung. President McKinley delivered a fitting address of eulogy. General Horace Porter gave the mausoleum into the city's keeping, a trust which Mayor Strong in a few words accepted.

Another event, less spectacular, but charged with deep

THE CIVIL SERVICE

import for civilization, was the fifth congress of the Universal Postal Union, which assembled at Washington in May, 1897. The Postal Union, largely the fruit of American diplomacy, had procured for a billion people cheaper and more secure international mail service. The new postal treaty resulting from the congress was promptly approved by our Government.

If, after election, interest in politics cooled down among those to whom it represented principle and governmental policy, among those to whom politics meant office-getting it waxed hot. The possibility of dispensing offices to remunerate party-service had been greatly diminished by the merit system, occasioning extreme hostility to merit methods, especially in the War Department. Mindful of the party's and his own stand in favor of civil service reform, President McKinley did not readily succumb. At last, however, on May 29, 1899, he withdrew from the classified service about 4,000 positions, removing 3,500 more from the class theretofore filled through competitive examination or an orderly practice of promotion, and placed 6,416 under a novel system drafted by the Secretary of War. The order legitimized a large number of temporary appointments made without examination, and rendered eligible, as emergency appointees, without examination, thousands who had served during the Spanish War. Transfers to the classified service without examination were permitted, as were reinstatements of ex-employés.

Less in the hope of results in the direction of bimetallism than to convince those who might still cherish such a hope, President McKinley early in his term appointed Edward O. Wolcott, Adlai E. Stevenson, and Charles J. Paine special envoys to the Powers to urge international action for the rehabilitation of silver as full-tender money.

France was cordial, nor was the British Cabinet at first ill-disposed, so far as the Indian mints were concerned. But the Indian Council unanimously declined to reverse its monetary policy. The Bank of England at first inclined to co-

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR TIME

operate with the envoys by promising to use its legal license of accepting silver as part of its reserve, but a storm of protest from the "city banks" dismayed the directors into withdrawal. Lacking British support, the mission, like its numerous predecessors, came to naught, and the adoption and maintenance of the gold standard became our irrevocable policy.

Notwithstanding dire predictions to the contrary and impatience at our slow convalescence, the year 1897 brought a gradual revival of business, due partly to the end of political agitation, partly to the confidence of investing classes in the new administration. The money stringency, too, began to abate in the face of an increasing gold output, an increase seeming to be assured for a long time not only by the invention of new processes which made it profitable to work gold tailings and worn-out gold mines, but also by the discovery of rich auriferous tracts.

In the Arctic night of 1896-97 an old squaw-man made an unprecedented strike upon the Klondyke (Thron-Duick or Tondak) River, two thousand miles up the Yukon. By spring all his neighbors had staked rich claims. Next July the arrival at San Francisco of a two-million-dollar gold shipment precipitated a rush to the inhospitable Upper Yukon territory hardly second to the California migration of '49. Reputed suffering among the over-sanguine and under-equipped pilgrim thousands impelled Congress to vote relief and the War Department to warn of the danger those eager to embark who had not yet done so.

Latter-day Argonauts toiled up the Yukon or, swarming over the steep Chilcoot Pass, braved, too often at cost of life, the boiling rapids and boisterous lakes to be passed in descending the Yukon to the gold fields. Later the easier and well-wooded White Pass was found, traversed at length by a railroad, "The White Pass and Yukon," from Skagway to the Yukon's head of navigation at White Horse. The net earnings of this road during the first year of its operation were

GOLD IN ALASKA

reported as \$30,000 a mile, and for the fiscal year ending in 1902 as 61 per cent. on the capital stock. A second railway, wholly in United States territory, was soon projected to run north from the ice-free port of Seward, in the Kenai Peninsula, a distance of 413 miles, to the Tanana, a navigable tributary of the Yukon, whence came new rumors of gold.

Little lawlessness pestered the gold settlements, a remarkable fact in view of the lack, or vagueness, of all laws touching land, timber, and mining. When necessary the miners



THE FIRST PASSENGER TRAIN DESCENDING FROM THE SUMMIT OF WHITE PASS, ALASKA

themselves formed tribunals and meted out a rough-and-ready justice. The Dominion promptly despatched to Dawson a body of her famous Mounted Police. Our Government, more tardily, made its authority felt from St. Michael's, near the Yukon mouth, all the way to the Canadian border. On June 6, 1900, Alaska was constituted a civil and judicial district, with a governor, whose functions were those of a territorial governor. Already there was demand for a territorial representative in Congress.

The Kenai Peninsula, and so all the southerly coastland

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR TIME

of Alaska, boasted a climate no less mild than that of Scotland, and less subject to extremes of temperature than our Northern States.

From 1897 to the beginning of 1903 the gold districts of and near Alaska yielded \$132,500,000 in the yellow metal. In October, 1898, the Cape Nome coast, north of the Yukon mouth, disclosed new riches, whereupon treasure-seekers turned thither even from the Yukon. Nor did the wealth of this



*FLAT CARS USED ON THE FIRST PASSENGER TRAIN TO LEAVE LAKE BENNET.
IT CARRIED A QUARTER OF A MILLION IN GOLD DUST, JULY 6, 1899*

vast empire consist in gold alone. Timber, copper, semi-anthracite coal, and other minerals were found to abound. According to well-vouched reports the territory held 500 square miles of coal deposits from two to twenty feet in thickness, copper ledges of high assay and unknown depth, 260,000,000 acres of merchantable timber, and an area suitable for agriculture and stock-raising exceeding the combined size of Iowa, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Michigan, New York, and Pennsylvania. The

THE ALASKA BOUNDARY

streams were alive with fish. The yearly salmon catch was valued at \$8,500,000. During the last half of 1902 the province sent to the States nearly \$25,000,000 of produce, \$10,500,000 being in gold and silver. Alaskan commerce for the fiscal year ending with June, 1903, appeared to reach \$20,000,000, exclusive of gold.

The rush of miners to the Middle Yukon gold region, which, together with certain ports and waters on the way thither, were claimed by both the United States and Great Britain, made acute the question of the true boundary between Alaskan and British territory.

In 1825 Great Britain and Russia, the latter then owning Alaska, agreed by treaty to delimit their contiguous possessions by a line commencing at the southernmost point of Prince of Wales Island and running along Portland Channel to the continental coast at 56 degrees north latitude. North of that degree the boundary was to follow the mountain summits parallel to the coast until it intersected the 141st meridian west longitude, which was then to be pursued to the frozen ocean. In case any of the summits mentioned should be more than ten marine leagues from the ocean, the line was to parallel the coast and be never more than ten marine leagues therefrom.

When it became important more exactly to determine and to mark the boundary, Great Britain advanced two new claims; first, that the "Portland Channel" mentioned in the Russo-British Treaty was not the channel now known by that name, but rather Behm Channel, next west, or Clarence Straits; and, secondly, that the ten-league limit should be measured from the outer rim of the archipelago skirting Alaska, and not from the edge of the mainland. If conceded, these claims would add to the Canadian Dominion about 29,000 square miles, including 100 miles of sea-coast, with harbors like Lynn Channel and Tahko Inlet, several islands, vast mining, fishery, and timber resources, as well as Juneau

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR TIME

City, Revilla, and Fort Tongass, theretofore undisputedly American.

In September, 1898, a joint high commission sat at Quebec and canvassed all moot matters between the two countries, among them that of the Alaskan boundary. It adjourned, however, without settling this question, though a temporary and provisional understanding was reached and signed October 20, 1899. By a new treaty in 1903 the boundary question



THOUSANDS OF SEALS ON THE BEACH, ST. PAUL ISLAND, BERING SEA, ALASKA

was referred to a board embracing two Canadian, one British, and three American members. The treaty stipulated that at all events actual American settlements should remain American territory.

The commissioners of 1898 gave earnest attention to the sealing question, which had been plaguing the United States ever since the Paris Arbitration tribunal upset Secretary Blaine's contention that Bering Sea was *mare clausum*. Upon that tribunal's decision the *modus vivendi* touching seals lapsed,

PELAGIC SEALING

and Canadians with renewed zeal plied seal-killing upon the high seas. Dr. David S. Jordan, American delegate to the 1896-97 conference of fur-seal experts, estimated that the American herd had shrunk 15 per cent. the preceding year, and that a full third of that year's pups, orphaned by pelagic sealing, had starved. Reckoning from the beginning of the industry and in round numbers, he estimated that 400,000 breeding females with as many unborn pups had been slaughtered and that 300,000 pups had perished for want of nourishment. This estimate disregarded the multitudes of females lost after being speared or shot. Mr. Jordan predicted the not distant extinction of the fur-seal trade unless protective measures should be forthwith devised. British experts questioned his conclusions, but admitted the need of some restriction upon pelagic sealing.

To the American request for a suspension of seal-killing during 1897 the British Foreign Office tardily responded that it was too late to stop the sealers that year. Secretary Sherman, charging Great Britain with dilatory and evasive conduct upon this matter, met with the retort that the American Government was seeking to embarrass British subjects in pursuing lawful vocations.

Great Britain's attitude obviously had its inspiration in Canada, whose people resented our tariffs upon their coal, lumber, and live stock, as well as our contract labor laws, which disserved many border Canadians seeking employment in the States.

Prompted by Canada, Great Britain recanted her offer to join the United States, Russia, and Japan in a system of sealing regulations. The three countries last named thereupon agreed with each other to suspend pelagic sealing so long as expert opinion declared it necessary. The Canadians would consider the same course only on condition of indemnity to the owners of sealing vessels. In December, 1897, our Government cut off the Canadians' best market by ordering con-

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR TIME

fiscated and destroyed all imported seal-skins unless accompanied by consular certificates showing that they were not sea-captures. Spite of all this the devastation among the dwindling herd went on.

It was in part due to our imbroglio with Canada that the Senate rejected the Anglo-American Arbitration Treaty negotiated by Secretary Sherman's predecessor, although the most



RAISING THE AMERICAN FLAG AT HONOLULU, AUGUST 12, 1898

enlightened opinion in both nations seemed to indorse it. Fortunately the mutual good feeling which inspired the treaty survived this, promising not only to solve outstanding difficulties, but to become embodied, some time, in a convention.

The project of annexing Hawaii, arrested in 1893, was revived in June, 1897, and speedily indorsed by the Island Government. Not quite two-thirds of the American Senate could be brought to support it. After a year, therefore, the Annexation Treaty was abandoned, and a joint resolution to

the same end passed by a majority of both houses. Most of the Democrats and some of the Republicans opposed, among the latter Speaker Reed, whose growing want of accord with the Administration's expansion policy led him at last to forswear politics and retire to private life. The United States assumed the Hawaiian debt up to \$4,000,000. Our Chinese Exclusion law was extended to the Islands, and Chinese immigration thence to the continental Republic prohibited. A territorial form of government was imposed April 30, 1900.



THOMAS B. REED, SPEAKER
OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

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The party in power pointed to the deficit under the Wilson law with much the same concern manifested by President Cleveland in 1888 over the surplus. A new tariff must be enacted, and, if possible, in ample advance of a new congressional election. Congress, therefore, took the matter up in extra session. March 15, 1897, Chairman Nelson Dingley, of the Ways and Means Committee, reported a bill, which bore his name. The House at once adopted a rule whereby the measure, spite of Democratic pleas for time to examine, discuss, and amend, reached the Senate about two weeks later. This body passed the bill after toning up its schedules with some 870 amendments, most of which pleased the conference committee and became law. The President signed the Act on July 24, 1897.

Mr. Dingley estimated that the new law advanced the average rate of duty from the 40 per cent. of the Wilson Bill to approximately 50 per cent., a shade above the McKinley level. However, on articles of popular consumption, as a class, the Dingley Act laid a considerably heavier tax than either of its predecessors.

Reciprocity, a feature of the McKinley Tariff, was suspended by the Wilson Act. The Republican platform of 1896



NELSON DINGLEY, JR., MEMBER OF CONGRESS FROM MAINE

declared protection and reciprocity twin measures of Republican policy. Clauses graced the Dingley Act allowing reciprocity treaties to be made, "duly ratified" by the Senate, and "approved" by Congress; yet of the twins protection proved stout and lusty, while the weaker sister languished. Some concessions were given and received, but treaties which involved lowering strictly protective duties met summary defeat in the Senate. Reciprocity became a galling issue. For that well-advertised policy Continental Europe now

began substituting retaliatory tariffs. Having done our utmost in the maxima reached by neo-protectionism we could not follow suit and retaliate upon retaliation. As favoring domestic monopolies certain of the Dingley rates caused great ire in Republican as well as in Democratic quarters.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE WAR WITH SPAIN

WEYLER AND BLANCO.—DESTRUCTION OF THE MAINE.—NOT READY FOR WAR.—THE “BOTTLING-UP” OF CERVERA.—THE LAND CAMPAIGN.—THE OREGON TO THE FORE.—WAITING WORSE THAN FIGHTING.—SAMPSON AND SCHLEY.—ARMY REFORM.—RATIFICATION OF THE PARIS TREATY.—PORTO RICO AND THE UNITED STATES.—DEVELOPMENT OF PORTO RICO.—CUBA AND THE UNITED STATES.—CUBAN INDEPENDENCE.—FUTURE OF CUBA.

IN sheer ugliness of despotism, in wholesale, systematic, selfish exploiting, and in irredeemably corrupt and clumsy administration, Spain outdid all other powers ever called to deal with colonies. Curiously, Cuba, though ruled atrociously, did not rebel with Spain's South American fiefs. However, to every similar uprising elsewhere some convulsion in Cuba was the close prelude or sequel. In 1766 she bloodily anticipated our Revolution. Her slave population took fire in 1794 from the French Revolution and the sympathetic friction in Haiti. The “July Revolution” occurred but a year after the Cuban “Black Eagle” rebellion, 1829; the servile revolt of 1844 just preceded the dethronement of the last French Bourbons; and the ten-year insurrection beginning in 1868 followed Maximilian's fall in Mexico.

Unlike Turkish atrocities in Armenia or Belgian outrages

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on the Congo, Iberian fire and sword in Cuba, so near, concerned the United States immediately and deeply. John Quincy Adams wrote: "From a multitude of considerations Cuba has become an object of transcendent importance to the commercial and political interests of our Union. Its commanding position, the nature of its productions and its wants, furnishing the supplies and needing the returns of a commerce immensely profitable and mutually beneficial, give it an importance in the sum of our national interests with which that of no other foreign territory can be compared."

Humane as well as material interest came to be felt in Cubans' welfare. Cubans knew of this sympathy and used it. Cuban juntas at our ports sowed dragon's teeth among us. Naturalized Cuban-American citizens got into difficulties on the island. The utmost our Government could do in suppressing filibusters fell far short of satisfying Spain, who, furious as an Andalusian bull, gored to death American citizens suspected of complicity with the rebels and trampled their property. The *Virginus* affair, an outrage of this character, President Grant would, but for desperate resistance by his Secretary of State, Hamilton Fish, have redressed with the sword.

In 1894-95 the colonial council, only one-half elective, its acts subject to absolute veto by the Governor-General, administered, so it was alleged, but 2.75 per cent. of the insular revenues, Spain dispensing the rest. Cuba's general budget and all her tariffs were formulated beyond the Atlantic. All fatterest pickings fell to Spaniards. Socially, peninsular arrogance, centred at Havana, confronted insular defiance. Women studied, in their attire, to badge themselves as Spanish or as Cuban.

Spain denied the Cubans all effective power in shaping their country's fortunes, doomed them to political and social inferiority, confiscated the products of their labor without giving in return either safety, prosperity, or education, and inces-

santly exploited, impoverished, and demoralized. Journalists and others informing against official transgressors or advocating home rule were prosecuted or even banished without trial. Public meetings for protest were spied on or suppressed. The thought of systematically improving the Cubans' lot to make Spanish overlordship a blessing to them, seems never to have entered any Spaniard's mind. Force and cruelty were the sole resources. Remission of these now and then was so maladroit as to suggest weakness rather than honest mercy. One day martial law was proclaimed in Havana, and the final revolution, the blood-red dawn of independence, opened forthwith.

General Weyler, who, in January, 1896, succeeded the more humane Martinez Campos as Captain-General, went to work destroying buildings and crops and huddling non-combatants in camps, where fifty per cent. of them soon died. American citizens he imprisoned without trial, one of whom, Dr. Ruiz, died under circumstances occasioning strong suspicions of foul play. Yet the insurgents were more and more victorious, at last dominating all rural Cuba save one province.

In August, 1897, an anarchist shot Premier Canovas, whereupon Sagasta, his liberal successor, recalled Weyler, sending Ramon Blanco in his place. Blanco proclaimed amnesty, set up an autonomist government, freed Americans from prison and the wretched reconcentrados from their camps. To relieve these unfortunates Spain appropriated a large sum, promising implements, seed, and other means for restoring ruined homes and plantations. The reconcentrados received succor from the United States also. But it was now too late; the iron had entered the Cuban's soul. He rejected autonomy under Spain and would be pacified with nothing short of independence.

Meanwhile United States relations with Spain became daily more strained. President Cleveland, willing to mediate

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR TIME

between mother-country and colony, was persistently neutral, refusing, even under congressional pressure, to recognize Cuban belligerency. Only at the very close of his term was he brought to hint at intervention. President McKinley at



UNITED STATES BATTLE-SHIP "MAINE" ENTERING HAVANA
HARBOR, JANUARY, 1898

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his accession was in much the same state of mind and might have continued so had not two "untoward events" compelled a change.

A letter written by Señor Dupuy de Lome, Spanish Minister at Washington, was intercepted and published, wherein the President was held up as a cheap, time-serving politician. The offender promptly resigned, yet the diplomatic urbanity of the two powers was henceforth like the grim smiles and cold hand-shakes of duellists waiting the word.

Our Government sent the battle-ship *Maine* on a friendly visit to the Cuban capital. Old Morro Castle thundered a salute as the American war-ship entered Havana harbor. A Spanish government pilot took her to her harbor berth and courtesies were showered upon her officers. On the night of February 15, 1898, the silence brooding over the drowsy har-

DESTRUCTION OF THE *MAINE*

bor where the *Maine* loomed at anchor, 266 officers and men asleep within her steel walls, was rent by an explosion as of a colossal volcano; the dark hull leapt high amid a tremendous turmoil of waters, then sank till only a low, shapeless hump was visible. Not one of the 266 ever saw day.

Many immediately charged the catastrophe to the criminal negligence, if nothing worse, of the Spanish authorities. The Spanish Government earnestly denied fault, announcing



THE WRECKED "*MAINE*," HAVANA, CUBA—DECORATED MAY 30, 1902, BY ORDER OF PRESIDENT PALMA

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the conclusion, from such investigation as it could make without violating international law by trespassing upon the wreck, that the *Maine* disaster was due to an internal explosion. An

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR TIME

American Court of Inquiry studied the case more thoroughly, and, March 21st, confirmed the view, already about universal, that a submarine mine had blown up the *Maine*. Spanish complicity was not alleged in the findings, but quite generally inferred from them.

War-dogs now tugged at their leashes. The South no less than the North, the Democracy even more than the party in power, was hot to draw sword. "Remember the *Maine*" echoed up, down, and across the land. Congress unanimously voted \$50,000,000 for national defense. Peace delegations waited upon the President, but in vain. With as little avail the ambassadors of six powers jointly pleaded with him for further negotiations. He replied that the situation had become incurable by peaceful means.

April 20th, Congress, without recognizing the Cuban Republic, in effect declared war against Spain by alleging that the people of Cuba were and of right ought to be free and independent. To enforce Spain's withdrawal from Cuba and Cuban waters our army, navy, and militia were placed at the President's disposal. One hundred and twenty-five thousand State volunteers were called out; the regular army was increased to 61,919; a call for 75,000 additional volunteers soon followed, answered with alacrity by multitudes more than were needed.

Spain was an abject spectacle, misruled, soldier-ridden, torn by Carlism and anarchy at home, grappling at tremendous outlay of life and money with two rebellions beyond the sea. Yet, while the contempt felt for the senile Iberian officialdom seemed well-deserved, the Spanish people, not only at this first crisis but again and again during the war, showed admirable qualities. Popular subscriptions poured in to aid the impoverished treasury. Young reserves sprang to arms. Spain's soldiers and sailors were brave, patriotic, temperate, and uncomplaining, proud of the nation's glorious past, and ready to die for her without flinching.

NOT READY FOR WAR

Our own unpreparedness for war almost matched Spain's decrepitude. With such energy had we beaten Civil War swords into ploughshares that, though our fighting men were the finest in Christendom, our weapons were almost the poorest. A large part of our small-arms were of short range and obsolete type. Field artillery, somewhat better, was inadequate. Smokeless powder was wanting. There was no khaki or other cloth suitable for tropical uniforms. Canvas which the Post-Office Department had laid in for mail-bags had to be requisitioned for tents. Our form of army administration was effete. Spain's fortress walls might be crumbling,



PROTECTED CRUISER "OLYMPIA," COMMODORE DEWEY'S FLAGSHIP

ours were not yet quarried. If some of her men-of-war were old iron, many that we ought to have been able to rely on existed simply as ore.

In ships and guns the Spanish navy and ours were of about equal strength. We had the more battle-ships, but Spain boasted several new swift armored cruisers, besides a flotilla of powerful torpedo-boats. In men the case was different. The Spaniard was a poor gunner, a clumsy sailor, an awkward and careless mechanic, while the American tar was a good navigator, an expert with machinery, and, thanks to long and systematic practice, a deadly marksman.

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR TIME

These disparities were vividly apparent ere the war was a fortnight old. Placed in command of our naval forces in Asiatic waters, and ordered to capture or destroy the Spanish Philippine fleet, Commodore George Dewey, a little before midnight, April 30, 1898, entered the Boca Grande Channel leading to Manila Bay. The *Olympia*, his flag-ship, the *Baltimore*, the *Petrel*, the *Raleigh*, the *Concord*, and the *Boston* formed his fleet. His objective, which confronted him as day broke on May 1st, was Admiral Montojo's fleet, consisting of the *Reina Christina*, the *Castilla*, the *Don Antonio de Ulloa*, the *Don Juan de Austria*, the *Isla de Luzon*, the *Isla de Cuba*, the *General Lezo*, the *Marquis del Duero*, the *El Curreo*, and the *Velasco*—nine vessels to Dewey's six, backed by the Cavite batteries, under which they huddled. Batteries and fleet combined mounted more guns and threw more metal per volley than the American did.

Commodore Dewey held his fire till close range was attained. Then, sweeping around before his motionless targets, nearer and nearer, so baffling the enemy's aim, he poured a withering cyclone of shot and shell upon the Spanish craft. Two torpedo-boats ventured from shore. One was sunk, one beached. The *Reina Christina*, the Goliath of the fleet, steamed out to duel with the *Olympia*, but, overwhelmed with deadly attentions, could barely stagger back, 150 men killed and 90 others wounded. The pigmy of our fleet, the saucy and pugnacious *Petrel*, specially impressed the Cavite non-combatants. "Il piccaninny mucha-mucha bom-bom!" they said. In a little less than two hours, having sunk the *Christina*, *Castilla*, and *Ulloa* and set afire the other war-ships, the American withdrew to assure and arrange his ammunition supply and to breakfast and rest his brave crews. At 11.16 he returned to finish. By half past twelve he had silenced the forts and sunk or burned every Spanish war-vessel. The Spanish reported their loss at 381 killed and wounded. Seven Americans were wounded, none killed.

THE "BOTTLING-UP" OF CERVERA

Upon receipt of the tidings Congress passed a joint resolution of thanks to Dewey and his men, and the Commodore was made a Rear-Admiral.

Before Dewey's exploit in the Orient—indeed, as the first move of the war—Rear-Admiral Sampson went to enforce the proclaimed blockade of the Cuban coast, small expeditions at the same time conveying war-stuff to the insurgents. On May 12th Sampson bombarded San Juan de Porto Rico. Meantime the Spanish Admiral Cervera had disap-



PRESIDENT MCKINLEY AND ADMIRAL DEWEY REVIEWING THE SOLDIERS AND SAILORS FROM THE UNITED STATES CAPITOL STEPS

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peared west of the Cape Verde Islands, the whole world wondering whither he had gone. Our navy patrolled the coast from Maine to Florida, sea-port populations trembling as if they already heard the Spaniard's guns. The Spanish squadron was at last located in the harbor of Santiago de Cuba, across whose narrow harbor-entrance Commodore Schley, joined a little later by his superior, Sampson, drew a vigilant line of war-vessels.

One of these, the *Oregon*, child of the Pacific Coast, for

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she was built by the Union Iron Works, San Francisco, had just won laurels by a voyage unprecedented in naval history. On orders issued before hostilities commenced she steamed from San Francisco round the Horn to re-enforce the Atlantic fleet. The long, hard, swift trip was achieved without breaking a bar or loosening a bolt. It was thought that the Pacific Messenger might, off Brazil, fall in with Admiral Cervera, but Captain Clark, her commander, had no fear in case of such emergency, expecting, with a confidence which ere long appeared quite within bounds, not only to hold his own, but to punish his assailant.



UNITED STATES BATTLE-SHIP "OREGON"

At the end of her voyage the noble ship was, without overhauling, ready to take effective part in the Santiago blockade.

To leave the blockaders freer for other operations, also to prevent the remotest possibility of Cervera's escaping to harry our coast, relieve Havana, or establish himself in Porto Rico, it was determined to sink the collier *Merrimac* across the Santiago channel neck. Just before dawn on June 3d the young naval constructor, Hobson, with a forlorn hope chosen from scores of eager volunteers, and one stowaway who joined them against orders, pushed the hulk between the headland

THE LAND CAMPAIGN

forts into a roaring hell of projectiles and blew her up. The rudder being shot away, the wreck went down not across the channel but lengthwise. After the explosion the little crew of eight clustered round their float, not a man dead or missing. The firing ceased. A launch drew near bearing the Spanish Admiral himself, who, with admiring kindness, took aboard Hobson and his men and notified the American fleet of their safety. On July 6th they were exchanged.



MAJ.-GEN. WILLIAM R. SHAFTER

Meanwhile Major-General William R. Shafter had embarked at Tampa an army of 17,000 to invest Santiago by land. Extricating, assorting, and shipping the mass of supplies and equipment that blocked the railway terminals at Tampa, had been slow work. There was another week of delay afloat, owing to unfounded rumor about a Spanish cruiser and destroyer lying in wait to the southward.

Landing a little east of Santiago, at Daiquiri and Siboney, the invaders forthwith pushed toward the doomed city. They



WATER-FRONT OF THE UNION IRON WORKS, SAN FRANCISCO, CAL., WHERE THE "OREGON" WAS BUILT

encountered some resistance at Las Guasimas, but easily swept it aside. Further on, at El Caney and San Juan Ridge, the Spaniards made a stubborn stand, in the only pitched military engagement of the war. By July 2d our forces had invested

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR TIME

Santiago, save upon its western side. This the Cubans were expected to guard, but they did their work so ill that 3,600 Spanish reinforcements were able to march past and join their 8,000 besieged compatriots in facing our army.

Although our advanced position had been gallantly established it was precarious. Supply trains were stalled in the rear out of reach. Provision, whether for sound, for sick, or for wounded, was insufficient. Haversacks cast aside in action had been lost or stolen. The sickly season had set in and disease was beginning to help the enemy kill us. Demoralizing reaction from the zest of the forward movement settled upon the troops, who fought by day under a broiling sun and by night dug trenches and rifle-pits amid drenching rains. To assault was out of the question. For a moment retreat was suggested, but General Wheeler, commanding the fighting line, resolutely set his face against this, as, upon reflection, did his chief. General Toral, commanding the enemy, received a bold demand for surrender, while Sampson was requested to meet Shafter and arrange offensive operations.



GEN. JOSEPH WHEELER

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On July 3d Sampson steamed east to see Shafter. Cervera, under peremptory orders from his government to leave Santiago, deeming it "better to die fighting than to blow up the ships in the harbor"—the alternatives were reduced to this grim pair—selected the moment for his desperate attempt. His mariners seconded him with splendid heroism. The *Maria Teresa*, then the *Almirante Oquendo*, then the

Vizcaya, then the *Christobol Colon*, slipped out of the harbor and lunged westward. The *Brooklyn* gave chase, the other vessels in suit, the *Texas* and the *Oregon* leading.

THE OREGON TO THE FORE

As the Spaniard had predicted, it was "a dreadful holocaust." One by one his sturdy vessels reeled shoreward, silenced, crippled, torn with shot and shell, flames belching fore and aft. The *Oregon*, pride of our navy, delivered the finishing stroke. Outdoing the other pursuers and her own contract speed, she had, within three hours and forty minutes of the enemy's appearance, reduced his last vessel, the *Colon*, to junk. Cervera was captured, with 76 officers and 1,600 men. Three hundred and fifty Spaniards were killed, 160 wounded. Our losses were inconsiderable. Our ships suffered, in effect, nothing.



ROBERT W. MILLIGAN,
CHIEF ENGINEER OF THE
"OREGON"

Sea victory carried with it victory on land. Shafter's men, forgetting fatigue and despondency, danced, shouted, and hugged each other. Bands rent the air with wild music. The beleaguered forces heard this jubilation and understood it. They saw re-enforcements already landed extending the American right, and fifty transports more ready to land. They tried to choke the harbor throat with the *Reina Mercedes*, but she, ugly like the *Merri-mac*, sank lengthwise of the channel. Sampson could steam in any day.

The Washington authorities offered, in case of Toral's surrender, to convey his command to Spain free of charge. He therefore sought from Madrid, and after some days obtained, leave to capitulate, which he did on July 16th. Not only the garrison, but the entire Spanish force in eastern Cuba, about 24,000 men, became our prisoners of war.

General Miles now proceeded to Porto Rico, under convoy of the battle-ship *Massachusetts*, with 3,314 men not disembarked at Santiago. Other troops followed. The land-

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR TIME

ing-place "as advertised" was Point Fajardo, on the north-east coast of Porto Rico. There the Spanish forces concentrated, leaving Guanica, on the southwest, undefended. To this town the expedition changed its course, and here, upon July 25th, it raised the Stars and Stripes. The people waited "with impatience," as one wrote, "the American occupation destined to break the chain which had been constantly forging through four centuries of infamous spoliation, torpid despotism, and shameful moral slavery." The Spanish forces, 17,000 strong, were swept back by four simultaneous movements, and our conquest was as good as complete when the peace protocol, August 12th, ended hostilities.



GEN. NELSON A. MILES

This occurred none too soon for our army in Cuba. Malaria, typhoid, dysentery, and yellow fever were in sore progress. At one time over half the army in Cuba was ill. Not a regiment escaped. Paucity of rations due to the necessity of feeding 20,000 refugees increased men's susceptibility to disease. The situation gave no alarm till late in July, when the War

Department determined to transfer the entire Fifth Corps to Montauk Point for rest and recuperation.

August 3d many officers of high rank addressed to General Shafter a forcible letter, which became famous as the "Round Robin." "We are of the unanimous opinion," said they, "that this army must at once be taken out of Cuba and sent to some point on the northern sea-coast of the United States . . . or it will perish. . . . Persons preventing such a move will be responsible for the unnecessary loss of many thousands of lives." Shafter forwarded this letter to the War Department. Measures for removing the troops had already been taken and were being pressed with utmost haste, so that, con-

WAITING WORSE THAN FIGHTING

trary to the then popular impression, the "Round Robin" did not contribute to this end. The document was severely criticised as unnecessary and as contrary to good military form and discipline. Especially deplorable was its publication in the press, spreading useless and painful panic through the land.

At Manila, as in Cuba, waiting proved harder work than fighting. At the time of Dewey's victory Filipino insurgents encircled Manila on the land side, precluding Spaniards' escape. To spare life, the admiral awaited the arrival of land forces before taking the city. It was necessary to encourage the insurgents without permitting excesses on their part, nor could they be recognized as allies in a manner to involve our Government. Once Dewey firmly rebuked impertinence on the part of Admiral von Diederich, commanding the German fleet. A German war-ship, starting into harbor contrary to Dewey's instructions, was promptly halted by a shot across her bows.

With the English, on the other hand, our relations were cordial. When the British man-of-war *Immortalite* steamed for Hong Kong American yards were manned, crews making the welkin ring with cheers as she passed, while from her shrinking mast-head fluttered back, till it vanished in the blue, the farewell signal, "Thank you."

On June 30th the advance portion of General Merritt's troops arrived and replaced the insurgents in beleaguering Manila. The city surrendered August 13th, the day after the peace protocol was signed.

The total United States casualties during the Spanish-American War were: in the army, officers killed, 23; enlisted men killed, 257—total, 280; officers wounded, 113; enlisted men wounded, 1,464—total, 1,577; in the navy, killed, 17; wounded, 67; died of wounds, 1; invalided from service, 6—total, 91.

M. Rénan remarks that Frenchmen remembering the French Revolution place the makers of it all in the same

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Pantheon, forgetting how cordially those heroes often hated each other when alive. Americans will as graciously forget the heart-burnings, animosities, and angry controversies resulting from the Spanish war, not letting these shorten a whit the stature of any worthy participant in the struggle.



PRESIDENT MCKINLEY, ADMIRAL SAMPSON AND OTHER DISTINGUISHED GUESTS AT ADMIRAL DEWEY'S RECEPTION, WASHINGTON

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Santiago certainly afforded "glory enough for all"; yet a few seemed desirous of placing this *en bloc*. Some disparaged Admiral Sampson's part in the battle, others Admiral Schley's. Sampson was commander of the fleet, and he had sagaciously prescribed both its routine and its emergency procedure. Though on duty out of sight of the action at its beginning, he

SAMPSON AND SCHLEY

was entitled to the utmost credit for the outcome. The day added his name to the list of history's great sea-captains.

Schley had the fortune to be senior officer during his chief's temporary absence. He fought his ship, the *Brooklyn*, to perfection, and, while it was not of record that he issued any orders to other ship commanders, his prestige and his well-known stomach for battle inspired all, contributing much to the victory. The early accounts, which made Schley the central figure of the battle, deeply impressed the public. Unfortunately, Sampson's first report had not even mentioned him. Personal and political partisans entered into the strife, giving each phase of it the angriest possible look. Admiral Schley at length requested a court of inquiry, and such was speedily convened.

The court found Schley's conduct in the part of the campaign prior to June 1, 1898, vacillating, dilatory, and lacking in enterprise. It maintained, however, that during the battle his conduct was self-possessed and that he inspired his officers and men to courageous fighting. Admiral Dewey, President of the Court, held to a certain extent a dissenting opinion, which carried weight with the country. He not only acquitted Schley, for the most part, of blameworthiness preceding the battle, but considered him the actual fleet commander during the battle, thus giving him the main credit for the victory.

Legally, it turned out, Sampson, not Schley, commanded during the hot hours. Moreover, from the point of view of pure theory, the court's strictures upon Schley, like many criticisms affecting General Grant's conduct at Shiloh and in his Wilderness campaign, were probably just. But, in the one



REAR-ADMIRAL WINFIELD S.
SCHLEY

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case as in the other, a glorious victory having been won, people thought criticism an impertinence. The world has never allowed a proved artist to be condemned for what it considered mere breach of technique.

Both before and after his resignation, July 19, 1899, Secretary of War Alger was the victim of great obloquy, much of it, certainly, unjust. Shafter's corps undoubtedly



THE U. S. S. "BROOKLYN"

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suffered a great deal that proper system and foresight would have prevented. The delay in embarking at Tampa, the crowding of transports, the use of heavy uniforms in Cuba and of light clothing afterward at Montauk Point, the deficiency in tents, transportation, ambulances, medicines, and surgeons, as well as the sufferings among our troops in the United States, ought not to have occurred. Indignation swept the country when it was charged that Commissary-General



Jules Cambon

Judge Day

President McKinley

JUDGE DAY SECRETARY OF STATE, SIGNING THE PEACE PROTOCOL ON BEHALF OF THE UNITED STATES, IN THE CABINET ROOM OF THE WHITE HOUSE, WASHINGTON, AUGUST 12, 1898

ARMY REFORM

Egan had furnished soldiers quantities of beef treated with chemicals and of canned roast beef unfit for use. An investigating commission found that "embalmed beef" had not been given out to any extent. Canned roast beef had been used, and the commission declared it improper food.

The inquiry made it clear that the quartermaster service had been physically and financially unequal to the task of suddenly equipping and transporting the enlarged army—over ten times the size of our regular army—for which it had to provide. If wanting at times in system, the War Department had been zealous and tireless. At the worst it was far less to blame than recent Congresses, which had stinted both army and navy to lavish money upon less important objects.

The army system needed radical reform. There was no general staff, and the titular head of the army, Lieutenant-General Miles, had less real authority than the Adjutant-General and his bureau. The Commander-in-Chief frequently found himself at variance with Secretary Alger and with Secretary Root. The strategy which he proposed for the war was discountenanced. His Porto Rico campaign, which he would have made cardinal, was postponed to the Cuban operations described above. A published interview, wherein Miles applauded Dewey's dissent from the Schley Court of Inquiry findings, elicited from President Roosevelt a cruelly brusque reprimand, which reacted in favor of the victim.

By the act of Congress approved February 2, 1901, the regular army was enlarged and reorganized. The artillery arm no longer kept its regimental formation, but constituted a corps of two branches, coast artillery and field artillery, 156 batteries in all. Thirty regiments of foot and fifteen of horse were provided. The regular forces were augmented to 58,000 (in round numbers), which the President might swell to 100,000, including, in his discretion, 12,000 Filipino recruits. A regiment of Porto Ricans might also be raised for service in their island.

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR TIME

General Miles's powers were little widened by this act, though he was better liked at the legislative than at the executive end of Pennsylvania Avenue. His friends in Congress were able to modify in important particulars the form proposed for the measure by Secretary Root. Also the abolition of the army canteen, achieved by an amendment to the new statute, was more in accord with Miles's view than with the Adjutant-General's.

These imbroglios had little significance compared with problems more imperatively pressed upon our consideration by the war. When our commissioners met at Paris to draft the Treaty of Peace, one wished to confine United States demands in the Orient to Manila with a few harbors and coaling stations. Two wished Luzon or some such goodly part of the archipelago. The Treaty of Paris was signed December 10th. Spain evacuated Cuba and ceded to the United States Porto Rico, and Guam Island in the Pacific. The Isle of Pines, south of Cuba, was also surrendered. In 1903 we proposed quitting this island to the Cuban Republic, it to provide us with two harbors and naval stations on the Cuban coast. The whole Philippine Archipelago was transferred, the open-door being pledged to Spain for a term of years. As a muniment of title, grounding it upon purchase rather than conquest, \$20,000,000 were paid Spain, a-tenth of what President Buchanan once offered for Cuba.

This treaty encountered bitter opposition in both countries. The Cortes were against it, the Queen-Regent's royal prerogative having to be invoked to make it law. Our Senate ratified it February 6, 1899, by the narrow margin of two votes—forty-two Republicans and fifteen others in favor, twenty-four Democrats and three others opposing. But for the influence of William J. Bryan, who pleaded for it in the belief that the pending problems could be dealt with by Congress better than in the way of diplomacy, ratification would probably have failed.

RATIFICATION OF PARIS TREATY

Ratification of the Paris Treaty, indeed the very initiation of the war, marked a momentous departure from American tradition. Annexation of the Philippines was, in particular, an extreme novelty. Our participation, during Arthur's administration, in the erection of the Congo Free State was hardly a hint of this. More significant was our co-tenancy of the Samoan Islands with England and Germany by an agree-

Sen.
Wm. P.
Frye

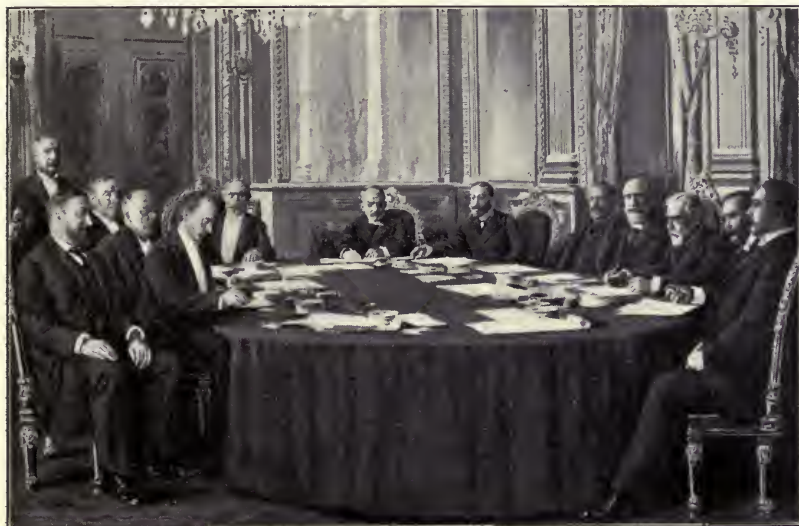
Sen.
Geo.
Gray

Hon.
Whitelaw
Reid

Señor
J. de
Garnicia

Señor
E. Montero
Rios

Interpreter
Ferguson



Sec.
John B.
Moore

Sen.
Cushman
K. Davis

Judge
Wm. R.
Day

Gen.
Rafael
Cerero

Señor
W. R. de
Villa-Uruttia

Señor
B. de
Ebanuoxa

Sec.
Emilio
de Ojeda

THE FINAL SESSION OF THE SPANISH-AMERICAN PEACE COMMISSION IN PARIS,
DECEMBER 10, 1898

From a photograph by V. Gribayedoff

ment which the United States Senate ratified in January, 1900. The group was partitioned among the three powers, the islands west of 171 degrees west longitude, including Tutuila and Pago Pago Harbor, the only good haven in the group, falling to the United States. Also, Hawaii had been annexed. These precedents, if they could be termed such, were supported by considerations of national security, the obtaining of

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR TIME

naval bases or strategic points, a principle which might further justify us in taking Guam, Porto Rico, and a post in Cuba.

Porto Rico had an area of about 3,600 square miles, containing 953,243 souls—about the population of Maryland—crowded into an area no larger than the eastern shore of that State. The people were more exclusively rural than those of Cuba. About a third were colored, about three-fourths peons,



CUBA'S FIRST SENATE, IN SESSION—SENATE CHAMBER, HAVANA

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a semi-barbarous type of poor-whites and mixed bloods, who lived in contented ignorance, poverty, and debt. Part of these were ex-slaves, whose freedom had in 1874 been bought from the owners for \$11,000,000, or the descendants of such. About a twentieth of the Porto Ricans compared favorably with the virile and intelligent classes in any land. They had the Spanish sensitiveness and pride.

PORTO RICO AND THE UNITED STATES

Though they had been docile under Spain, the Porto Ricans hailed the Americans as deliverers. Their aspirations were: (1) commercial, for free trade with us and a system of savings banks; (2) social, for the gradual adoption of American customs, civilization, and language, with universal, free and compulsory education; (3) political, for a territorial status, with ultimate statehood, and sadly needed fiscal, judicial, and administrative reforms.

From the Spanish evacuation till December 5, 1898, General John R. Brooke was military governor both of Cuba and of Porto Rico. He was succeeded in Porto Rico by General Guy V. Henry, who in turn gave place, May 8, 1899, to General George W. Davis. These able men at once began reform work. The fact of cession divorced Church and State, stopping public expenditure for royal revenues and ecclesiastical dues. Outlay was reduced more than half. Vexatious taxes were abolished, also the lottery system. Special privileges were abated, franchise-granting hedged about, the foreclosure of agricultural mortgages suspended for a year, and child labor forbidden.

In 1899 there were about 600 schools, with 26,000 pupils, in 1900 about 800, with 38,000 pupils—barely an eighth the children of school-age, still a larger proportion than had ever attended before. At the beginning of 1903 \$192,896 had already been spent on school-houses. There were reported at that time 55,000 pupils, with 1,126 teachers.

Spared the ravages of war, Porto Rico suffered heavily from the fury of Nature. August 8, 1899, a cyclone, whereof the Weather Bureau had given timely notice, found the people unprepared, sweeping 2,700 to death. Two-thirds of the coffee district was devastated; torrents rolled down the valleys; the hill-side earth tumbled in avalanches; while on the southern coast a huge tidal wave rose as if to dam back the waters rushing from the land.

This disaster widened sympathy with the view, already

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prevalent, that our markets should be open for Porto Ricans selling or buying, since the doors of Spain and of Cuba, till lately open to them, were now closed. By Act of Congress, April 12, 1900, fifteen per cent. of the Dingley rates were levied against Porto Rican products, to cease, however, at



President Palma

PRESIDENT PALMA AND HIS CABINET, SECRETARIES ZALDO, TAMAYO, TERRY, MONTES, DIAZ, AND YERO—IN THE PALACE, HAVANA, CUBA

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latest, March 1, 1902. The actual end came earlier, July 25, 1901, when civil government was proclaimed.

The inhabitants now formed a body politic as "The People of Porto Rico." All Porto Rico citizens were "entitled to the protection of the United States." Insular laws so far as consistent with our own, also our own laws locally applicable, were made valid on the island, subject to modifica-

DEVELOPMENT OF PORTO RICO

tion by the insular legislature. This consisted in a House of Delegates—five members elected biennially from each of seven districts—and an Executive Council of eleven appointed for four years by the President. Six of these, known as “portfolio members,” constituted the Governor’s Cabinet. Five were native Porto Ricans. The Governor was appointed for four years. The Act provided for a resident Commissioner to the United States, paid by the United States. A Commission to codify the maze of Porto Rican laws was to be appointed. The established courts were maintained, but an appointive district judge was placed at the head of the system, with appeal to the United States Supreme Court.

The suffrage was restricted with close educational or property and residential qualifications, and the Executive Council was given power to narrow it still more.

“All grants of franchises, rights, and privileges or concessions of a public or quasi-public nature” were to be made by the Executive Council with the approval of the Governor. All franchises granted in Porto Rico had to be “reported to Congress, which reserved the power to annul or modify the same.”

Hon. Charles H. Allen, of Massachusetts, the first Civil Governor, was inducted into office May 1, 1900. In the election which soon succeeded the Republicans were sweepingly victorious. The Federal Party, which had carried the island by 6,500 within the year, took no part, alleging that United States officiousness made all effort vain.

Governor Allen cabled to Washington that this Republican victory meant legislation for the good of the island, education, public works, stable government, and the protection of property interests. Many feared, however, lest American suzerainty should prove too paternal, overshadowing the worthy beginnings of self-government. It was the President whom 6,000 Porto Rican workingmen petitioned, as “the father of their country,” to see that they got employment on

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public works, and other relief. The House of Delegates could hardly muster a quorum for its humble routine, while its members continually went to "portfolio" councilors for direction. The richest and ablest element in the island, mostly of Federal proclivities, held aloof from such little part in political life as the law permitted.

In other respects results were happy. The Insular Treas-



THE FIRST HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE CUBAN REPUBLIC, HAVANA

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ury credit balance trebled in a year, standing, July 1, 1902, at \$314,000. The exports for 1902 increased over 50 per cent., most of the advance being consigned to the United States. The principal exports were sugar, tobacco, the superior coffee grown in the island, and straw hats. Of the coffee, the year named, Europe took \$3,000,000 worth, America only \$29,000 worth. Porto Rico imported from the United States \$7,415,-

CUBA AND THE UNITED STATES

000 worth of commodities, from Spain over \$808,000 worth. The first year under our government there were 13,000 fewer deaths than the year before, improvement due to better sanitation and a higher standard of living. Mutual respect between natives and Americans grew daily.

Touching Cuba, the course to be pursued by the United States was clear. We were in the island as trustees for the Cubans. The fourth congressional resolution of April 20, 1898, gave pledge as follows: "The United States hereby disclaims any disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction, or control of said island (Cuba) except for the pacification thereof, and asserts its determination when that is completed to leave the government and control of the island to its people." This self-denying ordinance, than which few official utterances in all our history ever did more to shape the nation's behavior, was moved and urged, at first against strong opposition, by Senator Teller, of Colorado. Some thought it likely that but for the pledge just recited European States would have formed a league against the United States in favor of Spain.

December 13, 1898, a military government was established for "the Division of Cuba." The New Year saw the last military relic of Spanish dominion trail out of Cuba and Cuban waters. The Cuban army gradually disbanded. The work of distributing supplies and medicines was followed by the vigorous prosecution of railroad, highway, and bridge-repairing, and other public works, upon which many of the destitute found employment. Courts and schools were resumed. Hundreds of new schools opened—in Santiago sixty, in Santiago province over three hundred. Brigandage was stamped out. Cities were thoroughly cleansed and sewer systems constructed. The death-rate fell to a lower mark than ever before. In 1896 there were in Havana 1,262 deaths from yellow fever, and during the eleven years prior to American occupation 440 annually. In 1901 there were only four.

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Under the "pax Americana" industry awoke. New huts and houses hid the ashes of former ones. Miles of desert smiled again with unwonted tillage.

A census of Cuba, taken by the War Department October 16, 1899, showed a population of 1,572,797, a falling off of nearly 60,000 in the twelve years since the last Spanish census. The average density of population was about that of Iowa, varying, however, from Havana Province, as thickly peopled as Connecticut, to Puerto Principe, with denizens scattered like those of Texas. In the island at large two-thirds of the people—in the rural districts eighty per cent.—could neither read nor write.

In December, 1899, Governor Brooke retired in favor of General Leonard Wood. A splendid object-lesson in good administration having been placed before the people, they were, in June, 1900, given control of their municipal governments and the powers of these somewhat enlarged.

In July Governor Wood summoned a constitutional convention, which, meeting in November, drafted a ground-law modelled largely upon our Constitution. The Government was more centralized than ours. The President was to be chosen by an electoral college. His term of office was four years. Six senators from each of the six departments were elected for a term of six years, one-third coming in every two years. Representatives in the lower house were elected, one-half every two years, to serve four years, apportioned in the ratio of one representative to every 25,000 people. Suffrage was universal.

The bill of rights was more specific than ours, containing, among other things, a guaranty of freedom in "learning and teaching" any business or profession, and in peaceably assembling, "without arms, for all licit purposes." A provision was inserted calculated to prevent "reconcentration," another forbidding confiscation of property as a penalty, still another against retroactive laws except new penal statutes more favorable to delinquents. For usurpation and for certain

CUBAN INDEPENDENCE

other offences the President might be suspended from office by the Senate on motion of the House, and, if found guilty, deposed.

Upon a hint from Governor Wood the convention took up the subject of Cuba's relations with the United States. It laid stress upon reciprocity, but entirely ignored conditions which President McKinley deemed precedent to the cessation of our control. March 2, 1901, Congress adopted as a rider to the Army Appropriation Bill an amendment, named from



THE CRUISER "BROOKLYN" PASSING MORRO CASTLE,
CARRYING GEN. WOOD FROM HAVANA, MAY 20, 1902

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its author, Senator Platt, of Connecticut, which embodied the necessary conditions and enacted that until they were fulfilled the control of the island was not to be turned over to its people. The points to be safeguarded were that Cuba should permit no foreign lodgement or control, contract no debt beyond the resources of the ordinary net revenues to pay interest and provide a sinking-fund for the principal, permit our intervention to protect Cuban independence or to maintain a government competent to protect life, liberty, and property, and

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to sustain international obligations undertaken by the United States under the Paris Treaty on behalf of Cuba. Cuba must further ratify the acts of the military government, protect rights acquired thereunder, continue to improve city sanitation, give the United States certain coaling and naval stations, and finally by treaty confirm these things and adjust our title to the Isle of Pines. Upon June 12, 1901, the convention, not without much opposition, adopted the amendment.



*TOMASO ESTRADA Y PALMA.
THE FIRST PRESIDENT OF
CUBA, IN THE PALACE,
HAVANA*

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The first President of the Cuban Republic was Tomaso Estrada y Palma. He had been years an exile in the United States and was much in sympathy with our country. His opponent in the canvass, General Bartolomo Maso, withdrew before the end of the campaign, alleging United States pressure in favor of Estrada Palma. The eastern provinces nevertheless gave Maso eight electoral votes. Maso and his supporters

joined in the ovation which greeted Estrada's home-coming. In May, 1902, the Stars and Stripes were hauled down and the Cuban tricolor raised. The military governor and his soldiers, as the Spaniards had done so recently, left the island, going with a record of dazzling achievements that had in a few months done much to repair the mischiefs of centuries.

From the moment Spain evacuated, Cuban affairs began as by a "manifest destiny" to shape themselves toward annexation to the United States. Put to proof, the Cubans revealed less power of self-government than had been hoped. Such Spaniards and Spain-adherents as remained—all, in fact, who prized honest and virile government—preferred United States to Cuban rule. Cuban sovereignty must at best be

FUTURE OF CUBA

more formal than real. The industries of the island would be immensely benefited by the demolition of tariff walls between Cuba and the United States. Withal, that the United States needed Cuba our wisest statesmen had always seen. It was but natural, therefore, that, soon as our flag was hoisted in Cuba, the influence of the United States authorities was used in all legitimate ways to create a public opinion in the new



*LOWERING THE STARS AND STRIPES ON THE PALACE,
MAY 20, 1902, FOR THE FLAG OF THE CUBAN REPUBLIC*

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Republic favorable to incorporation with us. It was charged, and many believed, that our authorities used certain illegitimate means to this end. President Estrada Palma no doubt favored annexation. Leaders with a contrary thought were in one way or another silenced.

Cut off from her former free commercial intercourse with Spain, Cuba looked to the United States to market her raw sugar, most of our people wishing to assist. Advocates of

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reciprocity urged considerations of honor and fair dealing with Cuba, where, it was said, ruin stared planters in the face. Senators and representatives from beet-sugar sections opposed the step as ruinous to a distinctively American industry, while calculated to be helpful not to the American public but to the Sugar Trust alone. The Sugar Trust, of course, favored reciprocity, and was charged with the expenditure of large sums in that interest. Against it was pitted the Sugar Beet Trust, a new figure among combinations.

During the long session of the LVIIth Congress, the House "insurgents," as the Republican opponents of reciprocity were called, joining the Democratic members, overrode the Speaker and the Ways and Means Chairman, and attached to the Reciprocity Bill a rider cutting off the existing differential duty in favor of refined sugar—a dart aimed at the vitals of the Sugar Trust. This clash of the trusts outlasted the session, neither side being able to convince or outvote the other. At the polls next year the reciprocity cause seemed to be vindicated. A reciprocity treaty was negotiated and promptly ratified in Cuba. Radically amended in the United States Senate, it returned to Cuba for reconsideration. The vexed question occupied the stage still in 1903.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE UNITED STATES A PACIFIC OCEAN POWER

NATIVE TRIBES OF THE PHILIPPINES.—THE MOROS AND VISAYANS.—CHINESE IN THE PHILIPPINES.—THE RELIGIOUS QUESTION.—AGUINALDO.—THE PHILIPPINE REPUBLIC.—THE PHILIPPINE CONGRESS.—AFFAIRS IN SAMAR.—GENERAL MILES'S REPORT.—THE SCHURMAN COMMISSION'S REPORT.—THE "INSULAR CASES."—THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST DISCUSSION.—INAUGURATION OF GOVERNOR TAFT.—THE PACIFIC CABLE.

AT the end of the war with Spain the United States, with 84,233,069 citizens and dependants, stood fourth in population among the nations of the world, the Chinese and the British Empire holding each from 350,000,000 to 400,000,000, the Russias 131,000,000, and France with her dependencies about 83,666,000. Our acquisition of the Philippine Islands suggested these comparisons almost imperatively.

The Philippines formed a section of the insular cordon southeast of the Chinese coast, approaching Formosa to the north and Borneo and Celebes to the south. Their extent was 1,152 miles meridian-wise by 682 miles across. A third of their area, which nearly doubled New England's, was taken up by Luzon, a fifth or a sixth by Mindanao. There were seventeen principal isles besides, with 1,500 or more islets. Luzon, to the north, with Marinduque, Mindoro, Masbate, and others, formed one group, the most civilized; Mindanao, to the south, with the Sulu Archipelago and Palawan, comprised another group, the wildest; while between them lay a

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third group, the Visayas (Negros, Panay, Cebu, Bohol, Leyte, Samar, and lesser land-dots), "median" in civilization as well as geographically.

Fifty or more volcanoes, twenty of them active, besides innumerable hot and cold springs, revealed the geological origin of the archipelago. The characteristic tropical seasons, dry in winter, rainy in summer, were well marked, save on the eastern coasts, where precipitation was more uniform. Southwardly the temperature averaged much as at the north, but varied less. There were high altitudes comfortable for Europeans the year round, but the climate generally was trying. Intense home-sickness, nervous collapse, even insanity attacked many a white sojourner. Numerous harbors notched the coasts, Manila the best and best located.

Manila hemp, tobacco, sugar, copra (dried cocoa-nut kernels), coffee, rice, and indigo made up the islands' most prized tribute to world-markets. Mindanao and Palawan furnished spices also. Most of the archipelago's 73,000,000 acres, fertile beyond conception, were virgin soil. From 200,000 to 400,000 civilized natives held squatters' tenure on public lands. Only 4,940,000 acres were subject to recognized private ownership. Deposits of gold, copper, high-grade iron ore, coal, and other minerals underlay large tracts, and valuable timber-lands abounded.

The inhabitants numbered from 6,900,000 to 8,000,000. Some reckoned even 10,000,000. There were 25,000 resident Europeans. Of every twenty natives one might be a Mohammedan, one a pagan, the rest Christian. The common calling was agriculture, but it was of a primitive sort. A little lumbering was carried on, less mining and manufacturing.

There were eighty-four native tribes, mainly of the Malay type, which cropped out persistently despite Mongolian, Caucasian, and Negrito admixtures. The Negritos, black, stunted savages, represented the earliest known inhabitants, now driven

NATIVE TRIBES OF THE PHILIPPINES

to forest and mountain hidings and, as a separate stock, nearly extinct. Other savages, distinct from the Malays as from the Negritos, were the so-called Indonesians, of Mindanao. These, not numerous, were a fine, tall, strong race, with large heads, high foreheads, aquiline noses, wavy blonde hair, and abundant beards. Savage Malays ranged the unexplored wilds. Sections of the Philippines were reported as given over to slavery, polygamy or concubinage, head-hunting, even cannibalism.

The hardy bronze Igorrotes of northern Luzon appeared to be at bottom Malays, though Negrito blood ran in their veins and Mongolian features marked many a face. They had withstood all attempts to Christianize them, and stubbornly clung to their primitive mode of life as tillers of the soil. Nevertheless they adhered to the American arms and rendered valuable porter-service.

Their religion had elements of sun and ancestor worship. The one tangible feature in it was the "kanyan," a drunken feast held on such occasions, fifteen in all, as marriage, birth, death, and serious illness. The feast began with an invocation to Kafunion, the sun-god, and a dance much like that of the American Indians. Then came the swilling of tapi, a strong beer made from rice, and gorging with buffalo, horse, or dog meat, the last being the greatest delicacy. Till the Americans vetoed the practice, the Igorrotes were "head-hunters." The theory was that the brains of the captured head became the captor's.

The Igorrotes had magnificent chests and legs and were extensively used as burden-bearers. Sustained by only a few bowlfuls of rice and some sweet potatoes, a man would carry fifty or seventy-five pounds on his head or back all day over the most difficult mountain trails. The Igorrotes had a mild form of slavery, and, though good-natured and at times industrious, appeared utterly without spirit of progress or moral outlook.

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR TIME

The Malay-Filipinos comprised, upon the lowest estimate, forty-seven tribes and 5,700,000 souls. In the southern or Mindanao group were the fierce Arah-Malay Mohammedans known as Moros, owing allegiance first to their local dattoes, then to the Sultan of Sulu. They loved war,



IGORROTES OF BENGUET EATING FIGS AT A RELIGIOUS FESTIVAL

despised work, practised polygamy. Their piracies had been curbed only within fifty years, and their depredations and slave-raiding by land were never wholly prevented. The slaves consisted of such as had succumbed in fight, such as had sold themselves for debt, and the descendants of both. Slaves

THE MOROS AND VISAYANS

seemed to be humanely treated and were often permitted to earn money and buy their freedom. The Moros liked the Americans, and were suspiciously eager to "assist" our forces in subduing the insurgent Tagals.

The Visayans, 2,500,000 strong, belonging to the Middle Group, were Christians. A warlike Visayan variation upon the Mindanao coast had for centuries held its own against Moro and Indonesian alike. Also Christian were the most advanced of all the tribes, the Tagals or Tagalogs, number-



TWO IGORROTE SAGES SUNNING THEMSELVES ON THE PLAZA AT MID-DAY, LEPANTO

ing 1,500,000. They dominated the Northern or Luzon Group, though not to the exclusion of an equal or greater number of others, the Ilocanos, Cagayans, and Pangasinans in North Luzon, the Bicol and Pampangas in South Luzon.

Many Filipinos had studied in Europe. There was a select class possessing information and manners which would have admitted them to cultivated circles in Paris or London, and thousands were the peers of average middle-class Europeans. Perhaps 500,000 were hybrids, "mestizos," cluster-

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR TIME

ing at the commercial centers—white, yellow, or brown, according to the special blend of blood. By heredity and contagion they emulated Europeans. They were intelligent but uneducated, active but not industrious, fond of pomp and display. Below the élite and the mestizos were the vast toiling masses, some, like the Ilocanos, intelligent, enterprising, spirited, eager for education, but mostly passive and abject.

The typical Filipino was vain and lazy, but cheerful and quick to learn whatever did not require reasoning power. His



THE MALOCON DRIVE, MANILA

ethical level was low. An American teacher related to her small charges the edifying story of George Washington and the cherry-tree, while a group of native mothers listened agape. She reached the climax: "Father, I did it. I cannot tell a lie." "Pobre Madre!" ejaculated a little brown woman, with a fond glance at one of the children. "Poor mother! to have such a blockhead for a son!"

The Filipinos possessed marvelous musical talent and appreciation. Bugle-calls were the delight of their soldiers. Any evening in Manila one might hear the latest music from

CHINESE IN THE PHILIPPINES

Paris or London, even Sousa's marches, discoursed by native performers in the band out-of-doors or in the theatrical orchestras, and eagerly drunk in by high and low.

Some 40,000 Chinese were an essential if an unpopular element of Philippine life. They were the pushful, daring traders of the islands—for local purposes the only traders. They were as ill-liked as the Jews in Russia, being not infrequently maltreated, in out-of-the-way places killed. The Yellow Peril threatened the Philippines as it did the American West, competition in the labor-market being fierce. Coincidentally with the same movement here, Spain ineffectually sought to shut the Chinese from her oriental colony. After American occupation our Chinese Exclusion Act was in force there, though yearly arrivals from the Celestial Empire still considerably exceeded the departures.

Spain had done in the islands much civilizing work, though none of a very advanced kind. Dethroning petty broiling rajahs, curbing piracy, establishing public order, planting the Cross, and introducing letters were grand performances, far better effected than the analogous work anciently done by the Romans. In 1893 Spain gave the Filipinos a measure of home rule, a system not unlike the Russian Zemstvos or village communities. At the American occupation schools were numerous, but not general. The University of St. Thomas graced Manila, and some seventy colleges and academies at various centers professed to prepare pupils for it.

But the shield had its dark other side. If Spain spared the Philippines the worst barbarities marking her rule in Peru and Mexico, she inflicted here other iniquities in sum nearly as indefensible. Government monopolies were numerous. Private property was confiscated, now openly, now by indirection. Compulsory labor was exacted. The old system of farming the revenues was as great a curse as the friars. Liberty was not regarded, nor, upon occasion, life itself. The wonder was not that the natives rebelled, but that they were patient

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR TIME

so long. Senator Hoar wrote: "I should as soon give back a redeemed soul to Satan as give back the people of the Philippine Islands to the cruelty and tyranny of Spain."

The Christian Filipinos were Catholics. There were 746 regular Catholic parishes, all but 150, which were small, administered by Dominican, Augustinian, and Franciscan friars,



ILOCANO SEÑORITAS, SANTA COYATINA, ILOCOS

to whose orders natives were ineligible. After generations of evangelical devotion, during which they did creditable work, of lasting value, these orders had ceased to be aggressive religiously, growing opulent and oppressive instead. They owned 420,000 acres of the best land.

Once settled in his parish the friar stayed, becoming a fixed political factor, while a Spanish officer never held a post

THE RELIGIOUS QUESTION

over four years. Thus the friars were the pedestal of the civil government. Their influence could unseat a refractory officer; it could and often did cause natives to be deported, even put to death. One of their victims was that beautiful spirit, Dr. Rizal, author of "Noli me Tangere," the most learned and distinguished Malay ever known. He had taken no part whatever in rebellion or sedition, on the contrary was quoted as, just before his death, denouncing the folly of Aguinaldo's 1896 rebellion. Yet, because he was known to abominate clerical misrule, he was, without a scintilla of evidence that he had broken any law, first expatriated, then shot. This murder occurred December 30, 1896, doing much to further the rebellion then spreading. Forty of the obnoxious friars were killed, 403 imprisoned till released by the Americans. Of the 1,124 in the islands in 1896 but 472 remained in 1898.

"Every abuse leading to the revolutions of 1896 and 1898 the people charged to the friars; and the autocratic power which each friar exercised over the civil officials of his parish gave them a most plausible ground for belief that nothing of injustice, of cruelty, or oppression, or narrowing liberty was imposed on them for which the friar was not entirely responsible. The revolutions against Spain began as movements against the friars." *

Free Masonry was a redoubtable antagonist to the Orders. Other secret leagues, as the Liga Filipina, also opposed. Most belligerent of all was the "Katipunan." It was formed after the 1872 outbreak, adopting as its symbol the sinister initials "K. K. K.," "Kataas-Tassan Kagalang-Galang, Katipunan" — "sovereign, worshipful association." If the Ku Klux Klan gave the hint for the society's symbol it also prefigured its program. It was the Katipunan which, catching and truly expressing popular Filipino feeling, led in bringing on the insurrection of 1896.

*Abridged from Reports of Taft Commission.

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR TIME

In December, 1897, the conflict, marked by frightful atrocities on both sides, had, as in Cuba, degenerated into a "stalemate." The Spaniard could not be ousted, the Filipino could not be subdued. Spain ended the trouble for the time by promising reform and hiring the insurgent leaders—prominent among them Don Emilio Aguinaldo—to leave the country.

Aguinaldo was born March 22, 1869, at Cavite, of which town he subsequently became mayor. His blood probably contained Spanish, Tagal, and Chinese strains. He had



CUSTOM HOUSE, MANILA

supplemented a limited school education by extensive and eager contact with books and men. To a surprising wealth of information he added inspiring eloquence and much genius for leadership. He had the "remarkable gift of surrounding himself with able coadjutors and administrators." The insurrection early revealed him as the incarnation of Filipino hostility to Spain. Judging by appearances—his zeal in 1896, bargain with Spain in 1897, fighting again in Luzon in 1898, acquiescence in peace with the United States, reappearance in arms, capture, and instant allegiance to our flag—he was a

AGUINALDO

shifty character, little worthy the great honor he received among his own people and, for long, here.

But if he lacked in constancy he excelled in enterprise. Spaniards never missed their reckoning more completely than in thinking they had quieted Aguinaldo by sending him to China with a bag of money. He simply held the treasure for future use as a war-fund. Since Spain had not redressed and



DON EMILIO AGUINALDO AND HIS ADVISERS

showed no disposition to redress Philippine abuses, he regarded the Spanish-American War as an auspicious chance for renewed activity in the cause of Filipino home rule.

Consul Wildman, at Hong Kong, saw the value to us of Aguinaldo's co-operation. Aguinaldo and those with him declared that Wildman, alleging authority from Washington, promised the Filipinos independence; and other Hong Kong consuls and several press representatives had the impression

that this was the case. Wildman absolutely denied having given any assurance of the kind. Admiral Dewey also denied, in the most positive manner, that he, Dewey, had done so.

Whatever the understanding or misunderstanding at Hong Kong, Aguinaldo, some twenty-four days after Dewey's victory, was brought home by the Americans, in the evident belief that they were to co-operate with him for Filipino independence. He easily resumed his leadership, and in three weeks proclaimed an independent republic, announcing that an American protectorate would not be opposed. Dewey furnished him arms and ammunition.

June 19, 1898, the Spanish Government attempted, as in Cuba, to mend matters by instituting autonomy; but the failure was farcical. Aguinaldo roused and solidified the opposition with consummate skill. Nearly every province of Luzon had its rebel organization. Aguinaldo's men assumed the offensive, and with effect. At last only Manila remained to the Spaniards. Even Manila the insurgents hemmed in by a line reaching from water to water. They must have captured ten thousand prisoners, though part of those they had at the Spanish evacuation were from the Americans.

September 8, 1898, the American commander ordered the insurgents out of Manila, and, October 10th, still further away. Although the Paris Treaty was not yet ratified, the President, believing that it would be, and wishing to widen forthwith the sphere of American authority, ordered our government, December 21, 1898, extended with despatch over the archipelago. In January he appointed Jacob G. Schurman, of New York, Admiral Dewey, General Otis, Charles Denby, ex-minister to China, and Dean C. Worcester, of Michigan, a commission of conciliation and investigation.

Conciliation was sorely needed. The Treaty of Paris summarily gave not only the islands but their inhabitants to the United States, entirely ignoring the people's wishes in the matter. It seemed to guarantee perpetuation of the friar

THE PHILIPPINE REPUBLIC

abuses under which the Filipinos had groaned so long. Outside Manila threat of American rule awakened bitter hostility. In Manila itself thousands of Tagals, lip-servants of the new masters, were in secret communion with their kinsmen in arms.

As the year 1899 opened the Spanish troops embarked for Spain. The Philippine "republic," from Malolos, its capital, still effectively controlled at least the Tagal provinces of Luzon. Aguinaldo, its soul from the first moment, was president. This republic assumed to act for the archipelago,



AGUINALDO'S HEADQUARTERS, MALOLOS

taking the place of Spain. It, of course, had neither in law nor in fact the power to do this, nor, under the circumstances, could the administration at Washington, however desirable such a course from certain points of view, consent that it should at present even try.

It was wholly problematical how long Aguinaldo, unaided, could dominate Luzon, still more so whether he would rule tolerably, and more uncertain yet whether Center or South would ever yield to him. Insurrection had foothold in four or five Visayan islands, but never, it seems, in Negros, which

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR TIME

of its own accord raised our flag. In Mindanao, the Sulu islands, and Palawan the insurgents had practically no influence. The propertied minority in the commercial sections preferred seeing the American Eagle spread his wings from Sulu to north Luzon to feeling the beaks of native vultures pecking at their vitals. They, as well as the foreign commercial interests, dreaded Aguinaldo and his braves more than they had dreaded Spain. The business men of Iloilo, in December, 1898, petitioned for American protection. The insurgents burned the town.

Even should the native government succeed in establishing order over the entire archipelago, clearly it must for an indefinite period be incompetent to take over the international responsibilities connected with the islands. To have at once conceded Filipino sovereignty could have subserved no end that would have been from any point of view rational or humane.

The American situation was delicate. We were present as friends, but could be really so only by the time seeming not to be so. At points we failed in tact. We too little recognized distinctions among classes of Filipinos, tending to treat all alike as savages. When our thought ceased to be that of ousting Spain and attacked the more serious question what to do next, our manner toward the Filipinos abruptly changed. Our purposes were left unnecessarily equivocal. Our troops viewed the Filipinos with open contempt. "Filipinos" and "niggers" were often used as synonyms.

Imperialism of the greedy sort was in evidence, the worst enemy of sane or successful expansion, bringing to the islands carpet-bag adventurers and other would-be exploiters with dreams of rich spoils. Unlovely incidents of our occupation got undue prominence by being officially suppressed or distorted. Alike from harpy imperialism and from anti-imperialist assertions the Filipinos received the impression that we were there to out-Spaniard the Spaniard in oppression.

No blood flowed till February 4, 1899, when a skirmish,

THE PHILIPPINE CONGRESS

set off by the shot of a bullyragged American sentry, led to war. February 22, 1899, the insurgents attempted to fire Manila as they had fired Iloilo. From now on their towns were seized, one "capital" after another captured, and their forces driven north beyond the foot-hills.

May 1, 1899, the Philippine Congress almost unanimously voted for peace. Aguinaldo consented. Mabini's cabinet, opposing, was overturned, but Mabini had General



ADOPTION OF CONSTITUTION BY THE PHILIPPINE "REPUBLIC," SEPTEMBER 15, 1898. PARADE STARTING FROM AGUINALDO'S HEADQUARTERS

Luna arrest the peace emissaries, sentencing some to prison, some to death.

Thereafter the very skeleton of the Republic vanished. Most of the incorrigibles were soon captured, some, among them Mabini, deported to Guam. The insurgents, like the Macedonian Committee in European Turkey, still wielded a midnight authority, making secret levies—robbers rather than tax-gatherers. They inflicted capital punishments, but as murderers rather than as executioners. Like the untamable mountain Greeks under Turkish rule, they were styled, and in fact more and more became, highwaymen, "ladrones."

By the end of 1899 central Luzon seemed pacified. Meantime our power was recognized in the Southern group

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR TIME

by a treaty with the Moro Sultan and his dattoes. This instrument confirmed the custom whereby bondmen had been permitted to buy freedom. Datto Mandji, of Zamboanga, went further and abolished slavery among his subjects. Most of the Visayas also, sometimes willingly, usually perforce, accepted our sovereignty.



DATTO MANDJI, OF ZAMBOANGA, THE RULER OF MINDANAO, WHO ABOLISHED SLAVERY AMONG HIS SUBJECTS

Systematic opposition to our arms ended in March, 1901, by a stratagem involving much nerve, and also that clever duplicity which, when successful, is a high merit in war. A captured message from Aguinaldo asking re-enforcements gave clew to his whereabouts. General Frederick Funston, with four comrades and a picked body of trustworthy natives, set out for the rebel lair. Aguinaldo, informed that re-enforcements were at hand with five captured Americans, sent provisions and directed that

the prisoners be treated with humanity. On March 29th he received the officers, but had hardly excused them when a volley leveled his body-guard. Next moment, with a rush, the American officers seized him, his chief of staff, and his treasurer. Four days later Aguinaldo swore allegiance to the United States, and in a proclamation advised his followers to do the same. Great and daily increasing numbers of them obeyed. Even the irreconcilable exile Mabini took the oath and returned to his home in time to die.

From May 5, 1900, to June 30, 1901, there were in the Philippines 1,026 hostile contacts. Two hundred and forty-five Americans were killed, 490 wounded, 118 captured, 20 missing. Three thousand eight hundred and fifty-four Filipinos

AFFAIRS IN SAMAR

were killed, 1,193 wounded, 6,572 captured, and 23,095 surrendered.

Everywhere and always Americans had to guard against treachery. Americans and, even more, native "Americanistos" falling into rebel hands suffered outrages inspired rather by the teachings of their old Spanish masters than by their leaders' desire or by the conduct of our troops. In Samar treacherous guides abandoned to die in a wilderness an expedition of our Marine Corps under Major Waller. Eleven prisoners



ABOUT THREE THOUSAND INSURRECTOS TAKING THE OATH OF ALLEGIANCE TO THE UNITED STATES ON THE PLAZA AT BENGUET, ABIA, EARLY IN APRIL, 1901

subsequently captured were shot without trial as implicated in the barbarity. The Major was court-martialed, but acquitted, in that he had acted under superior orders and military necessity. A sensational feature of his trial was the production of General Smith's order to Major Waller "to kill and burn," "make Samar a howling wilderness," "kill everything over ten" (every native over ten years old). "Hell-roaring Jake Smith," as the General was dubbed, was in turn court-martialed and reprimanded. President Roosevelt considered this not severe enough, and summarily retired him from the service.

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR TIME

Lieutenant-General Miles thought our Philippine operations attended with unnecessary severity, referring for proof to serious but then unpublished charges of cruelty made by the civil governor of Tayabas. February 18, 1902, he asked permission to take to the islands a committee of Cubans and Porto Ricans to explain to the Filipinos the benefits of American rule, also to bring a Filipino delegation to Washington to make our personal acquaintance, as it were. Secretary Root declined, declaring that the war had been conducted with "marked humanity." "It is to be regretted," he continued, "that the officer of highest rank in the army should assume the truth of charges reflecting upon the credit of the army without giving General Chaffee an opportunity to be heard." Miles was taxed upon the Senate floor with having supplied to anti-administration Senators official war-department matter which his superiors did not desire to give out.

At last the General got leave to make a tour of inspection, in the course of which he issued orders against practices contrary to civilized warfare. Challenged for facts that could render such orders appropriate he, on February 19, 1903, made a report upon the condition of the archipelago, naming some abuses which had been charged. The reconcentration of non-combatants had been practiced, 600 being imprisoned in one building. Reconcentrados had been compelled to pay for food largely above its cost. Natives at Laoag, Luzon, deposed that numbers of them had been whipped, two dying under the infliction, but this testimony, so far as it reflected upon the officer in command, was discredited. The water torture had often been used to extort information. It was charged that Philippine scouts had taken prisoners into the country with orders not to bring them back unless they guided our force to the rebel camp, and that all but one were shot or bayoneted to death.

Such of these outrages as occurred were sporadic, caused by a sort of calenture destroying the mental poise of unaccli-

GENERAL MILES'S REPORT

mated officers. Major Waller's sufferings nearly drove him insane. Similar lapses into barbarous ways had been observed among troops in other torrid regions.

"It is most gratifying," wrote General Miles, "that the serious offences have not been committed by the soldiers unless they were under the direct orders of certain officers who were responsible. Soldiers have withheld fire when ordered to shoot prisoners, protested against acts of cruelty, and written to relatives at home urging them to take action to put a stop to those



PHILIPPINE COMMISSIONERS DELIVERING THE WRITTEN SURRENDER OF PASIG TO BRIGADIER-GENERAL KING AND STAFF

crimes. It will ever be one of the glories of the army that such deeds committed by whatever authority are abhorrent to the American soldier. The officers who are responsible, using chiefly cruel Macabebes, do not by any means constitute the American army, and there must be a very unmistakable line drawn between the great body of honorable and faithful officers and brave soldiers whose records have been commendable, and those of whatever station whose acts have received and should receive the earnest condemnation of all honorable men."

Constructive civilization work went hand in hand with

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR TIME

the enforcement of our sovereignty. Order was re-established in the Cavite Province so early as 1898. In the next two years several municipal governments were erected under military protection, and six ports of entry opened, two more than Spain permitted, with seventy-three ports for coastwise trade.

March 20, 1899, the Schurman Commission began its labors, working with great zeal, discretion, and success to win the Filipinos to the American cause. On April 4th they issued a proclamation which had excellent effects. While unquali-



Jacob G. Schurman

Admiral George Dewey

Charles Denby

Dean C. Worcester

FIRST PHILIPPINE COMMISSION, 1899

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fiedly asserting United States supremacy, it assured the natives of self-government so far as compatible with our rule, disclaimed all purpose of exploiting, guaranteed civil and religious rights, with equality before the law, and an honest, effective, and beneficent administration through natives where and when possible. United States sway in the archipelago would be made "as free, liberal, and democratic as the most intelligent Filipino desired," "a firmer and surer self-government than their own Philippine Republic could ever have guaranteed."

THE SCHURMAN COMMISSION'S REPORT

In September, after collecting much testimony from representatives of the well-to-do and intelligent classes, the Commission was recalled.

Its preliminary report, published just before the 1899 elections, exercised notable influence. The Commission's conclusions, elaborated in its final report, were that the United States could not then withdraw from the Philippine Islands, that the Filipinos were unprepared for independence, that Aguinaldo had never been promised independence, that there was no general public opinion among the Filipino peoples, but that men of property and education, who alone interested themselves in public affairs, favored American suzerainty.

American opinion was far from clear upon the tangled problems of fact, law, policy, and ethics which the Philippine situation involved. Some wished our demands in the Orient confined to Manila, with a few harbors and coaling stations. Others thought it well to take all Luzon. Nearly all were surprised when the administration insisted upon appropriating the whole Philippine domain.

Then arose the question what the Filipino's status was to be under our flag. Only the Vice-President's casting vote defeated a resolution, introduced in the Senate by Senator Bacon, of Georgia, declaring our intention to treat the Filipinos as we were pledged to treat the Cubans. After ratification the Senate passed a resolution, introduced by Senator McEnery, of Louisiana, avowing the purpose not to make the Filipinos United States citizens or their land American territory, but to establish for them a government suited to their needs, in due time disposing of the archipelago according to the interests of our people and of the inhabitants.

In international law, though Spain's sovereignty was at last hardly more than nominal, our title to the Philippines, whether or not good as based on conquest, was unimpeachable considered as a cession by way of war indemnity or sale. Nor, according to the weight of authority, could the constitutional

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right of the federal power to acquire these islands be denied. It was indeed ably contended that unless made for specific constitutional purposes, such as national defence, the annexation would not be lawful, but the judiciary would not be apt to review the action of the co-ordinate treaty-making branch of the Government upon such a question of public policy.



*AN AMERICAN TEACHER AND SOME OF HIS NATIVE ASSISTANTS,
NARAYACAN, ILOCOS*

However, did "the Constitution follow the flag"? If not, what were the relations of those outlands and their inhabitants to the United States? Could people and products from the new possessions come to the United States proper with the same freedom as our own passed from State to State? If not, on what terms could they come? Would our conti-

THE "INSULAR CASES"

mental laws regulate insular importation and immigration from foreign parts? Could we tariff our own exports to the islands without violating the constitutional inhibition of State-export taxes? Could we, on the other hand, enter them freely, taxing competitive foreign imports, without violating open-door and most-favored-nation treaties? Could we recognize slavery in the Sulus? Might Filipinos peaceably assemble and petition our Government for redress of grievances? Might they demand jury trials? Or could only Americans to the manner born do these things?

On the fundamental question whether the dependencies formed part of the United States the Supreme Court passed in certain so-called "insular cases" which were early brought before it. Four of the justices held that at all times after the Paris Treaty said islands were part and parcel of the United States. Four were moved by the exigency to hold that the islands at no time became part of the United States, but were rather "territories appurtenant" thereto.

Mr. Justice Brown read the court's decree, "eight justices dissenting." In his logic, that is, his reasoning upon the law of the case, not one of his colleagues concurred. On the practical issue, however, he agreed with the latter four justices, making it the decision of a majority, and so of the Court, that Porto Rico and the Philippines did not fall within the United States proper. On the other hand, they were not foreign. The revenue clauses of the Constitution did not forbid tariffing goods from or going to the islands. In the absence of express legislation the general tariff did not obtain as against imports from the dependencies. The Court intimated that, so far as applicable, the Constitution's provisions favoring personal rights and liberty accompanied the Stars and Stripes beyond the sea as well as between our old shores.

Unsatisfactory as was this utterance of a badly divided court it sanctioned the administration policy and opened way for necessary legislation. It did nothing, however, to hush the

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anti-imperialists' appeal, based more upon the Declaration of Independence and the spirit of our national ideals.

It was said that having delivered the Filipinos from Spain "we were bound in all honor to protect their newly acquired liberty against the ambition and greed of any other nation on earth, and we were equally bound to protect them against our own. We were bound to stand by them, a defender and protector, until their new government was estab-



FILIPINO SINGERS. THESE BOYS SING A SCORE OF AMERICAN SONGS AND CARRY SOPRANO, TENOR, AND ALTO. NARVACAN, ILOCOS

lished in freedom and in honor; until they had made treaties with the powers of the earth and were as secure in their national independence as Switzerland, Denmark, Belgium, Santo Domingo, or Venezuela."

The Filipinos, it was urged, had inalienable right to life and liberty; our policy in the Philippines was in derogation of those rights; Japan left to herself had stridden further in a generation than England's crown colony of India in a cen-

THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST DISCUSSION

ture; the Filipinos could be trusted to do likewise; our increments of territory hitherto had been adapted to complete incorporation, while the new were not; and growth of any other character would mean weakness, not strength. These were the views of eminent and respected Americans like George F. Hoar, George S. Boutwell, Carl Schurz, and William J. Bryan. Our two living ex-presidents, Harrison and Cleveland, also ex-Speaker Reed, sympathized with the same.

The mistakes, expense, and difficulties incident to expansion and the misbehavior and crimes of some of our officers and soldiers, referred to above, were exhibited in their worst light.

Rejoinder usually proceeded by denying the capacity of the Filipinos for self-government. Even waiving this, men found in international law no such mid-status between sovereignty and non-sovereignty as anti-imperialists wished to have the United States assume toward the Philippines while the Filipinos were getting upon their feet. Many made great point of minimizing the abuses of our military government and dilating upon native atrocities. The material wealth of the archipelago was described in glowing terms. Only American capital and enterprise were needed to develop it into a mine of national riches. The military and commercial advantages of our position at the doorway of the East, our duty to protect lives and property imperiled by the insurgents, and our manifest destiny to lift up the Filipino races, were dwelt upon.

The argument having chief weight with most was that there seemed no clear avenue by which we could escape the policy of American occupation save the dishonorable and humiliating one of leaving the islands to their fate—anarchy and intestine feuds at once, conquest by Japan, Germany, or Spain herself a little later.

All demanded that abuses in connection with our rule should be punished and the repetition of such made impos-

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sible, and that our power should, without regard to party, be administered for the benefit of our wards by men of approved fitness and high and humane character. American tutelage, if it were to exist, must present the best and not the worst side of our civilization, and do so with tact and sympathy.

In the spring of 1900 a second Philippine Commission—William H. Taft, of Ohio; Luke E. Wright, of Tennessee;



Gen. Luke E. Wright

Henry C. Ide
Dean C. Worcester

Prof. Bernard Moses
Judge Wm. H. Taft

SECOND PHILIPPINE COMMISSION, 1900

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Dean C. Worcester, of Michigan; Henry C. Ide, of Vermont, and Bernard Moses, of California—was appointed to conciliate still further the Filipinos and to institute civil government. Better men could not have been chosen.

The Commission attacked its work with vigor. Its first year saw passed no less than 263 laws. Its members laboriously toured the provinces, considering and sometimes adopt-

INAUGURATION OF GOVERNOR TAFT

ing Filipino recommendations touching local governments. As provinces were pacified, municipal and provincial civil governments took the place of the military arm, such transfers growing more and more extensive, though occasional relapses made military government again necessary. A native Federal party, organized November, 1900, to secure peace under United States sovereignty, made rapid progress.

On July 4, 1901, Judge Taft was inaugurated civil governor, General Adna R. Chaffee military governor under him, and civil executive power was

given to the provincial governors. Taft was extremely popular with the natives, who found him the soul of justice. The American and foreign business public specially liked the Vice-Governor, having more to do with him. September 1, 1901, the President added four native members to the Commission. He also divided its work into departments: interior, commerce, police, justice and finance, and public instruction. By May 1, 1902, the



GOV. WILLIAM H. TAFT

insurrection was confined to the Luzon provinces of Batangas, parts of Laguna and Tayabas, and the Visayan islands of Samar and Bohol.

July 1, 1902, an act of Congress confirmed all that Taft and his associates had done to date. Appointments to chief offices in the archipelago were henceforth subject to confirmation by the Senate. Upon pacification of the islands a census was to be taken as basis of a representative assembly to be elected two years later, making, with the Commission, a bi-

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cameral legislature. To vote, a Philippine citizen must read and write English or Spanish, also own \$250 (American currency) worth of property, or pay \$15 yearly in taxes, or have held municipal office under Spain. This excluded all but about two per cent. of the population and all but ten per cent. of the adult males. Absolute congressional veto was reserved upon insular legislation. There were to be two resident commissioners at Washington. The insular Supreme Court had appeal to the United States Supreme Court.

The law carefully guarded against the unjust exploitation of public lands, timber, mineral, and water-rights, and



*COMPANY OF NATIVE CONSTABULARY ORGANIZED BY TAFT
COMMISSION, LA TRINIDAD, BENGUET*

franchises. Involuntary servitude was prohibited and penalized, a provision made necessary by the wish of certain interests (as in Hawaii) to import Chinese and Japanese coolies under contracts amounting to leasehold slavery. A bond issue was authorized in order to purchase the friars' lands, the bonds to be paid so far as possible from the sale of such lands. Schemes of taxation and of coinage were features of the measure. There was also a bill of rights containing most of the guarantees provided in our Constitution, not giving, however, the right to bear arms, to be tried by jury, or to be exempt from having soldiers quartered upon you. The Philippine Act made

THE PACIFIC CABLE

bailable all offences not capital and forbade imprisonment for debt.

It was a fit time to promulgate the new law. Peace was making headway. Cost of living was higher, but so seemed the standard of living, and so, certainly, were wages. In addition to the 610 miles of commercial cables already existing, the Americans had laid 6,000 miles of permanent telegraph, telephone, and cable wires, with 203 offices open for commer-



*SUPERINTENDENT OF SCHOOLS GIVING AN ADDRESS,
WASHINGTON'S BIRTHDAY, 1902, VIGAN, ILOCOS*

cial business. In 1903 was completed the new Pacific Cable, from San Francisco to Manila. Over it, on July 4, 1903, President Roosevelt, from Oyster Bay, Long Island, sent the first message around the world. Schools of telegraphy had been opened to Filipinos. We were operating, at little loss, twenty post-offices in Luzon, one to three each in Negros, Marinduque, Samar, Mindanao, Cebu, Corregidor, Panay, and Sulu—thirty-two in all. We had established a weather bureau with fifteen stations. In thirty-two provinces a native constabulary was

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functioning. The board of health for the archipelago, instituted a year before, had vaccinated 1,000,000 natives, opened leper hospitals for that frightfully common blight, made provision against the plague, and begun to teach natives how to treat and immunize their carabaos, decimated by the rinderpest.

Though we abolished the state lottery and sale of monopolies whence Spain gleaned fifteen per cent. of her Philippine revenues, our balance-sheet showed the islands still able easily to pay running expenses. By a wholesome provision provincial governments were required to levy a land-tax for roads and bridges, and municipalities such a tax for schools.

Educational work in the Philippines was pressed from the very beginning of American control. Our military authorities reopened the Manila schools, making attendance compulsory. The schools were systematically organized, placed under able headship, and taught in chief by devoted teachers from the United States. These advanced into the interior, to the neediest tribes. Nine early settled among the Igorrotes, scattered in towns along the Agno River, and an industrial and agricultural school was soon planned for Igorrote boys. In 1901 150,000 Filipino pupils were enrolled in free primary schools. By July, 1902, there were 1,835 schools, with 2,625 native and 806 American teachers.

The Manila Normal School was a model institution. It occupied beautiful grounds and a magnificent building. In 1903 twelve American teachers formed the nucleus of its faculty. Four hundred pupils, the élite of all the islands, attended. In furnishing and carrying it on the Government spent much money, with the design of making it, in connection with a new university of Manila, soon to rise, the best seat of western learning in all the East.



Bringing the cable ashore at San Francisco, Cal.



Hauling the rope ashore from cable-ship at Honolulu

THE LAYING OF THE TRANS-PACIFIC CABLE

Photograph by Charles Weidner, San Francisco, Cal.

CHAPTER XXIX

POLITICS AND PROGRESS AT THE TURN OF THE CENTURY

ISSUES OF THE CAMPAIGN. — THE PORTO RICO TARIFF. — THE TRUSTS. — THE CAUSES OF DEMOCRATIC DEFEAT. — THE FINANCIAL ISSUE. — THE CENSUS OF 1900. — THE PAN-AMERICAN EXPOSITION. — THE ST. LOUIS EXPOSITION.

FOR the sake of continuity, events in our island possessions have been traced to a certain *dénouement*, but during the presidential campaign of 1900 they were mainly unfinished business. The insular cases had not been decided; Cuba was in metamorphosis from colony to republic; Porto Ricans peacefully, Filipinos through blood and fire, were changing sovereignty. It was inevitable that the campaign of 1900 should deeply involve the question of "imperialism."

The money question and other issues, of course, came in. The Prohibitionists, now reunited, found a good issue in the "army canteen" and the exports of liquor to our Philippine soldiery. Middle-of-the-road Populists were again in the field with their own ticket and platform, their zeal imitated in both particulars by Socialist-Laborites, Socialist-Democrats, and United Christians. The Gold-Democrat National Committee made no nominations, contenting itself with a stout reaffirmation of faith.

Again in 1900 McKinley and Bryan were presidential standard-bearers, each unanimously chosen by his party's convention. These choices were so inevitable long beforehand that Admiral Dewey's announcement of his availability met with no response. Unanimously, also, though against his will, Governor Theodore Roosevelt, of New York, was assigned second place upon the Republican ticket. His Democratic opponent was ex-Vice-President Adlai E. Stevenson.

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR TIME

For a time Democratic success seemed possible if not probable. Democratic State organizations were, to all appearance, solid for Bryan. The Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union, through its Supreme Council, gave him anticipatory indorsement so early as February. The regular Populists and the Silver Republicans in national conventions subscribed his candidacy. The Populists made no vice-presidential nomination; and the Silver Republicans' candidate for the vice-presidency, Hon. Charles A. Towne, withdrew in Stevenson's favor. The fusion of these organizations with the Democrats was thus complete. Lastly, the Anti-Imperialist League gave Mr. Bryan its support.

Personally Mr. Bryan was stronger than in 1896. Hosts of voters who had then supported McKinley now favored his opponent. Powerful newspapers that once vilified Bryan now extolled him. Strangest of all, an organization of Civil War Veterans electioneered for him among the old soldiers. The man had proved fearless, sincere, and straightforward to a fault. His declaration that unless the 1900 platform specifically reaffirmed the silver plank of four years before he would not run signally illustrated these qualities. While probably impolitic, this attitude repelled fewer Eastern and Middle State voters than one might at first suppose, for a silver President, even should he be so inclined, was now powerless for evil, owing to the Gold Standard Law of March 14, 1900, which it would take a majority of both Houses of Congress to repeal. For at least four years gold was inexpugnably entrenched in the Senate. The silver Democracy had lost ardor for free coinage. The Nebraskan himself explicitly subordinated this cause to anti-Imperialism, which he championed with his most persuasive eloquence and logic.

Owing to its novel nature and even more to our awkwardness and errors in prosecuting it, our campaign in the Pacific was a tempting theme for opposition oratory. Had greater frankness, tact, and forbearance been used toward the Filipinos

ISSUES OF THE CAMPAIGN

imperialism might not have been an issue at all. The Filipino was not what Anti-Imperialist imagination pictured him, a brown Anglo-Saxon, jealous of hard-won individual rights and liberties, and cherishing like an Ark of a Covenant the formulas of such rights from a Magna Charta to a Declaration of Independence. Bestowed at the right time on the revolutionist chiefs in Luzon, the consideration accorded the Sulu Sultan and



"WHENEVER THE FLAG IS ASSAILED THE ONLY TERMS WE EVER MAKE WITH ITS ASSAILANT IS UNCONDITIONAL SURRENDER," PRESIDENT MCKINLEY AT QUINCY, ILL.

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his dattoes might have procured us in the Philippines a hearty welcome, involving every substantial prerogative which we asserted. Cuba, so desirable an acquisition, led by our behavior in the Orient to insist on independence, might have been willing, even eager, to make our flag her own.

The tariff question inevitably became bound up with imperialism. The Republicans wished to use "Protection" as

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the key-note vocable of the campaign. Press and platform dilated on the fat years of McKinley's administration. "The full dinner-pail," said ardent speakers, "is the paramount issue." But the suggestion of allowing the Dingley Tariff to "follow the flag" gave pause.

Constitutionally, as was in 1900 all but universally held, duties must be uniform at all United States ports. If Luzon was part of the United States in the usual sense of the words, rates of duties at Manila and at New York must be the same. No considerable or general tariff reduction for the continental domain was to be thought of by the Republicans. However, it would not do to burden our vassals with the high duties prevalent at home. That act would in effect be forcing them to buy and sell in the suzerain country alone, precisely George III.'s policy toward Americans in those Navigation Acts which occasioned the Revolutionary War. Such a system all parties were certain to condemn.

Out of this dilemma was gradually excogitated Mr. Justice Brown's theory mentioned in the last chapter, that the United States can possess "appurtenant" territory, subject to but not part of itself, to which the Constitution does not apply save as Congress votes that it shall apply. Thus construed the Constitution did not *ex proprio vigore* follow our flag, nor could inhabitants of the acquired islands plead a single one of its guarantees unless Congress voted them such a right. They were subjects of the United States, not citizens.

The first avowal of this "imperialist" theory and policy was the Porto Rico tariff bill, approved April 12, 1900, establishing for Porto Rico a line of customs duties differing from that of the United States. President McKinley disapproved this bill, urging that it was "our plain duty to abolish all customs tariffs between the United States and Porto Rico and give her products free access to our markets." Until after its passage the bill was earnestly opposed both by a number of eminent Republican statesmen besides the President, and by

THE PORTO RICO TARIFF

nearly all the leading Republican party organs. Every possible plea—constitutional, humanitarian, prudential—was exhausted against it. The bill passed nevertheless.

Great numbers of Democrats were naturally expansionists, execrating "little Americanism" as heartily as any Republi-



GOV. ROOSEVELT SPEAKING DURING THE CAMPAIGN OF 1900

cans did. The Porto Rico tariff act closed this Democratic schism at once. Besides, many Republicans who had deemed the taking over of the Philippines simply a step in the nation's growth, similar in nature to several preceding steps, and had

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laughed at imperialism as a Democratic "bogy," now changed their minds and sided toward the Democratic lines. Able arguments which Republican editors and Congressmen had urged against the Porto Rico bill furnished the Democrats in 1900 with their best campaign material. Balaam, they said, prophesied for Israel. That imperialism was not only an issue



*SENATOR DEPEU WAITING FOR GOVERNOR ROOSEVELT
REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION*

but one of the most important ones ever agitating the Republic, was as certain as Republican logic could make it.

Campaigners dwelt upon several minor matters, with a net result favorable to the Democrats. A suspicion gained currency that powerful financial interests had in effect coerced the President in forming his policy. The commissariat scandal in

THE TRUSTS

the Spanish War incensed many, as did the growth of army, navy, and "militarism" incident to the new order. The sympathy of official Republicanism with the British in the South African War tended to solidify the Irish vote as Democratic, but—and it was among the novelties of the campaign—Republicans no longer feared to alienate the Irish. It also drove into the Democratic ranks for the time a goodly number of Dutch and German Republicans. The Democracy, once the slave-power party, posed as the heir of Abraham Lincoln's mission. Colored Republicans came out for Bryan, declaring that the "subject-races" notion in American public law and policy would be the negro's despair and that the acceptance thereof by the Republican party was a renunciation of all its friendship for human liberty.

The wide and intense hostility toward trusts and monopolies promised something for the Democracy. Trusts had rapidly multiplied since the Republicans last came into power, and nothing had been done to check the formation of them or to control them. Republicans decried these no less lustily than Democrats, naturally, however, taking occasion to remark that monopolistic organizations "had nothing to do with the tariff." It was argued that trusts tended to depress wages, to crush small producers, to raise the prices of their own products while lowering those of what they bought, to deprive business officials and business travelers of positions, and to work vast other mischief politically, economically, and socially.

Why, then, was not Democracy triumphant in 1900? A majority of the people, no doubt, disapproved the Administration's departure into fields of conquest and empire. Many Republicans denied that a "full dinner-pail" was the most vital consideration presented by the presidential year. Few anti-imperialists were saved to the Republicans by Senator Hoar's faith that after a while the party would retrieve the one serious mistake marring its record. Nor was it that Andrew Carnegie, who to ransom the Filipinos offered to re-

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR TIME

pay the United States the \$20,000,000 we had given for the islands, could not possibly put up with the Kansas City and Chicago heresies. Nor was it, either, that the Republicans had ample money, or that the Administration made votes by its war record and its martial face. Agriculture had, to be sure, been remunerative. Also, the strike in the hard-coal regions had, at the instance of Republican leaders, been settled favorably to the miners, thus enlisting extensive labor forces in support of the *status quo*. But these causes also, whether by themselves or in conjunction with the others named, were insufficient to explain why the election went as it did.



ENTRANCE TO THE REPUBLICAN NATIONAL CONVENTION,
HELD AT PHILADELPHIA, 1900

A partial cause of Mr. Bryan's second defeat was the incipient waning of anti-imperialist zeal in the very midst of the campaign, discussion more and more begetting the conviction, even among such as had doubted this long and seriously, that the Administration, painfully faulty as were many of its measures in the new lands, was pursuing there the only honorable or benevolent course open to it under the novel and peculiar circumstances.

A deeper cause—the decisive one, if any single circumstance may be pronounced such—was the fact that Mr. Bryan

THE CAUSES OF DEMOCRATIC DEFEAT

primarily, and then, mainly owing to his strong influence, also his party, misjudged the fundamental meaning of the country's demand for monetary reform. The conjunction of good times with increase in the volume of hard money made possible by the world's huge new output of gold, might have been justly taken as vindicating the quantity theory of money value, prosperity being precisely the result which the silver people of 1896 prophesied as certain in case the stock of hard money were amplified. Bimetallists could solace themselves that if they had, with all other people, erred touching the geology of



DELEGATES ARRIVING AT THE CONVENTION

the money question, in not believing there would ever be gold enough to stay the fall of prices, their main and essential reasonings on the question had proved perfectly correct. Good fortune, it might have been held, had removed the silver question from politics and remanded it back to academic political economy.

Probably a majority of the Democrats in 1900 felt this. The Kansas City Convention would never have thought of aught more than a formal reassertion of the Chicago creed had not Mr. Bryan flatly refused to run without an explicit plat-

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR TIME

form restatement of the 1896 position on silver. His hope, no doubt, was to hold Western Democrats, Populists, and Silver Republicans, his anti-imperialism meanwhile attracting Gold Democrats and Republicans, especially at the East, who emphatically agreed with him on that paramount issue. But it appeared as if most of this, besides much else that was quite as well worth while, could have been accomplished by frankly acknowledging and carefully explaining that gold alone had



BRYAN, DURING THE CAMPAIGN OF 1900

done or bade fair to do substantially the service for which silver had been supposed necessary; for which, besides, silver would really have been necessary but for the unexpected and immense increase in the world's gold crop through a long succession of years.

The Republican leaders gauged the situation better. Mr. McKinley, to a superficial view inconsistent on the silver question, was in fact, on this point, fundamentally consistent throughout. With other non-inflationist monetary reformers

THE FINANCIAL ISSUE

he merely wished the fall of prices stopped, demanding only such increment to the hard-money supply as would effect that result. The metal—the kind of money producing the needed enlargement to the hard-money pedestal underneath the nation's paper money and credit—might look yellow or it might look white. That was of no consequence. When it became practically certain that gold alone, at least for an indefinite time, would form a sufficiently broad pedestal, he was willing to relinquish silver except for subsidiary coinage. A sweeping rise in general prices would be hardly less an evil than the sweeping fall over which all complained. It could and would be used by mere speculators at the expense of honest industry, just as the fall of prices had been used.

The law of March 14, 1900, put our paper currency, save the silver certificates, and also all national bonds, upon a gold basis, providing an ample gold reserve. Silver certificates were to replace the treasury notes, and gold certificates to be issued so long as the reserve was not under the legal minimum. If it ever fell below that the Secretary of the Treasury had discretion. The law provided for refunding the national debt in two per cent. gold bonds—a bold, but, as it proved, safe assumption that our national credit was the best in the world—and allowed national banks to issue circulating notes to the par value of their bonds.

Our money volume, also our volume of credit, now expanded as rapidly as in 1896 advocates of free coinage could have expected even with the aid of free silver. July 1, 1900, the circulation was \$2,055,150,998, against \$1,650,223,400 four years before. Nearly \$163,000,000 in gold certificates had been uttered. The gold coin in circulation had increased twenty per cent. for the four years; silver about one-eighth; silver certificates one-ninth. The Treasury held \$222,844,953 of gold coin and bullion, besides some millions of silver, paper, and fractional currency.

The Republican victory was the most sweeping since

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR TIME

1872. Of the total popular vote (13,970,300) President McKinley scored a clear majority of 443,054, and a plurality over Bryan of 832,280. Of the Northern States Bryan carried



*SENATOR SPOONER AND H. C. PAYNE OF WISCONSIN
GOING INTO THE CONVENTION*

only Colorado, Idaho, Montana, and Nevada. He lost his own State and was shaken in the traditionally "solid South." Unnecessarily ample Republican supremacy was maintained in the legislative branch of the Government.

The turn of the century placed in the triumphant party's hands enormous and complex responsibilities aside from those connected with our insular wards. The new census emphasized this. As it disclosed, 76,303,387 people inhabited the United States, including Alaska and Hawaii. Though less than for any previous decade the ten-year increase approached twenty-one per cent. Alone among our States and Territories Nevada had declined in numbers, resuming nearly the place she held in 1870. The loss was about one in ten of her people, against about one in four between 1880 and 1890. Oklahoma had quintupled and more. The Indian Territory—now, with Alaska and Hawaii, canvassed for the first time—grew next most rapidly, followed by Idaho and Montana. Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont, Delaware, Kansas, and Nebraska crawled at a snail's pace. In numerical advance New York, Pennsylvania, and Illinois led. Texas marched close to them, overhauling Massachusetts. In percentage of increase the southern, central, and western divisions were in the van.

Almost a third of our people were now urban, ten times the proportion of 1790, but the rate of urban increase (36.8 per cent.) was, barring the decade from 1810 to 1820, the smallest ever noted, and was only three-fifths the rate for 1880–1890. The 546 folk-clusters called cities ran in population from 8,000 upward, averaging 45,857. Greater New York, a colossus of nearly three and a half millions, having swallowed Brooklyn, ranked second only to London among the world's cities. Chicago, Philadelphia, St. Louis, Boston, and Baltimore followed in the same order as a decade before. The enterprising lake rivals, Cleveland and Buffalo, had raced past San Francisco and Cincinnati. Pittsburg instead of New Orleans now came next after the ten just named.

The first two cities following New York held more than a million apiece, the three succeeding these more than half a million apiece. Five other cities came within 200,000 of the second class, none within 100,000. In numbering their people

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR TIME

thirty-eight cities used six figures or more each. More than half the larger municipalities adjoined the Atlantic, but those on the Pacific also showed noteworthy increase. Rural districts waned, especially in Kansas, Nebraska, and the far Northeast.

Rhode Island, 407 inhabitants to the square mile, was the most densely peopled State. Massachusetts came next. Idaho, Montana, New Mexico, Arizona, Wyoming, and Ne-



*SENATOR PLATT AND GOVERNOR ROOSEVELT ON THEIR
WAY TO THE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION*

vada could not show two souls to the square mile. Several far Western States hardly had ten to the mile. Alaska had a little over eight per mile, having doubled population since 1890.

The center of population, neither Hawaii nor Alaska being considered in computing it, stood six miles southeast of Columbus, Ind., drawn southwardly two and a half miles and westwardly fourteen miles since 1890. Never before had the occidental shunt of this point been less than thirty-six miles a

decade. For six decades it had not fallen under forty miles. Its inertia hinted the exhaustion of free land in the West and the immense growth of eastern manufactures, mining, and commerce.

United States families were smaller than ever, averaging only 4.7 members, in place of 4.9 in 1890 and 5 in 1880. Except in the South—it was particularly true in southern New England—the old American stock, though still stamping its influence upon communities' lives, was declining in numbers. Massachusetts kept her census position only by taking in foreigners. The educated classes appeared less and less inclined to rear families of size, those prudential checks which amazed the world by keeping the population of France stationary being also in full play among American Anglo-Saxons. Warning was sounded against this "race-suicide," but in vain. The very race-pride thus appealed to, with its instinct for getting on in the world, strongly deterred men from marriage. The frequency of divorces and the ease with which these were obtained also wrought to keep down the census.

Of the total population barely one-ninth were negroes, against one-fifth in 1790. They numbered 8,840,789, an increase of 18 per cent. in ten years, or 3.3 per cent. less than the white increment. The border States now held a smaller proportion of colored, but both at the North and at the far South their proportion had augmented. Yet little more than one in ten of them lived at the North, and, except Pennsylvania, no Northern State had large numbers. In the black belts, especially that of Alabama, blacks multiplied faster than whites. In Alabama as a whole, however, the negro element had not relatively increased since 1850. In Delaware and Georgia the pace of the races was even. In Louisiana blacks no longer outnumbered Caucasians, In South Carolina they still did so, while in Mississippi their majority shot up phenomenally.

The foreign-born fraction of our population, which had

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR TIME

alternately risen and fallen since 1860, now fell again from 14.8 per cent. to 13.7 per cent. The South retained its distinction as the most thoroughly American section of the land. The foreign-born were conspicuous in the Northwest and in the Northeast, everywhere clinging to cities. The residuum of ten years' immigration was less than a third that from 1880 to 1890, and only about two-thirds the total recorded influx from 1890 to 1900. Many foreigners, notably Canadians, had returned to their native lands.



NOTIFICATION COMMITTEE AT OYSTER BAY TO ADVISE GOV. ROOSEVELT OF HIS NOMINATION AS VICE-PRESIDENT. ONE FROM EACH STATE. SENATOR WOLCOTT ON RIGHT, GEN. F. V. GREENE ON LEFT

Not immigrants from Canada, the United Kingdom, and Germany, but those from Austria-Hungary, Bohemia, Italy, Russia, and Poland now preponderated. Poles, Bohemians, Austrians, Huns, and Russians comprised 13.4 per cent. of the foreign-born, against 6.9 per cent. in 1890, and less than one-third per cent. in 1850. Natives of Germany still constituted the largest body of our foreign-born, being 25.8 per cent. of the whole, compared with 30.1 per cent. in 1890. The proportion was about the same in 1900 as in 1850. The Irish were 15.6 per cent. of the foreign-born. The figures had

THE CENSUS OF 1900

been 20.2 per cent. in 1890 and 42.8 per cent. in 1850. The proportion of native Scandinavians and Danes had slightly increased.

In 1900 the United States proper had 89,863 Chinese, against 107,488 in 1890. Of Japanese there were 24,326, against only 2,039 in 1890. In the Hawaiian Islands alone the Chinese numbered 25,767 and the Japanese 61,111.

The congressional apportionment act based on the twelfth census and approved January 16, 1902, avoided cutting down the representation of laggard States by increasing the House membership from 357 to 386. Of the twenty-nine new members, twelve hailed from trans-Mississippi (including Louisiana), two from New England, three each from Illinois and New York, four from the Southern States east of the Mississippi, two each from Pennsylvania and New Jersey, and one from Wisconsin.

The census showed over five and one-half million farms, four times the number reported in 1850, more than a million above the number reported in 1890. Over two hundred thousand of the new farms were in Oklahoma, Indian Territory, and Texas. Not quite one per cent. of the farm acreage was under irrigation. The abundant year 1899 yielded farm products worth \$4,717,069,973, the best part, \$828,192,388 in corn. Next to corn stood hay and forage, \$484,254,073; wheat, \$369,945,320; and cotton, \$323,758,171. The total value of farm and range animals in 1900 was close to three billion dollars.

The census of 1850 registered 123,000 manufacturing establishments, with a capital of \$533,000,000. In 1900 there were 512,000 such establishments, capitalized at \$9,800,000,000, employing 5,300,000 wage-earners, paying \$2,327,000,000 yearly wages, and evolving \$13,000,000,000 worth of product. Their number appeared to have increased some 44 per cent. over the number in 1890; the investment embarked in them slightly more, about 53 per cent. The number of

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employés had risen but a fourth, betokening the greater efficiency of the individual laborer and the substitution of machine-work for that of men's hands. The heaviest investments among classified industries were in foundries and machine-shops, and these also employed the most men. Establishments making lumber and timber products came next. Third came manufactories of iron and steel.

Our foreign commerce for the fiscal year 1899-1900 reached the astounding total of \$2,244,424,266, exceeding that of the preceding year by \$320,000,000. Our imports were \$849,941,184, an amount surpassed only in 1893. Our total exports were \$1,394,483,082. The favorable balance of



THE CENSUS OFFICE, WASHINGTON, D. C.

trade amounted for three years to \$1,689,849,387. Much of this meant the lessening of United States indebtedness abroad.

The chief commodities for which we now looked to foreign lands were first of all sugar, then hides, coffee, rubber, silk, and fine cottons. In return we parted with cotton and bread-stuffs each exceeding \$260,000,000 in value. Next in volumes exported were provisions, meat and dairy products, worth \$184,453,055. Iron and steel exports, including \$55,000,000 and more in machinery, were valued at about \$122,000,000. The live-stock shipped abroad was appraised at about \$43,500,000. About $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of our imports came from Cuba, about $2\frac{1}{3}$ per cent. from Hawaii, and about 1 per cent. from Porto Rico, Samoa, and the Philippines.

THE CENSUS OF 1900

In 1902 the tables were turned somewhat. American exports fell off and the home market was again invaded, imported steel billets being sold at the very doors of the Steel Corporation factories.

So abundant were the revenues in 1899-1900, exceeding expenditures by \$79,500,000, that war taxes were shortly repealed. "A billion-dollar Congress" would now have seemed economical. Our gross expenditures the preceding year had been \$1,041,243,523. For 1900 they were \$988,797,697.



SCULPTURE AT THE PAN-AMERICAN EXPOSITION, BUFFALO, N. Y.

Our national debt, lessened during the year by \$28,000,000 or \$30,000,000, stood December 31, 1900, at \$1,042,617,638.

Our new relations with the Philippines, Cuba, and Porto Rico forced our attention as never before to the Spanish-American world at large. United States people and Spanish-Americans were deplorably ignorant of each other; our commerce with them languished; at the same time the *rapprochement* invited by our liberation of Cuba was hindered by our acquisition of Porto Rico and the Philippines.

The Pan-American Exposition, inaugurated at Buffalo,

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May 20, 1901, was calculated to quiet Spanish-Americans touching our intentions, to illustrate the community of interests between the western continents, and to promote mutual knowledge and friendliness.

On Opening Day a grand parade, in cadence with the music of twenty bands, marched out from Buffalo to the grounds. Ten thousand pigeons soared away in all directions carrying announcements that the Fair had begun. In the Temple of Music the Hallelujah Chorus was rendered, after



THE ELECTRIC TOWER AND FOUNTAINS

which Vice-President Roosevelt delivered the dedicatory address. At night fireworks painted the sky.

Entering the Park Gateway you passed the terraces and colonnades of the forecourt to the Triumphal Bridge, guarded by monumental piers. Thence stretched the Court of Honor, double the size of that at the Chicago Exposition, gemmed with fountains, lakes, and gardens. The central court bore the form of a cross. On the east of it was the Government group of structures, on the west that devoted to horticulture, mines, and the graphic arts. The Esplanade, at the intersection of the two arms of the cross, could have held two-thirds of Buffalo's people without crowding. Connected by pergolas with the

THE PAN-AMERICAN EXPOSITION

buildings in the transverse ends, the Temple of Music and the Ethnology Building stood at the entrance to the Court of Fountains, terminating in the Electric Tower at the north, the central point in the scheme of architecture, surmounted by the Goddess of Light, and combining massiveness with airiness.

From the tower round to the gateway again all the buildings were coupled by cool colonnades. The plaza pleasingly repeated the artistic effects of the other courts—greenery, blossoms, crystal lakes and fountains, interspersed with statuary. The ensemble was charming beyond description—not classic, not even serious, but romantic, picturesque, even frivolous. No style of architecture could have contributed better to such gayety than the Spanish Renaissance, light, ornate, and varied, lending itself to endless decoration in color and relief; and no more delicate compliment could have been paid our guests from Spanish America than the choice of their graceful designs for this purpose. Each building was unique. Domes, pinnacles, colonnades, balconies, towers, and low-tiled roofs offered bewildering but pleasant variety.

As a testimony to the progress of American art, the exhibit was astonishingly successful. The most daring novelty connected with the architecture was its color-scheme, making the Rainbow City at Buffalo a startling contrast to the Chicago White City. Rich, warm tones were used to form a background. The Temple of Music was a Pompeian red; Horticultural Hall orange, with details of blue, green, and yellow. In his gradation of hues Mr. Turner, the color-artist, sought to suggest man's struggle with the elements and his progress from barbarism. Thus, as you advanced, the barbaric warmth of color at the gate yielded to milder and lighter tints, culminating in the ivory and gold of the Electric Tower, symbol of man's crowning achievements. Everywhere, too, you detected the note of Niagara green. Buffalo revealed what rich effects may be produced by appropriate out-of-door coloring. We saw—as did the artists who built the great Athenian temples—

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR TIME

that in exterior decoration cheerful colors may well supplant the more usual somber of gray and brown.

At Buffalo statues were not placed in ceremonious rows, but grouped naturally amid the foliage or about the buildings, thus teaching another of the many lessons which the sculpture at Buffalo, like the architecture and color, had for the appreciative. Much of the sculpture was careless in execution owing to the rapidity with which it was necessary to create. Artists' models had to be enlarged by machinery.

Its electrical displays were the features wherein the Exposition mainly surpassed all its predecessors, outdoing even the



*TRIUMPHAL BRIDGE AND ENTRANCE TO THE EXPOSITION,
SHOWING ELECTRIC DISPLAY AT NIGHT*

wonderful display at Paris in 1900. No steam was used upon the grounds. From Niagara Falls power enough was taken to do the work of half a million men. Niagara circulated the salt water in the aquaria and kept it at proper temperature. It operated telephones, phonographs, soda-fountains, search-lights, elevators, machinery, telegraphic typewriters, moving pictures, and the shows and illusions of the Midway. Never before had telegraph messages been registered with such speed or telephone messages been sent so far; never before had artificial lighting been so brilliant or covered such large areas. A number of wires conducted the currents from Niagara

THE PAN-AMERICAN EXPOSITION

to the grounds, where a water rheostat regulated them, at the same time making it possible to turn on the electrical illumination gradually.

Every evening when the moment for lighting the Exposition approached music and merriment were hushed. As you watched the dim mass of the vast piles, all their lines began gleaming with a tracery of faintest light, that waxed to a pink



THE TEMPLE OF MUSIC LIGHTED BY ELECTRICITY

flush, then to red, then to a luminous yellow splendor. The center of radiance was the tower, suffused with the loveliest glow of gold, ivory, and delicate green, all blending. A hundred beautiful hues glanced from the fountains or flashed like gorgeous blossoms from the depths of the basin.

At one side were all the riotous fantasies of the Midway. As at the World's Fair of 1893, "natives" gathered from every strange land. The Hawaiian and Philippine villages

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were centers of interest. After dining in Alt-Nürnberg, you might, for less money than would carry you to New York, take through passage on an air-ship for the moon, where queer little natives, as yet unclassified in anthropology, conducted you to his Lunar Majesty, a potentate till now overlooked by students of politics. Darkness and Dawn repeated Dante's visit to the Inferno, with modern embellishments.

Ten acres were devoted to an amphitheater for athletics, modeled upon the marble stadium of Lycurgus at Athens.



SUNKEN GARDEN BEHIND ELECTRIC TOWER

An Athletic Congress celebrated American supremacy in athletic sports. The program included basket-ball tournaments, automobile, bicycle, track, and field championship races, lacrosse matches, and canoe meets.

Though less ample, the exhibits at Buffalo naturally showed advance over the corresponding ones at Chicago. The guns and ammunition of the United States ordnance department excited keen interest. A picturesque log building was dedicated to forestry. The Graphic Arts building set forth the

THE PAN-AMERICAN EXPOSITION

great strides recently made in printing and engraving. In paper-making the United States was found to be fast rivaling England. A model dairy was operated on the grounds. South and Central America contributed a fine collection of food plants, Mexico a small coffee plantation and some vanilla vines. South Carolina sent eight different kinds of tea-plants.

Nearly every country in Spanish-America was represented. Cuba, San Domingo, Ecuador, Chile, Honduras, Mexico, and Canada had buildings. Exhibits from our dependencies occupied sections. Each of the greater States had its building.



THE ELECTRICITY BUILDING

One roof sheltered all New England, but, unfortunately, it was burned before the Fair closed.

In the United States Government edifice class-room songs and recitations were reproduced by the graphophone. The biograph showed naval cadets marching and you actually heard the music of their band. Pictures were sent by telegraph, type set by electricity. Every day a crew of the Life-Saving Service gave a demonstration, launching a life-boat and rescuing a sailor. Near by was a field hospital where wounded soldiers were cared for.

Like its predecessors, and better than most of them, the Pan-American performed an invaluable office in summarizing

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The varied indus

THE LOUISIANA

our modern life, so vast and diverse, so vitally dependent part on part, and so swift in evolution.

The Pan-American was the fourth American event of the kind since the World's Columbian Exposition at Chicago, expositions at Atlanta, Nashville, and Omaha having preceded. Plans were already afoot for similar fairs at Charleston and St. Louis.

In the World's Columbian Exposition and in that of 1900 at Paris, most people supposed world's fairs to have reached their utmost development. Not so the St. Louisans, who prepared to celebrate in 1904 the centenary of the Louisiana Purchase by an exposition which should eclipse all preceding ones.

The lightning progress of the civilized world supplied each year with wonders unknown a twelvemonth before. Among many other things, St. Louis could display a great variety of automobiles, even automobile chairs replacing the man-pushed wheel-chairs of 1893. Through pipe-line connections the Refrigeration building would bridle the thermom-

THE ST. LOUIS EXPOSITION



tries building

PURCHASE EXPOSITION

eter at any required point anywhere. Smoke-consuming devices and artificial fuel briquettes, cheap and smokeless, were to be a commentary upon the smoke-nuisance and all coal-strikes. Air-navigation, which had not yet left the tongue of the scoffer, was to be a reality of the Fair, or at worst a prophetic dream, for air-ships and dirigible balloons were to fly a prescribed course for a \$100,000 prize. Our new island possessions and Cuba were to exhibit lavishly. Half a million dollars were to go for the Philippine exhibit alone, as much or twice as much more for one from Alaska.

Such were the wealth and prosperity of the country and of the Mississippi Valley in 1904 that St. Louis could easily outdo Chicago in the panic year 1893. Already in 1903 \$17,000,000 had been, by city, State, nation, and sister-States, to say nothing of foreign nations and concessionaires, appropriated to the uses of the St. Louis enterprise. An available ultimate total of \$50,000,000 was looked for. Foreign countries cordially responded, United States friendship being supremely desired by them all. Only the Chinese held aloof, resenting the

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR TIME

Treasury restrictions and surveillance prescribed to carry out the Chinese Exclusion Act.

The city of St. Louis fenced in for the Fair close to 1,200 acres, twice the superficies of the World's Fair, with Forest Park adjacent covering nearly two-thirds the area that was



*EDUCATIONAL BUILDING. FIRST COMPLETED BUILDING,
ST. LOUIS EXPOSITION*

enclosed. Two hundred and fifty acres were to be under roof, as against 200 at Chicago and 125 at Paris. The chief exhibition buildings, twelve, thus more numerous than at any such event before, were also, with the exception of the Manufactures and Liberal Arts building, individually larger than their respective prototypes at Chicago. Any one of the main buildings at St. Louis contained within its four walls an exhibit area greater than that which the entire Pan-American could offer.

The Exposition was fittingly staged upon a landscape just sufficiently removed from being level. Upon a terrace-crescent the colonnade of the States curved around Festival Hall, at the wings of the colonnade two pavilions, behind it the Art Palace, designed for permanence. From the height of the terrace three crystal cascades leaped downward to a large basin, whence ramified the two miles of artificial water-ways. From Festival Hall as a nucleus radiated fan-wise the whole system of vari-colored buildings.

The St. Louis artists excelled not alone in material and utilitarian magnificence. They aimed to fill coarse, unmanageable matter with pulsating life, thought, and beauty. They

THE ST. LOUIS EXPOSITION

planned for kinetic rather than static display, processes more than products, activities instead of actors. Their utterances were to be in verbs rather than in nouns. A coal-mine was to be kept in full operation, and the actual Olympic games were to be celebrated. Excepting heroic statues of Jefferson and Napoleon, the very sculpture was to be symbolic rather than portraiture. Half a million dollars were provided for this feature—sculptured art—alone. An equal sum went for music, the largest organ in the world being one expense item. Bands from all peoples attended, joinable at will into one vast orchestra of 2,000 pieces.

A program of world's congresses, held upon the grounds and in the buildings of the Washington University, essayed canvassing the tremendous empire of human knowledge, procuring the exposition of each general province by its greatest living master, and of lesser sections by eminent specialists. The idea was to digest, codify, and set forth the conquests of the human intellect in their proper correlation as had never yet been done.

In a pleasant respect the St. Louis Fair-builders affected catholicity less than their predecessors. While the Chicago



ELECTRICITY BUILDING. ST. LOUIS EXPOSITION, 1904

Midway harbored whatever ministered to men's craving for amusement or to their proverbial desire to be humbugged, even to be a little demoralized, the St. Louis managers proposed a Midway that should be interesting but at the same time "fakeless" and strictly moral.

CHAPTER XXX

McKINLEY'S END AND THE RISE OF ROOSEVELT

ASSASSINATION OF PRESIDENT MCKINLEY.—DIRECTIONS TO THE TAFT COMMISSION.—THE AMERICAN ARMY IN CHINA.—MCKINLEY'S PRIVATE CHARACTER.—CZOLGOSZ AND THE ANARCHISTS.—THE NEW PRESIDENT.—OUR POLICY IN THE EAST.—VICES OF CORPORATIONS.—THE NORTHERN SECURITIES MERGER.—CARNEGIE AND THE STEEL CORPORATION.—CONFEDERATE INDUSTRY EFFICIENT.—THE GROSSCUP INJUNCTION.—THE COAL STRIKE OF 1902.—THE ELKINS ACT.—EFFORTS FOR REFORM IN CITIES.

SEPTEMBER 5, 1901, President McKinley, present upon invitation at the Pan-American Exposition in Buffalo, delivered an address which proved to be his last public utterance. It was memorable both as a sagacious survey of affairs and as indicating some modification of his well-known tariff opinions in the direction of freer commercial intercourse with nations under other flags.

We could not, he implied, forever sell everything and buy little or nothing. The period of exclusiveness, he said, was past. Reciprocity treaties were in harmony with the spirit of the times, measures of retaliation were not. If some of our tariffs were no longer needed for revenue or to protect home industries why should they not be employed to extend and promote our markets abroad? The President expressed further the conviction that in the same commercial interest we must encourage our merchant marine and construct both a Pacific cable and an Isthmian canal.

These projects of Mr. McKinley's statesmanship, approved by nearly the entire public, he did not live to put in

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execution. On his second day at Buffalo, Friday, September 6th, about four in the afternoon, the President stood in the Temple of Music on the Fair grounds, shaking hands with hundreds as they filed past. A boyish workman came along, his right hand in a handkerchief. Mr. McKinley extended his hand to the youth's unencumbered left. The bandaged right arm quickly rose, two shots rang on the air, and Mr. McKinley staggered back into the arms of a bystander, grievously wounded. The President's first thoughts were for others. He requested that the news be broken gently to Mrs. McKinley, and expressed fear lest the occurrence should injure the Exposition. As cries of "Lynch him!" arose from the maddened crowd, the stricken chief begged those about him to see that no hurt befell the assassin. The latter was forthwith taken into custody to await the result of his deed. President McKinley was with equal dispatch conveyed to the Emergency Hospital, where his wounds were probed and dressed.

Spite of considerable weakness and too rapid heart-action, the symptoms for several days gave strong hope that the patient would recover. At the home of Mr. Milburn, President of the Exposition, whither President McKinley had been carried, he received the tenderest care and the most skilful treatment. The Cabinet officers were reassured, and left Buffalo. Vice-President Roosevelt retired to the Adirondacks. The President himself, vigorous and naturally sanguine, did not give up hope till Friday, a week from the date of his injury.

Then his condition became alarming. Digestion ceased, nourishment even by injection became impossible, traces of septic poison appeared. By night the world knew that McKinley was a dying man. In the evening he regained consciousness. "Good-by, good-by, all," he said. "It is God's way; His will be done." "Nearer, my God, to Thee; e'en tho' it be a cross that raiseth me," he murmured. Before the dawn of Saturday the soul was loosed from its suffering body.

After a simple funeral at the Milburn mansion the re-

APPRECIATION OF PRESIDENT MCKINLEY

mains lay at the Buffalo City Hall till midnight, then for a day at the Washington Capitol, whence they were borne to the old home at Canton, O.

September 19th, the day of the interment, was feelingly observed all over the country and even in foreign parts. In no considerable American town could one building hold the mourning concourse. By King Edward's orders special commemorative services were held in Westminster Cathedral.



*THE OLD HOME OF WILLIAM MCKINLEY AT CANTON, OHIO,
WHERE HIS REMAINS WERE TAKEN FROM WASHINGTON*

Messages of condolence from the four quarters of the globe poured in upon the widow. For five minutes telegraph clicks and cable flashes ceased, and for ten minutes the wheels upon many lines of steam and street railway stood still.

It was too early to determine the exact altitude at which the name of William McKinley would stand upon the roll of America's illustrious men, yet all but the narrowest partisans believed that it would be high, where all posterity could see and read it. Ardent eulogists made him the peer of Washington

and Lincoln. Some thought this extravagant, but few if any regarded it strange. The President had been taxed with opportunism, with inconsistency, and with partiality to moneyed interests, but sober review, after the man was gone, removed emphasis from these charges. Some of his views had certainly changed. His altered attitude concerning silver was much remarked upon, but this, as pointed out in a previous chapter, was apparent only and not a modification of principle. If, in regard to protection, he at last swung to Blaine's position favoring reciprocity, which, as the author of the McKinley Bill, he had been understood to oppose, it should be remembered that the United States had meantime become a mighty exporter of manufactured products, competing effectively with England, Germany, and France, the world over.

Mr. McKinley's progressive insight into the tariff question betrayed his mental activity and hospitality, as his final deliverances thereupon exhibited fearlessness. None knew better than he that what he said at Buffalo would be challenged in the name of party orthodoxy. Even greater firmness was manifest, when at an earlier date, speaking in Savannah, he ranked Robert E. Lee and Stonewall Jackson as among America's "great" sons. With this brave tribute should be mentioned his nomination of the ex-Confederate Generals Fitz-Hugh Lee and Joseph Wheeler as Major-Generals in the United States Army. Such words and deeds showed skilled leadership also. Each was fittingly timed so as best to escape or fend criticism and to impress the public.

Mr. McKinley's apparent vacillation, also his complaisance toward men and interests representing wealth, was due in no slight degree to an exquisite finesse in virtue of which he stooped to conquer. He led by seeming to follow, or by yielding an inch took an ell. He possessed by inheritance a quick sense of the manufacturer's point of view, for his father and grandfather had been iron-masters. He also had a certain conservative instinct, characteristic of his party, which deemed



FUNERAL OF THE LATE PRESIDENT MCKINLEY AT WASHINGTON, D. C. CARRYING THE CASKET UP THE CAPITOL STEPS, WHERE IT LAY IN STATE IN THE ROTUNDA

DIRECTIONS TO THE TAFT COMMISSION

the counsel of broadcloth wiser than the clamor of rags, and equally patriotic withal. Notwithstanding this, history cannot but pronounce McKinley's love of country, his whole Ameri-



VICE-PRESIDENT THEODORE ROOSEVELT

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canism, in fact, as sincere, sturdy, and democratic as Abraham Lincoln's.

The deceased President's power and breadth as a statesman were greatly increased by the responsibilities of the presidency. Before his accession to that office he had helped shape

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but one great public measure, the McKinley Bill, and his speeches upon his chosen theme, protection, were more earnest than varied or profound. But witness the largeness of view marking the directions of April 7, 1900, to the Taft Philippine Commission: "The Commission should bear in mind that the government which they are establishing is designed not for our satisfaction or for the expression of our theoretical views, but for the happiness, peace, and prosperity of the people of the Philippine Islands, and the measures adopted should be made to conform to their customs, their



*ROOM IN THE HOUSE OF ANSLEY WILCOX AT BUFFALO, WHERE
THEODORE ROOSEVELT TOOK THE OATH OF OFFICE*

habits, and even their prejudices, to the fullest extent consistent with the accomplishment of the indispensable requisites of just and effective government."

President McKinley judged men well. His appointments were nearly always wise. He managed discreetly in crises. He saw the whole of a situation as few statesmen have done, penetrating to details amid obscure aspects which others, even experts, had overlooked. During the Spanish War his advice was always helpful and at points vital. Courteous to all foreign powers, and falling into no spectacular jangles with any, he was obsequious to none.

THE AMERICAN ARMY IN CHINA

No other ruler, party to intervention in China during the Boxer rebellion of 1900, acted there so sanely or withdrew with so creditable a record as the President of the United States. Our new foothold in the Orient was opportune in enabling our forces to join without delay those of the other Powers in rescuing foreign residents of Peking from Chinese anti-foreign fanatics, members of a Buddhist sodality, and known, from a loose rendering of their fraternal name, as "Boxers." By the middle of June they had penned surviving foreigners and native converts from the provinces about the capital in two last refuges, 3,000 at the Pe-Tang Cathedral, 3,500 near the foreign Legations, which for two months were pelted with shot, shell, fire-pots, and huge iron rockets.

The German Minister, Baron von Ketteler, on his way to the Tsung-li-Yamen (Foreign Office) was murdered by his native body-guard. A messenger from the Cathedral to the Legations was caught, flayed alive, and his head and skin hung aloft. Food grew scarce, even dog-meat became a luxury. Many starved to death.

Meantime the allied forces had captured the Taku forts, eighty miles distant, and relieved Tien-tsin. On the 13th of



FOURTEENTH UNITED STATES INFANTRY LEAVING PEKING AFTER HEROIC RESCUE IN HATA-MEN (NOW KETTELER) STREET, CHINA

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THE UNITED STATES IN OUR TIME

August they reached Peking. The Russians established themselves upon the city wall the same day. Next morning the Americans planted thereon the first foreign flag. They would have been the first, too, to enter the inner "Imperial City," had they not, lacking support, been recalled at the moment of success. The besieged were speedily succored.



*AMERICAN FLAG RAISED OVER BATTERED REMNANTS
OF SOUTH GATE IMMEDIATELY AFTER CITY'S CAP-
TURE. BATTLE OF TIEN-TSIN, CHINA*

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The Allies *régime* following was discreditable to Western civilization. The Empress-Dowager and her Court fled. On August 28th the Allies marched in triumph through the inmost or "Forbidden City." Europeans followed the Boxers' example in pillage and looting. "Punitive" expeditions made sorties into the surrounding country. Drastic terms of quarter and peace were dictated, softened somewhat by American inter-

McKINLEY'S PRIVATE CHARACTER

cession. Exemplary damages were levied, the punishment of conspicuous Boxer leaders demanded, as also the erection by China of monuments to victims, especially one to the late Baron von Ketteler, and the dispatch of a penitential embassy to Berlin. China was bidden to remove military obstructions between coast and capital, forego for a term replenishing her armories, and permit the Legations to be fortified.

Our Government's soberness throughout this international *mêlée* gave us not only China's good-will, assuring us increased influence and trade there, but prestige with the thoughtful everywhere. Not alone our diplomacy was praised; it inured to the credit of the President, of General Chaffee, who commanded our land forces in China, and of the entire American people, that in so novel and trying an emergency, the conduct of our officers, soldiers, and sailors there was blameless in almost every detail.

The certainty that Mr. McKinley's name would be forever remembered with honor was not due merely or mainly to the fact that his administration marked a great climacteric in our national career. His intimates in office and in public life unanimously testified that in shaping the nation's new destiny he played an active and not a passive rôle. He dominated his Cabinet, diligently attending to the advice each member offered, but by no means always following it. Party bosses seeking to lead him were themselves led, oftenest without being aware of it, to accomplish his wishes.

As a practical politician, in the better sense of the word, McKinley was a master. Repeatedly, at critical junctures, he saved his following from rupture, letting the opposition become an impotent rout. What contrast in American political warfare



MAJ.-GEN. CHAFFEE, RESCUER
OF THE LEGATION AT PE-
KING, CHINA

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THE UNITED STATES IN OUR TIME

more striking than the pitiful demoralization of the Democracy at the end of the 1900 campaign, compared with the closed ranks and solid front of the Republican party! Anti-imperialists like Carnegie and Hoar, silver men like Senator Stewart, low-tariff Republicans of the West, all kept step and held aloft the McKinley banner.



THE LAUNCHING OF THE "MAINE," JULY 27, 1901

The discipline proceeded from the candidate's influence, from his harmonizing personal leadership, exercised not through oratory, for he had none of the tricks of speech, not even the easy knack of story-telling, but by the mere force of his will and his wisdom.

Mr. McKinley's private character was exemplary. His life-long devotion to an invalid wife, his fidelity to friends, the charm, consideration, and tact for his demeanor toward every one, and, above all, the Christian sublimity of his last days, created at once a foundation and a crown for his fame.

The assassin, Leon Czolgosz, was promptly indicted, placed on trial, convicted, sentenced, and executed, all without

CZOLGOSZ AND THE ANARCHISTS

any of the unseemly incidents attending the trial of Guiteau after Garfield's assassination. These rapid but perfectly orderly and dispassionate proceedings were a great credit to the State of New York.

The murderer was born in this country, of Russian-Polish parentage, in 1875. He received some education, was apprenticed to a blacksmith in Detroit, and later employed in Cleveland and in Chicago. It was said that at Cleveland he had heard Emma Goldman deliver an anarchist address, and that this inspired his fell purpose. No accessories were found. Nor did the dreadful act betoken that anarchism was increasing in our country, or that any special propagandism in its favor was on.

To all appearance, so far as America was concerned, the assassination was an unrelated deed. A far more serious symptom was the lawless passion of those who, some of them from



THE NEW BATTLESHIP "MAINE"

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pulpits, fulminated anarchy as bad as that of the anarchists by demanding that Czolgosz be lynched.

The murderer's heart had caught fire from the malignant, red type of anarchy abroad, which had within seven years struck down the President of France, the Empress of Austria, the King of Italy, and the Prime Minister of Spain. In their fanatic diabolism its devotees impartially hated government, whether despotic or free. They were no less hostile to one than to the other of our political parties. The murder had no political significance, though certainly a tragic rebuke to virulent editorials and cartoons in papers wont to season political debate with too hot personal condiment. President McKinley had suffered from this and so had his predecessor.

Upon such an occasion orderly government, both in the

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR TIME

States and in the nation, reasonably sought muniment against any possible new danger from anarchy. McKinley's own State leading, States enacted statutes denouncing penalties upon such as assailed, either by speech or by act, the life or the bodily safety of any one in authority. The Federal Government followed with a similar anti-anarchist law of wide scope.

Vice-President Theodore Roosevelt took over the presidency with as little jar as a military post suffers from changing guard.

Theodore Roosevelt was born in New York City, October 27, 1858. He graduated from Harvard at the age of twenty-one. When twenty-three he entered the New York State Assembly, where he served with great credit six years. Ill-health took him West, where for two years he "roughed it" as a "cow-boy." Afterward he was a member of the United States Civil Service Commission and president of the New York City Police Board. In 1897 he became Assistant Secretary of the Navy, holding his position long enough to indite the dispatch which took Dewey to Manila. He then raised the United States Volunteer Cavalry, commonly spoken of as "Rough Riders," and went to Cuba as their Lieutenant-Colonel, declining the colonelcy in favor of Leonard Wood. Gallantry at Las Guasimas raised Colonel Wood to be Brigadier-General and gave Roosevelt command of the regiment. Returning from war, Colonel Roosevelt soon found himself Governor of his State.

He here continued his course as a conservative reformer. He urged compulsory publicity for the affairs of monopolistic combinations, and was prominently instrumental in the enactment of the New York Franchise Tax Law. Mere politicians began to account Roosevelt "dangerous." Party managers in the 1900 convention hoped by making him Vice-President to remove him from competition for the presidency in 1904; but the tragic death of President McKinley foiled their calculations.

The new chief magistrate was no less honest, fearless, or

THE NEW PRESIDENT

public-spirited than the recent one; it only remained to be seen whether he was equally astute and cautious. Coming to the office unfettered as he did, might, in one of so frank a temperament, prove a danger. He was popular. Though highly educated and used to the best associations, the people found him more approachable than any of his predecessors. At a public dinner which he attended one round of cheers was given him as "The President of the United States," another as "Roosevelt," and a third as "Teddy." Had McKinley been in his place a corresponding variation would have been unthinkable.

President Roosevelt's temper and method were in pointed contrast to McKinley's. McKinley seemed simply to hold the tiller, availing himself of currents that deviously, perhaps, yet easily and inevitably, bore him to his objective. Roosevelt strenuously plied the oar, recking little of cross currents or head winds, if, indeed, he did not delight in such. Mr. Depew aptly styled McKinley "a



Alabama Hall, Teachers' Home and Girls' Dormitory



Huntington Hall, a Girls' Dormitory



Dorothy Hall, Girls' Trades Building

TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE, ALA.

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR TIME

Western man with Eastern ideas"; Roosevelt "an Eastern man with Western ideas"; Roosevelt was the first President since William Henry Harrison to bring to his office the freshness of the frontier, as he was, anomalously, the first city-born or wealthy-born incumbent.

Only at the South was the President for a time positively disliked. Soon after his accession he invited Booker T. Washington to dine with him at the White House. Washington was the ablest and most interesting colored man in the country.



PRESIDENT MCKINLEY, GOV. JOSEPH E. JOHNSTON AND BOOKER T. WASHINGTON, TUSKEGEE, ALA.

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He first saw day on a Virginia plantation about 1859. After the war his mother took him to West Virginia, where he dug in a coal mine. Overhearing miners speak of Hampton Institute as a place where a black boy would be welcome and might work his way, he determined to go there. Saving so as to lay by a small sum, he started for Hampton, walking most of the way. Stranded at Richmond, penniless and friendless, he wrought at unloading iron ore from a

vessel, sleeping in a hole under a board side-walk.

Graduating from Hampton in 1881, he made his way to Tuskegee, in the heart of the Alabama Black Belt, determined to devote his life to the uplifting of his race. A leaky cabin was his first school-house, where on rainy days the oldest of his thirty pupils would stand and hold an umbrella over the teacher. Later an abandoned hen-house was annexed. Thence-

OUR POLICY IN THE EAST

forth, spite of dire discouragements, Booker Washington's Institute advanced, step by step, till in 1902 it was free from debt, with over two thousand acres of land, twenty-six buildings, put up by the pupils themselves, who even made the bricks for the chapel, 117 instructors, teaching 1,400 pupils in over 60 branches of industrial training.

Southerners admitted the man's strength and deserts; nevertheless, as, in their belief, the social recognition of him by the head of the nation made negroes in general feel that whites were trampling their rights and wantonly rendering their lot hard, the President's act was taken by the South as a snub.



GUGLIELMO MARCONI

At the North, as well, many deemed it unwise, "one of Teddy's breaks."

The new administration followed President McKinley's course in the Philippines, vigorously hunting down "ladrones" and punishing rebellious Moros. In 1902 the unhappy archipelago endured the three-fold tribulation of war, famine, and pestilence. The rinderpest destroyed ninety per cent. of the carabaos, while the plague carried off 83,282 human beings. Congress voted liberal relief, and, under the able direction of Governor Taft, much was done to repair these ravages and to prevent their recurrence.

It was obvious that the United States had become a Pacific

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR TIME

Ocean power. After the Boxer rebellion, Great Britain being busy with her South African War, Russia, having joined the ice-free harbor at Port Arthur, at the southern extremity of Manchuria, to St. Petersburg by 6,500 miles of railway, thought not only to appropriate this province of China, an aim sure to succeed in time, but also to make the trade thereof a snug Muscovite monopoly. Leading all other Powers in promptness and positiveness, our State Department demurred, demanding that some of Manchuria's doors be left open to general commerce. China, as yet titular sovereign there, did not object save as in-



MARCONI TRANSATLANTIC STATION AT SOUTH WELLFLEET, CAPE COD, MASS.

spired by Russia. After causing, at Peking, long delay in the preparation of our treaty with China, the Czar's Government yielded. In June, 1903, we were informed that China would order the ports of Mukden and Ta Tung Kao kept open to the trade of the world, and that Russia would acquiesce.

It was through the new President's urgency that the first national irrigation law was passed, and a national system of afforestation actually launched, both calculated to spread fertility over vast areas in the West. He stood for liberal reciprocity with Cuba, being in accord with Mr. McKinley's final

VICES OF CORPORATIONS

views on the tariff. As to the easing of custom-house levies, however, Roosevelt's administration soon frankly avowed itself unable to proceed further than high-protectionists would allow.

Mr. Roosevelt signalized his accession by effort to make the Federal Anti-Trust Law something more than a cumberer of the statute-book. In his inaugural address and in numberless speeches boldly handling the trust evil, he called for the regulation of capitalistic combinations in the interest of the public. As with Marconi's wireless telegrams now beginning to be used, the mere air of the commercial world instantly announced everywhere this attitude of our new Executive.

Appreciation of the President's policy on this subject may be assisted by some notice of the then threatening vigor and universality of the movement toward industrial combination. Mr. Beck, Assistant Attorney-General of the United States, declared in 1892:

"Excessive capitalization of corporations, dishonest management of their executive officers, the destruction of the rights of the minority, the theft of public utilities, the subordination of public interests to private gain, the debauchery of our local legislatures and executive officers, and the corruption of the elective franchise, have resulted from the facility afforded by the law to corporations to concentrate the control of colossal wealth in the hands of a few men. . . . The question presses ever more importunately for decision whether these marvellous aggregations of capital can be subordinated to the very laws which created them."

Charles Francis Adams had long before noted the subversion of stockholders' corporate democracy as threatening the overthrow of civic democracy. He lamented the want of a word to name this growing sway of wealth, as "democracy" and "aristocracy" expressed other régimes. In response to the demand soon came the now familiar vocable, "plutocracy."

Commodore Vanderbilt led in the centralizing movement when he pieced a dozen or more short lines into the New York

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR TIME

Central and Hudson River, which was soon, in effect, extended to Chicago, via both the Lake Shore and the Michigan Central. A great number of other trunk lines and systems were founded, among which there developed a wild warfare of competition, alternating with truces of exhaustion, and ending in the absorption, by lease or by purchase, of all but the strongest rivals.

These, tired of rate-cutting, open and secret, more and more sought amity in management. Pooling agreements prevailed for a time, but were rendered insecure by State and Federal legislation. The "community of interest" plan came next, by which heavy owners of competitive lines acquired holdings in each other's stock. Or, again, either dominant individual stockholders of a railroad, or the company in its corporate capacity, obtained control of the stock of one or more parallel or co-terminal lines.

The Union Pacific acquired large holdings from Collis P. Huntington's estate, and controlled the Southern Pacific. The power behind the Southern Railway placed its hand upon nearly all the other southern railways, including the Atlantic Coast Line, the Plant System, and at last even the Louisville and Nashville. The New York Central dominated the other Vanderbilt roads. The Pennsylvania secured decisive amounts of Baltimore and Ohio stock, as well as weighty interests in the Chesapeake and Ohio and the Norfolk and Western, and so on.

Great banking establishments, foremost among them the house of J. P. Morgan & Co., took to financing these schemes. Morgan reorganized the Northern Pacific, and it would forthwith have pooled issues with the Great Northern but for opposition by the State of Minnesota. James J. Hill was master of the Great Northern, and confidence existed between him and Morgan.

They wished ample outlet for the products of the Northwest, and, in particular, access to Chicago over a line of their own, such as the Chicago, Burlington and Quincy would offer. Purchase of shares in this corporation was quietly begun.

THE NORTHERN SECURITIES MERGER

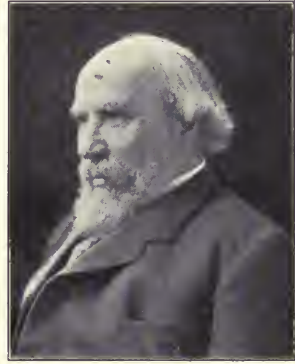
Soon the Burlington road was apparently in hand. Shares rose in value.

In this campaign by the two northern lines the Union Pacific control perceived a menace to its northwestern and Pacific coast connections. The Union Pacific leader resorted to a strategic *coup*. He attempted to purchase the Northern Pacific, Burlington and all. A mysterious demand set Northern Pacific shares soaring. The stock reached \$1,000 a share,



J. P. MORGAN

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JAMES J. HILL

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and none was obtainable. Panic arose; brokers who were involved faced ruin.

The two sides now declared a truce. The Northern Securities Company was created, with a capital approaching a billion dollars, to take over the Burlington, Northern Pacific, and Great Northern stocks. It was a scheme to provide a single stock control of several railroad systems naturally rivals. The logical sequence of this seemed almost in sight. The control of two or more securities companies might easily fall into the hands of a third, which, governed by a mere majority of its own shares, would make a small coterie of men the railway kings of the continent.

The States of Minnesota and Washington, unable in their

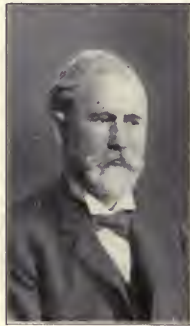
THE UNITED STATES IN OUR TIME

own courts to thwart the Northern Securities merger, sought the intervention of the United States judiciary. Their suit was vain till the Administration came to the rescue. At the instance of the Attorney-General an injunction was issued forbidding the Securities Company to receive the control of the roads and the holders of the railroad stocks involved to give it over.

Side by side with this railway development arose another class of combinations, "trusts" or "industrials," holding to manufactures the same relation as the railways held to transportation. Secret railway rebates to large shippers, motived



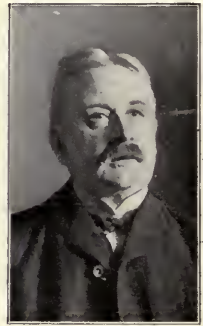
*Judge Henry Clay
Caldwell
Presiding Justice*



*Judge Walter H.
Sanborn*



*Judge Willis Van
Devanter*



*Judge Amos J.
Tayer*

THE FOUR CIRCUIT JUDGES WHO TRIED THE NORTHERN SECURITIES CASE

by railway competition, gave tremendous impulse to industrial monopoly. The same evolution as with railways was observable here; the primitive trust agreement, the parceling among competitors of exclusive distributing territory, "the gentleman's understanding," yielded to the more compact plan of a single, giant corporation, quite as efficient as the old combine and less vulnerable in law.

The number of establishments engaged in 97 important industries out of about 342 in all, actually decreased from 1890 to 1900. In 1902 over 1,600 industrial corporations were absorbed or controlled by larger corporate aggregates.

CARNEGIE AND THE STEEL CORPORATION

The process of confederation was conspicuous in the iron and steel trade. In rapid succession the National Steel Company, the American Sheet Steel Company, and the American Tin Plate Company were each created out of numerous smaller plants. Each of these corporations, with a capital of \$12,000,000 to \$40,000,000, owned the mines, the ships, and the railways for hauling its products, the mills for manufacturing, and the agencies for sale. Numerous wire and nail works were combined into the American Steel and Wire Company. The



ANDREW CARNEGIE IN HIS LIBRARY DICTATING TO HIS
SECRETARY

Copyright, Vander Weyde, New York

Federal Steel Company, the American Bridge Company, the Republic Iron and Steel Company, all huge and complete, were dictators each in its field.

The Carnegie Steel Company long remained independent. Andrew Carnegie, the great Scotch-born iron-king, distrusted combination save as the constituent concerns were individually strong. "You can not make a giant," he said, "by tying together a score of invalids." He fortified his position. He obtained a fleet of ships upon the Lakes, purchased mines, undertook to construct tube works at Conneaut, Ohio, and planned

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR TIME



Pittsburgh, Pa.



Washington, D. C.



Atlanta, Ga.

CARNEGIE FREE PUBLIC LIBRARIES

new corporation, secured by first lien upon the stocks of the subsidiary corporations. A creditable portion of what came to Mr. Carnegie he gave to erect popular educational institu-

for railroads. A battle of the giants, with loss and possible ruin for one side or the other, impended.

Carnegie was finally willing to sell. Hence, the United States Steel Corporation, a securities-holding corporation—like the Northern Securities Company, capitalized for a billion dollars. It purchased ninety-nine per cent. of the stocks of ten subsidiary corporations, which operated 149 steel works, 78 blast furnaces, and over 18,000 coke ovens, and owned 71,000 acres of coal lands, 30,000 acres of surface coke lands, 125 lake vessels, and over seventy per cent. of the Lake Superior iron ore. Carnegie and his partners got about \$144,000,000 in bonds of the

CONFEDERATE INDUSTRY EFFICIENT

tions. Noble public library buildings paid for by him arose in numbers in all parts of the United States. Bond-holders of the Carnegie Company received dollar for dollar of similar bonds, \$160,000,000 in all, while the other trusts and the promoters absorbed the stock for their properties and services. The underwriting syndicate probably realized \$25,000,000.

The trust creators extended their operations abroad. In 1901 J. P. Morgan and associates acquired the Leyland line of Atlantic steamships. British nerves had not recovered when a steamship combination was announced, embracing not only American and British, but also German lines, likewise ship-building firms at Belfast and on the Clyde. Of the great Atlantic companies, only the Cunard line remained independent, with war in prospect between it and the combination.

One effect of this organization at home was to place the Ship Subsidy Bill, which passed the Senate in 1901, for the time, at least, on the table. The sentiment of the country, especially of the Middle West, would not permit the payment of public money to a concern commercially able to defy Britannia on the sea.

The ship-building industry followed the same trend, but with unfortunate consequences. The new combine found itself in the hands of a receiver. This threatened serious complications, as the Government had several war-ships building with the Trust, one of which private creditors attempted, through a State court, to subject to their claims.

The efficiency of confederate industry, for the time, could not be denied. We prospered at home; we sent products abroad as never before. American material supplied in large part the Russian Trans-Siberian Railroad. American food-stuffs and meats wakened agrarian frenzy in Germany. German cartoons figured Morgan as a huge feline reaching a long predatory paw into the "Vaterland." The island-hive of England buzzed with jealous foreboding lest America capture her world-markets. From an average of close to \$163,000,000

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR TIME

annually, 1887 to 1897, United States exports of manufactured products reached in 1898 over \$290,000,000, in 1899 over \$338,000,000, in 1900 nearly \$434,000,000, and in 1901 \$412,000,000. The United States led Britain as a coal-producer, American tin-plate reached Wales itself, American locomotives the English colonies and even the mother-country, while boots and shoes from our factories ruled the markets of Australia and South Africa. For bridge and viaduct construction in British domains American bids heavily undercut British bids both in price and in time limit. The Yankee peril confronted Londoners when they saw American capital securing control of their proposed underground transit system and were daily forced to eat products sold them by American food-trusts.

During 1903 Carnegie's skepticism about the concentrating movement considerably infected the public. Industrial stocks showed lassitude. Bankers complained about "undigested" securities.

"The tendency to combine had been carried beyond its legitimate purpose. Corporations had been organized with an inflated capitalization based upon an assumed earning power which could prove successful only in case of absolute control by some particular branch of the industry to the exclusion of others legitimately entitled to their shares. These inflated organizations must depend for their existence and for their ability to pay dividends on the stock as issued upon a suppression of the trade and upon the taking of it into their own hands, to the exclusion of others entitled to it. Such institutions succeed, if they succeed at all, but temporarily, and upon a basis of control repugnant to the American people. A certain class of the labor element had combined upon precisely the same principle, suppressing production to increase artificially the price of the article created, in this case labor. The result had been to raise the price of many of the commodities of life so that the middle class were put to a greater cost of their living without

THE GROSSCUP INJUNCTION

proportionately sharing the profits. This middle class, the great majority, resented the arbitrary increase in the cost of living.*

Partial failure of the corn crop in 1900, with diminution of free pasture on Government lands, sent up the price of beef, till in 1902 complaints became loud and general. This drew forcibly to view the control held by six slaughtering concerns acting in unison through a cipher code of communication.



JUDGE PETER S. GROSSCUP

Bancroft Library

The President ordered an investigation, and, as a result, proceedings under the Sherman Act to restrain the great packers from continuing their alleged combination. An in-



MACHINE WHICH REAPS, THRESHES, AND BAGS GRAIN AT THE SAME TIME

junction was granted, the slow machinery of chancery working out a decree. At the same time, though the packers' plans

* Abridged from a statement by the eminent corporation lawyer, James B. Dill.

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“for a more perfect union” tarried, and they were not observed zealously to compete in the old-fashioned way, meat did not materially decline in price.



PARADE OF THE STRIKERS AT SHENANDOAH, P.A., DURING THE COAL STRIKE OF 1902

of 1901 was a fight over the unionizing of certain hitherto non-union plants in the United States Steel Corporation. It resulted in defeat for the strikers and in the disunionizing of plants. For the consuming public, this strike had no such consequence as attended the anthracite coal strike of 1902, which was more bitterly fought in that it was a conflict for wages and for the recognition of the United Mine Workers of America, John Mitchell at their head. The strike began May 12, 1902, when 147,000 miners went out. Though the

If the public suffered from these phalanxed industries while they ran smoothly, it endured peculiar evils from the periodical conflicts between the capital and the labor in them, for everywhere labor unionized as capital combined.

The steel strike



ONE OF THE MINERS ARGUING HIS SIDE OF THE STRIKE

THE COAL STRIKE OF 1902

record was marred at places, they behaved well and retained to a large degree public sympathy. When the price of anthracite rose from about \$5 a ton to \$28 and \$30, the parts of the country using hard coal began to realize a fuel famine. For the five months ending October 12th, the strike was estimated to have cost over \$126,000,000. The operators stubbornly refused to arbitrate or to recognize the union. The miners with equal constancy held their ranks intact.

The problem of protecting the public pressed for solution as never before. The only suggestion at first discussed was arbitration. Enforced arbitration could not be effected without infringing the workingman's right to labor or to decline to do so; without reducing him, in case of adverse decision by arbitration, to a condition of involuntary servitude. It looked as if no solution could be reached till State or nation condemned and acquired ample portions of the mining lands to be worked under its own auspices and in a just manner. This radical course was not likely to be adopted by Congress or by the Pennsylvania Legislature should these powers deal with the problem.

On October 3d President Roosevelt called the coal operators and President Mitchell of the United Mine Workers to a conference at the White House, urging them to agree. After much parley each side consented to intrust its case to an impartial commission to be appointed by the President. Such was soon created, and it gave long weeks to investigation and hearings. Not sparing strictures upon the belligerents, and declining to require recognition of the union, it finally decreed a substantial minimum wage-advance for a term of years, with



JOHN MITCHELL, PRESIDENT
UNITED MINE WORKERS

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a sliding-scale arrangement whereby wages should be further advanced should the trade justify it.

The coal strike, with the Government's action against the Northern Securities Company and the Beef Trust, prompted William R. Hearst to attack before the Interstate Commerce Commission the combination of hard-coal railroads, which practically monopolized the mining as well as the transportation of anthracite. It appeared that by manipulating freight rates



Carroll D. T. H. Watkins Judge Gray, E. W. Parker E. E. Clark Bishop Spalding
Wright Presiding Officer
Gen. J. M. Wilson

COAL STRIKE ARBITRATORS IN SESSION

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they at will reduced ostensible mining profits to the vanishing point, which afforded convenient excuse for raising prices to the consumer. Mr. Hearst's onset was balked by the limited powers allowed the Commission by the courts. Sustained for this reason in their refusal to testify, the hard-coal managers were left in an unenviable light, since they had based their recalcitrancy upon another ground, viz., that their testimony would tend to incriminate them.

The President's energy in executing the Sherman Anti-

THE ELKINS ACT

trust Act was supplemented by his efforts for additional legislation upon the subject, and rewarded by the Elkins Anti-trust Act of the LVIIth Congress, short session, the mildest of several measures proposed, but probably the most radical which could pass the Senate. This law abolished the more drastic penalties against railroad rebates, denounced against shipper as well as carrier those which remained, and expedited legal procedure. The Elkins Act also created the Department of Commerce and Labor, absorbing the old Labor Bureau. The new branch embraced a Bureau of Corporations for the official collecting and publishing of authentic information concerning these entities.

If laws fell short, the industrial world at points voluntarily adopted some of the innovations which radical reformers would have imposed; and this result, again, was no doubt due in part to the known sympathy of the President. The greatest of the trusts often scaled wages up, to attract and maintain a high grade of labor. As yet, the way stood open from the ranks to the highest positions. The Standard Oil Company, the Carnegie Company, and its successor, the Steel Corporation, introduced a species of profit-sharing by which employees were encouraged to invest in stock of the employing enterprises. The Pennsylvania Railroad and the Illinois Central provided old-age pensions for their workmen.

Captains of industry often sought to fortify their securities by scattering them as widely as possible. To invite investment they gave their balance-sheets complete publicity. Street-railway and other municipal monopolies sheltered their interests under the ægis of widely distributed holdings. The argument for a fifty-year franchise in Cincinnati was pushed in the name of widows, orphans, and other small investors. In Philadelphia, when a large hall was filled to overflowing with remonstrants against some street-railway proposal, a "magnate" observed, "Our stockholders in this town would fill half a dozen such halls."

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR TIME



Venice and East Madison Streets where buildings were completely submerged and swept away

EAST ST. LOUIS DURING

Some large concerns gave workmen voice upon the vital questions of wages, discharge and reinstatement among employees. Others made their establishments "co-operative" in every essential particular.

All this appeared to be enlightened policy forestalling the inevitable. It was increasingly clear that labor worth having about a modern factory would insist upon living wages, the more so that employers made the wish for such wages the basis of their plea for protective tariffs. Good laborers were also bound to insist upon hearings in cases of "hiring and firing." The American workingman felt a proprietary tenure in his job and respected this in another's. "Strike-breakers" were loathed. Social ostracism, suggested by President Hadley as a weapon against piratical capitalists, was in labor-circles wielded with tremendous effect against the "scab." Unfortunately for union labor, upon "strike-breakers" for whom taboo had no terrors, the secular arm of violence sometimes descended heavily.

Hideous misgovernment cursed many American cities. The trail of this serpent—crime and vice tariffed for revenue to public officers and for protection to offenders, blackmail, franchise-looting, and manifold other iniquities—would be too long for our space. Greater New York, which had narrowly escaped

EFFORTS FOR REFORM IN CITIES



Showing flooded streets and boats, with occupants

THE FLOODS OF 1903

the radicalism of Henry George only to suffer from an unregenerate Tammany management, was, under her second reform administration, that of Mayor Low, dissatisfied still, yet aware that the moral level of her government was slowly rising. Minneapolis succeeded in smashing a notorious machine. St. Louis, by the help of her great champion, Circuit-Attorney Folk, hoped to do the same, working on, nothing daunted by the unprecedented floods of 1893, to complete her preparations for the Louisiana Purchase Exposition. Cincinnati and Pittsburg were ring-ridden, abiding the ringsters while decrying the rings. Philadelphia, expecting relief by concentrating vast powers in the Mayor's hands, found this arrangement, like the former one, compatible with desperate corruption, and lit her lantern in search of a man. In Mayor Weaver her quest seemed rewarded.

Tendencies radical for conservative America appeared in municipal politics. In many cities, as San Francisco and Hartford, labor-unionists became mayors. Even in New England socialists were elected to that office. Some very large municipalities committed themselves to radical leadership: Under Mayor Harrison, Chicago set sail for the municipal ownership of public utilities. Four times in succession Toledo elected the unique Mayor Samuel M. Jones, who eschewed all political

THE UNITED STATES IN OUR TIME

parties and defied a unanimous newspaper opposition. He conducted a campaign much as an evangelist would a revival, leading off with songs, proclaiming the Golden Rule, and favoring a co-operative commonwealth. Cleveland twice elected Mayor the single-taxer, Tom L. Johnson, upon a platform calling for three-cent fares on city street railways, with ultimate public ownership.

Flagrant corruption hung about many a State capital, suspicions of it about most of them. In a few States rotten boroughs made it easy for a skilled manager with money to command legislative majorities on notification. The legislative election of Federal Senators debauched Montana and Delaware. In Delaware, owing partly to its large negro vote, mere brute money was able for years to obstruct if not quite to conquer the opposition of decency to its claims.

In 1903 notorious scandals were uncovered in the National Post-Office Department, connected with the Rural Free Delivery Service. "Rake-offs" had been accepted upon contracts for supplies. The guilty were indicted and held for trial. The probe reached back even to the McKinley days, when dummies were placed upon the pay-roll, moneys illicitly drawn, extravagant expenditures made, one person sometimes receiving two salaries and a fictitious expense allowance.

Like President Grant, years before, President Roosevelt determined to "let no guilty man escape;" and he found in Mr. J. L. Bristow, Fourth Assistant Postmaster-General, an aide worthy the name borne by the destroyer of the Whisky Ring.

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